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THE ORIGIN OF THE AARONITE PRIESTHOOD.

EVERY reader of the JOURNAL has reason to be grateful to Prof Kennett for his article on the origin of the Aaronite priesthood¹. He presented a bird's-eye view of a great part of the material available for the discussion of a most difficult problem; and the skill with which he handled the material was calculated to carry the reader away into an immediate acceptance of his results. But he would be himself the last to deny that the problems connected with the Aaronite priesthood are difficult. And a very careful study of his article has failed to convince me that the history has been rightly reconstructed; there appear to be some bones which will not fit into the conjectural skeleton.

The crucial point in the theory is that Jeroboam I did not found the calf-worship at Bethel and Dan as is related of him in 1 Kings xii 26-33, but that in the pre-Isaianic period Aaron was honoured as the founder of the cult. Early tradition had contained a story of Aaron's action at Horeb, but 'the orthodoxy of a later generation added the story of Moses' wrath at the discovery of the image and of his destruction of it'. But it is natural to ask, Why did the writer of 1 Kings xii 26-33 select Jeroboam I as the founder of the cult? If this writer was post-Deuteronomic, he had before him the full story of Exod. xxxii, and the reference to Moses' anger in Deut. ix 12-21. And it could serve no object whatever to ascribe to any later founder the beginnings of a cult which had long ago been

¹ *J. T. S.* January, 1905 (vol. vi No. 22).

ascribed to Aaron; it would neither increase Aaron's discredit nor save his reputation. Again, why did he relate that Jeroboam placed a calf at Dan? There is no other evidence in the Old Testament that Dan possessed a calf unless it is to be found in Am. viii 14; but if it was not true, or if there had not been at least a tradition to that effect, it is difficult to see with what object a post-Deuteronomic writer should have gone out of his way to state the fact¹.

Prof Kennett argues that the statement of the compiler of the Book of Kings can have but little historical value, 'considering his complete ignorance of the origin of the priesthood at Dan as it is given in the Book of Judges'². But this is surely a *non sequitur*. Apart from the possibility 'that Jeroboam may have reorganized an existing sanctuary, presenting to it a new idol' (which is certainly the impression produced by the narrative), ignorance of the ancient origin of the priesthood of a far-off sanctuary need not have affected his knowledge of the acts of Jeroboam.

On the next page (168) Prof Kennett himself suggests a difficulty. 'If the northern tradition honoured Aaron as the founder of the cult of the calf, and believed that he lived during the Exodus, how are we to account for the fact that the tradition of the Judges takes no account of his priesthood nor of the golden calf which he made?' The answer is scarcely sufficient that 'the greatest uncertainty prevailed as to the exact time when certain legendary or eponymous heroes had flourished, and legendary events had taken place'. Jair's colonization of eastern Manasseh, and the naming of the place Hormah, are comparatively obscure items of knowledge, about which uncertainty might easily prevail. And particular military achievements of two successive kings,

¹ Jos. B. J. IV i 1 speaks of 'the temple of the golden cow', at a spot corresponding to the position of Dan, as though the ruins were still visible.

² The following words—'It is, however, evident that he considered Dan and Bethel to have been the chief sanctuaries of the northern kingdom'—appear to conflict with the remark at the end of the preceding page, with reference to the post-Deuteronomic author of 1 Kings xii 26-33: 'from his words it would naturally be inferred that down to the time of Jeroboam neither Dan nor Bethel had possessed either sanctuary, image, or priesthood.' If, however, the post-Deuteronomic author of 1 Kings xii 26-33 and the compiler of the Book of Kings are different persons, the latter nowhere mentions Dan and Bethel as sanctuaries, unless it be in 2 Kings x 29, which is an explicit reference to the story of Jeroboam.

such as Saul and David, might be erroneously ascribed to one or the other. But none of these is quite analogous to the present case, in which 'the writer of 1 Kings xii 26-33 was misinformed, or drew a wrong inference, as to the founding of the sanctuary of Bethel'. On the other hand, there is not necessarily a difficulty in the fact that Aaron was unpunished for his sin, while 3,000 men were slain by Levites. There are many critics who hold that Exod. xxxii 25-29 is from another source than that of verses 1-6, 15-24. And if Aaron suffered no punishment, neither did Jeroboam; both are condemned by the religious compilers as having committed a terrible sin in making Israel to sin.

The doubt as to the historical character of the account of Jeroboam's action at Bethel involves a doubt as to Josiah's desecration of his altar and *bamah* in 2 Kings xxiii 15-20. Prof Kennett says (p. 171 note) that the account of Josiah's dealings with Bethel is 'shewn to be a later addition by a comparison with verse 8, which states that Josiah carried out his reforms from *Geba* to Beersheba. *Bethel* therefore lay outside Josiah's jurisdiction, and the story of its desecration, so far as it is historical, belongs to a later date.' But verse 8 is not difficult to explain. Verses 4-14 describe Josiah's iconoclasm in Judah, and then in verse 15 the writer turns to his reforms in the north—'and also (וְגַם) the altar that was at Bethel' &c. The expression '*Geba* to Beersheba' is used to shew how thoroughly the purging of Judah was carried out; but it does not preclude any work outside Judah. There is nothing to shew that the story of Josiah's desecration of Bethel is unhistorical; and if it be historical, the Bethelite succession of priests came to an end in the last quarter of the seventh century.

But with this is involved the much larger question raised by Prof Kennett as to the relation between Josiah's reforms and the legislation of the Book of Deuteronomy. He suggests that the book which was found in the temple 'may have been the code of J. For the reform when once begun may well have gone beyond the law which gave to it its original impetus. It may, however, have been a prophetic work, e.g. Micah. The whole account of Josiah's reforms, although not all of one date, is probably all later than the Book of Deuteronomy which has coloured the language throughout'. And he assigns the com-

pilation of Deuteronomy, as a whole, to exilic times. 'The phrases of Deuteronomy are due to the permanent impression which Jeremiah left on the religious language of his people.' The generally accepted theories as to the literary origins of the Hexateuch are thus called in question. It is far too large a matter to be adequately discussed in a short article. But one great objection can be raised to an exilic date for the Book of Deuteronomy. The distinction between the Levitical priests the sons of Zadok, and the Levites 'arose from the unwillingness of the sons of Zadok, the priests of Jerusalem, to admit to like privileges with themselves the Levites, who until the days of Josiah's reformation had ministered in the various local sanctuaries or high places'. If the Book of Deuteronomy was compiled in exilic times, it was after the long quarrel between the Jerusalem priests and the country Levites. The former had gone into captivity, and the latter were established in Jerusalem. Would it not be expected that some sign of the past controversy would shew itself? Prof Kennett points out the scantiness of the mention of Aaron in Deuteronomy, and suggests that 'his name was there introduced by one of the several editors, who endeavoured to supply what must have seemed to all later readers an obvious omission'. This is extremely probable; but is it not in favour of an early rather than a late date for the book? If the acute antagonism between the Zadokites and the Aaronites had existed for years before, would not the Levites have been called 'the sons of Aaron'? If Deuteronomy, in its original form, did not mention Aaron, it must have been because it was written before the quarrel began. Deut. xviii 1-8 can be understood most simply if it pictures an early stage in the reform, when the country Levites were first bidden to leave their sanctuaries.

Again, Prof Kennett says: 'It is not improbable that the code of J represents an early effort of the reforming party to formulate a law for Judah.' And 'the intention of the original reformers' was 'that the priests who were thrown out of employment by the abolition of the country sanctuaries should have the right to earn a livelihood by ministering in the Temple at Jerusalem'. Does not this imply that the law of the single sanctuary was the intention of the compiler, or compilers, of J? And the

existing facts and institutions by referring them to the initiative or authority of some early hero of the race. Moses was the greatest of such heroes; and within a comparatively short time after the entrance into Canaan, every existing feature of civil and religious polity was traced to him. The origin of the term 'Levite' having been forgotten, it was attributed to the existence of a tribe of Levi, and Moses was held to be the greatest representative of the tribe. (Or, as some think, there was a real tribe of Levi, of which Moses was a member, and the term 'Levite', though originally unconnected with it, was understood to imply lineal descent from Levi the tribal ancestor.) That Moses was held to be the founder of the priesthood appears in the early northern poem in Deut. xxxiii. In verse 8 he 'whom thou didst prove at Massah, with whom thou didst strive at the waters of Meribah' is clearly Moses, of the tribe of Levi; and to him is ascribed the possession of the Thummim and Urim. Levites, or clergymen, then, were held to be descendants of Moses. An instance of this is seen in Judg. xviii 30. At Dan, in the far north, where early ideas would linger undisturbed, the priesthood descended from the young Levite of the family of Judah claimed lineal descent from Moses.

So long as Moses was considered as the supreme priest tradition declared that the *aedituus* of the sanctuary in the desert was a young servant—Joshua an Ephraimite (Exod. xxxiii 7-11). But as time went on, Moses was thought of more and more exclusively as a Lawgiver; and when that aspect of his work grew into overwhelming prominence, and Joshua had become a warrior hero, the priestly work was gradually ascribed to another subordinate. The personality of Moses so fills the early narratives that scarcely any other individual figures emerge into view. But Aaron seems to have been a *sheik* of some importance (Exod. xxiv 1, 14; xvii 10, 12), and to him Moses was believed to have delegated the sacerdotal functions. This affords the best explanation of Exod. iv 14 'Aaron thy brother the Levite'. The addition of 'the Levite' would be superfluous if it denoted merely tribal lineage. Having been constituted a Levite or clergyman, he must also be the 'brother' of Moses. And signs perhaps survived till a late date in the similarity of the names in different branches of the family. Moses has a son

Eliezer (Exod. xviii 4), while Aaron's son, through whom the priesthood descended, was named Eleazar (Num. xx 25-28). One of the three Levitical families was descended from Gershon, a son of Levi (Exod. vi 16), while Moses' elder son was named Gershom (ii 22). And the name Mushi, which is not far removed from Mosheh, is the son of Merari, Levi's third son (vi 19).

That the tradition of Aaron's priesthood was not universal we have seen in the case of the Danite establishment. But it is no less clear that other places than Bethel claimed for their priests the Aaronic succession. However much 1 Sam. i, ii may have been interpolated in accordance with later conceptions, there can be no doubt that the family of Eli at Shiloh traced their descent from Aaron, since Eli named one of his sons Phinehas, which was the name of Aaron's grandson to whom was given the covenant of an everlasting priesthood (Num. xxv 10-13¹).

In post-exilic times, when the Zadokite priests had returned to Jerusalem, *their* descent was traced to Aaron through Eleazar (1 Chron. vi 3-8), and the house of Eli is completely ignored by the Chronicler. But 1 Sam. ii 28, 35 distinctly gives Eli's family the precedence in the past, while 'the faithful priest' that is to come will be raised or set up as the beginning of a new succession. Again, the descendants of Eli (see 1 Sam. xiv 3) subsequently appeared at Nob (1 Sam. xxi 1, xxii 11 ff). And when Abiathar, who escaped from the massacre, was afterwards deposed by Solomon from his priesthood at Jerusalem, he was sent to Anathoth, where a line of priests established itself of whom Jeremiah was a member (Jer. i 1). Thus there were, from time to time, priests in Shiloh, Nob, and Anathoth who claimed Aaronic descent through Eleazar. And it is in the highest degree probable that in many local sanctuaries throughout Israel the same claim was made. In some cases the claim was made through Eleazar, and in some, apparently, through Ithamar; for after the exile, when the Zadokites had claimed descent through Eleazar, the Ithamar families of priests in Jerusalem

¹ This is, of course, a late priestly story; but the succession Aaron, Eleazar, Phinehas was probably an early growth. The 'hill of Phinehas' (Josh. xxiv 33) must have been an early local name, and may imply the presence of a sanctuary in the hill country of Ephraim, of which the priests traced their descent from Aaron.

were declared to be eight in number, while the Eleazar families were sixteen (1 Chron. xxiv 5, 6¹). Further—to indulge, for the moment, in conjecture—the story of Nadab and Abihu, sons of Aaron², who offered ‘strange fire’ (Lev. x 1-10), may point to the fact that some country priests had traced their descent to Aaron through Nadab and Abihu, but that the claim was not allowed. Since Bethel was the foremost sanctuary of northern Israel, its priests would probably be considered among the most important Aaronites. But the point which needs emphasizing is that from the very small amount of evidence which exists it would seem that the Aaronite succession was a claim which was very widely made by country priests outside Jerusalem.

Now when the local sanctuaries were abolished, and the country priests came crowding into Jerusalem, it was natural, as Prof Kennett points out, that serious friction would arise. And, as he says, ‘the sons of Zadok are represented as superior to the Levites, not by reason of their descent from Zadok, but by the fact that they only have remained faithful to the sanctuary at Jerusalem now regarded as alone orthodox. It is, so to speak, not so much a question of canonical ordination as of canonical behaviour after ordination’. But they would have a much stronger pretext for superiority than faithfulness to the single sanctuary. The chief charge which they would level against the whole mass of priests who claimed to be Aaronites would be that of image-worship (see Ezek. xliv 10-12). Images had been commonly used in many, if not all, of the northern sanctuaries. Even Hosea (iii 4) thought of some of them as an integral part of Jehovah worship, though he condemned molten images. But among the various forms of images it is quite improbable (apart from the statement of Jeroboam’s action at Dan) that the bull in particular was confined to Bethel. Hos. xiii 2 appears to represent the sin of ‘kissing the calves’ as general in Ephraim; and many writers, as is well known, hold that the same form of worship was practised at Gilgal and Beersheba (Am. iv 4, v 5, viii 14; Hos. iv 15, ix 15, xii 11 (12)).

¹ This arrangement is put back by the chronicler to the reign of David.

² It is noticeable that in Exod. xxiv 1, 2 they, with Aaron, are not spoken of as priests, but are merely mentioned in conjunction with ‘elders of Israel’.

—in the case of the former, writers as early as Cyril and Epiphanius. Indeed, differences of opinion exist not so much about the wide prevalence of bull worship, as about the source from which Israel learnt it¹. And the surest method of condemning the practice of image-worship was to relate that Aaron, the great ancestor of the country Levites, had been guilty of the very same practice, and had been condemned for it. Exod. xxxii presents some very complicated problems. One difficulty, which does not concern us here, is that in verses 18, 19 Moses appears to learn for the first time of the people's sin when he descends from the mountain, whereas in verse 8 he has been already forewarned of it by God. But passing over verses 7-14, there are, in the remainder of the chapter, two distinct narratives. In verse 25 'Moses saw that the people were broken loose'. This is the beginning of a narrative (verses 25-29) which explains the consecration of the Levites to Divine service. They inflicted punishment on the people for an offence which seems to have been of the form of a civil rebellion. The narrative of the golden calf², on the other hand (verses 1-6, 15-24, 30-35), contains no account of punishment, but only of Moses' anger and intercession. It is this narrative which may well have arisen in the course of the strife between the Zadokite priests and the country clergy. The true and loyal Levites were, by the combination of the narratives, represented as inflicting punishment for the image-worship which had been instigated by Aaron; and, on the same grounds, the true and loyal Zadokites in Jerusalem strenuously resisted the Aaronite clergy. This was not 'inventing sins for their saints'; it was inventing a sin for the saint of their ecclesiastical opponents.

A. H. McNEILE.

¹ See art. 'Kalb (goldenest)' in *PRE*.

² The occurrence both in the Aaron and the Jeroboam narrative of the words 'These be thy gods, O Israel, which brought thee up out of the land of Egypt' shews that one has affected the other; but it is impossible to decide to which the words first belonged—unless the plural 'gods' is to be pressed, in which case it must refer to the two bulls erected by Jeroboam. Even the Aaron narrative has signs of complexity. 'He received *it* and fashioned *it*' (v. 4) does not follow naturally the plural 'golden rings', though the singular is in place in v. 24. Moreover 'And *they* said' (v. 4 b), 'And Aaron saw [it], and built an altar before it' (v. 5) are not quite clear. And v. 35 appears to be composite.

APHRAATES AND MONASTICISM: A REPLY.

I HAVE read with great interest the criticism made by my friend Dom Connolly on my interpretations of Aphraates¹. Among other things I have learned the exceedingly elusive nature of some of Aphraates' statements and the difficulty of extracting his exact meaning from them. As, however, I still adhere to my main contention, viz. that full communion in the early Syriac-speaking Church was reserved for those who were under a promise of strict continence, and that these persons were known as the *B'nai Q'yâmâ*, I feel I owe it to the readers of the JOURNAL OF THEOLOGICAL STUDIES to attempt to make my position clear.

Let me begin by stating some points about Aphraates in which Dom Connolly and I agree. We agree that Aphraates holds the ordinary Catholic theory that the full Christian life is only lived by the communicant, i.e. one admitted to the sacramental meal of the Eucharist, and further that admission to the Eucharist is confined to the baptized. Again, we agree that Aphraates considers the married state perfectly respectable and even honourable (*Aphr.* xviii 8), though greatly inferior to virginity. I do not know what civil formalities, if any, were needed in the Euphrates' Valley in Aphraates' day to constitute a legal marriage, nor do I know what customs were generally observed at weddings; but I do think that the language of Aphraates in vii 20 excludes the supposition that the Church gave an official blessing. Indeed, it is not maintained that there was any religious ceremony. Finally, I agree with Dom Connolly that *ʿyāḇāthā* means Penance.

And here I must make a concession to my opponent. I did not express myself with complete accuracy in *Early Eastern Christianity*, for I entirely left out the consideration of post-

¹ See *J. T. S.* July 1905, pp. 522-539.

baptismal sin,—sin, I mean, of so serious a nature as to require formal penance before reconciliation. Such sins, alas! do occur, but Aphraates hopes they will not be frequent, or the baptized penitents numerous: 'Do not thou come to need penance . . . This hand is reached out to sinners, but the righteous require it not . . . Have no need to ask for physic' (vii 17). At the same time, our Lord alone has been victorious over sin; all men have sinned, and so all need *ʿyāḇāthā* (vii 1). Thus Aphraates contemplates a state of things in which the unbaptized penitents are necessarily many, the baptized penitents few and occasional. In the rapid sketch of early Syriac Church organization which I gave in my lectures, I assumed as normal the state which Aphraates regarded as an attainable ideal. I omitted the baptized penitents. This left the penitents co-extensive with the Catechumens.

The real difference which remains between Dom Connolly's view and mine is this: I believe that in the branch of the Church to which Aphraates belonged, if a baptized person lapsed into the state of matrimony, Communion was refused until such time as he or she was willing to live singly for the future. Dom Connolly, on the other hand, believes that the married person was allowed to be a communicating member of the Church.

This is the essential point on which all depends. If I am right, the *B'nai Q'yāmā* are simply the communicants; if Dom Connolly is right, they are a special order of ascetics.

Dom Connolly says (p. 524): 'What then could this act be by which penitents (in the sense of Catechumens) were to obtain forgiveness of their sins? It could only be one thing—baptism.' That is true in a sense, but in another it is not quite accurate, if we confine 'baptism' to its strictly technical meaning of the mere ceremony with its concomitant supernatural graces. You do not directly exhort a penitent catechumen to baptism; you exhort a penitent catechumen to 'repentance' (or 'penance'), in order that he may prepare himself to receive baptism. The state of *ʿyāḇāthā* (repentance or penance), which the unbaptized person is exhorted to enter, is the necessary act on the part of the penitent; baptism is the act of the clergy and the Holy Spirit. We have seen that Aphraates looks upon serious lapses among the *B'nai Q'yāmā* as exceptional; I do not therefore

think it strange that he should regard his exhortations to 'Penitents' as issuing naturally in their baptism.

Aphraates illustrates his teaching about Baptism by the story of Gideon; indeed, he may almost be said to base his teaching on that story. Here is another point of difference between Dom Connolly and myself. I cannot help being persuaded that, after all, the story of Gideon, if pressed into details as Aphraates presses it, is fundamentally irrelevant. Gideon really has nothing to do with Christian Baptism. It does not help us even if we take the story of Gideon for actual history and hold the highest doctrine about baptismal grace. The fact remains, that by a miracle the unfit became immediately manifest after Gideon's water test, while in Christian Baptism the unfit do not become immediately manifest. It is agreed that Aphraates warned off as candidates for baptism 'those whose heart was set to the state of matrimony' (vii 20); even so did Gideon, when he would take none but eager volunteers and sent back the rest. But the parallel fails at the second stage, at least, if we suppose with Dom Connolly that it refers to the institution of a third class of Christians, distinct from the adherents who (for whatever reason) are not actually in communion, and the Solitaries who continue in full communion. Of course a man who has been baptized and then has lapsed cannot be baptized again. But for practical purposes the excommunicate and the Catechumens may be put together; they only differ by the details of the rite which is needed before they can become temples of the Spirit.

What happened to 'those whose hearts were set on matrimony' when they were warned off from baptism? They 'turned back' (vii 20). What happened to those who are 'slack and feeble' 'after baptism' (vii 21), those that correspond to Gideon's volunteer who 'lieth on his belly to drink the water' (vii 19)? These also were 'sent back'. Surely the state and privileges of those who 'went back' at first, and those who after trial are 'sent back' are the same. The second class have been tried by the water of baptism and found wanting; they ought to have turned back at first. Neither the one class nor the other is a scandal to the community; they are not blamed, but Church privileges are not for them, they are not to live the Church's

life, they have retired from the 'contest'. In one word, they are out of communion.

And when we ask what is the concrete meaning of 'lapse', 'slackness', 'feebleness', and the other vague terms which Aphraates (like most preachers) generally makes use of, we are reduced to the only definite explanation which Aphraates offers, viz. what is spoken of in vii 20, a heart set to the state of matrimony and the love of possessions¹.

The same conclusion appears to me to emerge from the xviiith tract of Aphraates 'Against the Jews and on Virginité'. This was written, as Aphraates tells us, because he heard of a Jew 'who reviled one of our brethren, the sons of our Church², and said to him, "Ye are unclean who take no wives; we are more holy who beget and multiply seed in the world"' (xviii 12). Nothing in the tract tends to shew that the Jew aimed his attack upon a particular class of Christians and not upon the whole body. Nor does Aphraates hint in his reply at the existence of persons who are full members of the Body of Christ although they be married. Aphraates' hero is Moses. He challenges his Jewish opponent to shew that Moses, from the time that God spoke with him, ever 'attended to the business of matrimony' (xviii 4). 'Moses', says Aphraates, 'a prophet, the illumined eye of the whole people, who was standing continually before God, and mouth to mouth was speaking with Him, how could *he* be concerned with matrimony? If God spoke with Israel after being hallowed only for three days, how much better and more pleasing are those who all their days are hallowed and watch and are prepared to stand before God? Will not God more especially love them, and His Spirit dwell in them, as He says, "I will dwell in them and walk in

¹ According to the view advocated here and in *Early Eastern Christianity*, communion would be refused by Aphraates to those engaged in worldly affairs as much as to married folk. And by those engaged in worldly affairs I mean government officials, soldiers, those administering landed estate, and all those who practised a trade or profession for more than mere daily bread.

² 'Our brethren' might be used exclusively of monks, but 'Sons of our Church' can hardly be a technical term for ascetics as distinct from ordinary Christians; and it is evident here that the 'Sons of our Church' are celibate. As Dom Connolly points out, Aphraates seems to distinguish (at the end of Tract X) between the *B'nai Qyāmā* and the 'Sons of our Faith'—in other words, between those who merely believe and those who have 'taken vows', baptismal or other.

them" (xviii 5). And, in the same tract, a little further on, Aphraates explains that the Father and Mother whom a man forsakes when he marries a wife are God the Father and the Holy Spirit (xviii 10). Would he have ventured to say such a thing, if his Church admitted married folk to full communion?

A further illustration of the attitude of the Syriac-speaking Church of the fourth century may be found in St Ephraim's treatment of Marcion. As compared with Tertullian, he keeps a significant silence on two points. The first point is that he does not accuse Marcion of mutilating St Luke; he only says vaguely that because Marcion *added* what was false to the Gospel the Church cast him off and threw him away¹. The second point is that he is absolutely silent about Marcion's rejection of marriage. The first omission is easily explained from the known custom of the Syriac Church of Ephraim's day; Ephraim was accustomed to the *Diatessaron*, not to the Four Gospels, so that Marcion's Gospel merely struck him as something strange, not as a mutilated version of a familiar work. Similarly we may explain Ephraim's silence about the Marcionite rejection of marriage. Ephraim cannot have been ignorant of this; but, unless I am mistaken, it seemed to him neither strange nor reprehensible. An examination of the genuine works of Ephraim will, I venture to think, shew that he occupies much the same position as Aphraates. He considers faithful wedlock a respectable, though scarcely a holy, state, but virginity is exalted above it and Baptism makes virgins. He even knows of some wicked and unrepentant women who have already been baptized, women who now that they are married resort to heathen charms and washings. But he is exhorting them to repentance, and there is nothing to shew that they are at present, or that they would be in any case, admitted to full communion.

Before bringing these remarks to an end, let me once more make it clear that I do not accuse Aphraates and his fellow churchmen of advocating subversive social practices. It is not a question of social practice at all, but of Sacramental theory. Aphraates did not think marriage wicked; but I believe he regarded it as a disqualification for receiving the Sacraments, just as to-day marriage is a disqualification for receiving Holy

¹ *Ed. Rom.* v 485 B.

Orders among Roman Catholics. It is true that Aphraates says that if a *Bar Qydmā* pledged to continence wishes for one of the *Bndth Qydmā* to keep him company it were better for him to take a wife openly (vi 4). But he does not say that such a one would expect to remain unexcommunicate. For my own part I cannot but think that the best such a one could hope for would be the fate sketched by Epiphanius, in words which Aphraates would have thoroughly approved (*Panarium*, Haer. lxi p. 512): 'He hath sin and punishment who casteth away God's virginity and despiseth the contest. For the athlete who violates the rule of the contest is scourged and cast out of the contest ; even so he that violates virginity is cast out of that Race and Crown and Prize. But better is it to have punishment (*κρῖμα*) and not damnation (*κατάκριμα*). For those who commit adultery, doing it secretly in order not to be brought to shame before men, under a pretence of the solitary life or chastity, make their profession not to men but to God who knoweth secret things and doth convict all flesh at His Coming, what each hath sinned. It is better therefore to have one sin and not many. It is better to fall out of the race and openly to take a wife in a legal way, and after virginity has been long lost to be brought back again as a penitent into the Church, as one who has done evil, as one who has fallen and been broken and has need of healing, and not be wounded every day by secret darts of evil launched by the devil.'

F. C. BURKITT.

APOLLOS.

THE section of Acts (xviii 24-28) which deals with Apollos seems to represent the information of one who resided at Ephesus, or at least remained there while St Paul journeyed eastwards to Palestine, if not to Jerusalem. Ephesus is represented as the goal of St Paul and his company, and as the goal of Apollos no less. That St Paul should have so regarded this important station on the high-road from Rome to Syria is probable, in view of his desire to evangelize Asia at an earlier stage in his career (Acts xvi 6); but to Apollos it was only a halting-place on the road to Corinth, so that it was his goal only from the point of view of the historian or the historian's informant. The centre of St Paul's work is henceforth not Antioch or Jerusalem but Ephesus, and the editor of the Acts justifies this change by emphasizing, unobtrusively enough, the parallel between the work of St Paul in Ephesus and the life of Christ as recorded in the Gospels. To the preaching of a baptism of repentance succeeds the coming of the greater teacher. The disciples of the forerunner are taken over by his successor, who baptizes with the Holy Spirit and preaches first in the synagogue and then, after the hardening of heart of the Jews, to those without, concerning the kingdom of God. Miracles of healing are performed in attestation of the preaching, but the witnesses of both are unconvinced, and God's messenger sets his face to go to Jerusalem, undaunted by the hostility of the adherents of the established religion. Despite the warnings of his devoted followers, he bids farewell to their leaders, and, after raising the dead to life, goes up to stand his trial before the various authorities who claimed to bear rule in the sacred city of God's people. Such coincidences as these afford a solid justification for St Paul's formula of passionate devotion to his Master—*not I, but Christ in me*. The three months of persuasive argument within the synagogue, and the two years of evangelization without, which precede the last

journey to Jerusalem, explain the stress laid upon this portion of St Paul's career as that in which he so closely follows the footsteps of Jesus of Nazareth.

It may well be that St Luke stayed at Ephesus, along with Priscilla and Aquila, to arrange the materials he had collected, with St Paul's assistance, for writing his Gospel. At any rate, in his intercourse with Apollos may be found a reasonable explanation of his superior knowledge of John Baptist's work.

But the very beginning of this portion of Acts is in danger of being discredited. According to a recent pronouncement, the description of Apollos is inconsistent with itself:—'The fact that he was a Christian and taught the doctrine of Jesus exactly contradicts the statements that he knew only the baptism of John, and that he had to be instructed more perfectly in Christianity by Priscilla and Aquila.'¹ The conclusion reached is that verses 25 c, 26 b, c are later accretions.

It is the purpose of this paper² to appeal against this verdict as contrary to the weight of evidence and not demonstrably free from distortion of the facts on which it professes to rest.

The evidence of our only witness is as follows:—'Now a Jew, Apollos by name, an Alexandrine by race, a man of learning, arrived at Ephesus, being powerful in the scriptures. This man had been instructed in the way of the Lord; and being fervent in spirit, was wont to speak and teach accurately the things about Jesus, knowing only the baptism of John. This man also began to be outspoken in the synagogue: but when Priscilla and Aquila heard him, they took him to them, and expounded to him the way of God more accurately.' As far as the text of this evidence is concerned, the Western variations, which have been arbitrarily raised to the power of a different edition of Acts, add and alter little of moment to our present purpose³. But many of the terms used are of doubtful interpretation. The sense given to ἀνὴρ λόγιος, *a man of learning*, is recognized by Hesychius and Suidas, and the word is so used by Plutarch. Phrynichus

¹ Schmiedel, *Enc. Bibl.* s. v. Apollos.

² Read before the Cambridge Theological Society.

³ Blass (*Acta Apostolorum* . . . secundum formam quae videtur Romanam) gives *Apollonius* for *Apollos*, and adds in his fatherland to instructed, in the name of *Jehovah* (*Lord*) to outspoken. Chrysostom eliminates *Aquila* altogether, and perhaps preserves the original *lectio ardua*.

distinguishes between the ancient usage, which restricted the word to *historians*, and the popular usage of his own day in which it was applied to a *clever speaker*. The choice lies here between *eloquent* (Vulgate *eloquens*) and *learned* (*d' disertus*) and possibly the former is to be preferred in view of St Paul's description of his involuntary rival in 1 Cor.¹ The phrase *powerful in the Scriptures* is, like the idiom *powerful in*, peculiar to St Luke ('powerful in words and deeds,' Luke xxiv 19 and Acts vii 22), and suggests that the Scriptures have become—thanks to persistent study—part and parcel of the man's equipment. Chrysostom found a difficulty in the phrase *fervent in spirit*—'if he knew only the baptism of John, how is he fervent in the Spirit?'—and compares the interview between St Paul and 'certain disciples' (Acts xx 1 ff). But this difficulty vanishes when once *the spirit* is taken in its ordinary non-technical sense. It is not improbable that a similar misconception vitiates the verdict which condemns these verses as a patchwork.

To a Christian Jesus was Lord and the Lord was Jesus. With this key the early Church unlocked the treasures of the Old Testament and appropriated their contents. Convinced of His divinity by the descent of the Spirit they saw a new significance in the familiar facts which had led them step by step towards this final conception of the Galilean prophet. Thus the shameful death which was for the unbelievers the visible proof of God's vengeance on a blaspheming impostor became for believers the manifestation of God's kingdom and the glorification of His Vice-regent. Justin Martyr read in his handbook of proof-texts 'The Lord reigned from the tree', and did not hesitate to accuse the Jews of having mutilated the passage in their Bibles².

But to deduce from the statement *he was instructed in the way of the Lord . . . and taught accurately the things concerning Jesus* 'the fact that he was a Christian and taught the doctrine of

¹ Cf. Josephus, *Ant.* xvii 6. 2 'Ιουδαίων λογώτατοι καὶ παρ' οὐσιν αὖ τῶν πατρίων ἐξηγηταὶ νόμων.

² Ps. xcvi (xcvi) 10: see Justin, Dialogue 73. To refute his opponent he cites the whole Psalm, and the disputed words are omitted by the manuscripts in the place where they should occur. The Jewish definition of the kingdom as the tree or trees (ver. 12) was baptized into Christ. Jotham's parable described the usurpers who ruled for a time over God's heritage. The resultant περιγραφή was ambiguous: γὰρ ἔν might mean 'upon the tree' as well as 'over the tree'.

Jesus exactly' is as unworthy of a historical critic as the further assertion that this 'fact' is inconsistent with his need for further instruction.

To suppose that *the way of the Lord* must mean Christianity implies an anachronism worthy of the primitive Christian exegesis of the Old Testament. Such a confusion of the *Praeparatio Evangelica* with the *Praedicatio* testifies to a complete lack of perspective, which would—if desired—admit 'celebration of the Holy Eucharist as the uniform rendering of εὐχαριστία and its cognates in the New Testament.

The 'doctrine of Jesus,' again, is simply a mistranslation of τὰ περὶ Ἰησοῦ. The phrase is ambiguous: two interpretations might be supported by the usage of St Luke's Gospel. On the way to Emmaus, Cleopas and his companion narrated to the stranger *the things concerning Jesus of Nazareth*, His words and works, His betrayal and crucifixion. Later Jesus, 'beginning from Moses and from all the prophets, expounded to them in all the Scriptures *the things concerning Himself*¹'. Apollos's teaching, then, dealt either with the facts of the life and death of Jesus or with the prophecies which concerned the Christ. In the former case his conclusion could only have been that of the Corinthian blasphemers *Jesus is accursed*, or, if he stopped short of that, he must have shared the despair of Cleopas and John Baptist. But so he would have had no motive for teaching *the things concerning Jesus*. The adoption of the latter interpretation makes all clear and consistent. His knowledge of the baptism of John belongs to one or other of the two stages of the prophet's independent work which are clearly distinguished by St Luke from his recognition of Jesus as the Messiah on which Christian tradition generally laid almost exclusive stress.

Lastly, the astounding assertion, that this 'fact' that [Apollos] was a Christian exactly contradicts the statement . . . that he had to be instructed more perfectly in Christianity by Priscilla and Aquila, now falls to be considered. Even if Apollos were a Christian, he might need further instruction just as much as Theophilus (Luke i 3 f) or indeed all the churches founded by St Paul. Christianity did not descend from heaven full-grown,

¹ Luke xxiv 19 f, 27.

perfect and complete as Athene from the head of Zeus, and take up her abode armed at all points in the community or in the individual. The Gospels and Acts record the painful steps by which the leaders of the Church struggled into full comprehension of their faith and all its implications. The Parable of the Sower is the Lord's own description of the result of His work among different types of men. Even after Pentecost there were Pharisees who believed and yet had more real affinity with their unbelieving brethren than with St Paul. History which records God's verdicts shews how one and another of these tentative Christianities withered away. Apollos had been true to the light that was in him, and 'the reward of a precept is a precept'.

This 'exact contradiction' may go along with the 'fact' and the mistranslation.

Here is a Jew of Alexandria baptized with John's baptism. As Alexandrian he is learned in the Scriptures, as disciple of John Baptist he is eager to effect a reformation in Israel. The prophecies which the risen Jesus needed to put before His disciples he has found for himself: ignorant of their fulfilment, he is in the habit of expounding all the Scriptures which relate to the Messiah. He takes up his master's call for repentance, and delineates *the mightier one*, who is to come, by the aid of the Scriptures which Jesus of Nazareth fulfilled.

Instructed in the way of the Lord is the fit description of the disciple and successor of him to whom is appropriated the prophecy 'the voice of one that crieth, Prepare ye in the wilderness *the way of the Lord*' (Isa. xl 3: see Mark i 3; Matt. iii 3; Luke iii 4; John i 23).

The description of his preaching then expresses the historian's point of view, just as the word *only* is added by the historian, so that the motive for Apollos's preaching becomes an apology for its imperfections. He preached *because* he knew—had experienced—John's baptism.

The speaking and teaching mentioned in *v. 25* is part of the description of the general practice of Apollos, and does not refer to his work in Ephesus in particular at a stage preceding the exhortation delivered in the synagogue. The whole verse is a parenthesis: the narrative proper is resumed by the aorist

ἡρώδου (26) corresponding to κατήντησεν (24)¹. It is only natural that, as Alexandrian Jew no less than as disciple of John Baptist, Apollos should use every opportunity of urging people everywhere to repent, according to the custom of all earnest philosophers, Greek or Jewish. There is no evidence for the separate existence of the Christian Church of Ephesus at this time: St Paul returns to take up work *within the synagogue* (Acts xix 8), and definitely separates his converts three months later (ib. 9).

It seems practically certain that the seed of Christianity had already been sown among the Jews of Ephesus, perhaps by some pilgrim returning from Pentecost². Their sympathetic attitude enabled St Paul to speak to them and to promise to return (Acts xviii 19 ff). Meanwhile his companions remained in communion with them (ib.: cf. 26). So when Apollos began to *speak boldly* in the synagogue, he addressed some who had found the Messiah whom he depicted. The way was thus prepared for St Paul at Ephesus: there was no need for him, on his return, to urge them to repent, or to prove from the Scriptures that the Messiah must suffer (Acts xvii 30: ib. 3, xxvi 22 f). The herald had done his work, and therein had been led to find in Jesus of Nazareth the Saviour of whom Moses and the prophets had spoken—like sundry other disciples of John Baptist (John i 35 ff; Acts xix 1 ff).

Priscilla and Aquila heard the sermon, took him to them and set forth to him more accurately the way of God. The facts which they knew matched his prophecies, and so he reached the position of faith in Jesus Christ by another road than that of the Twelve, who found it so hard to comprehend the facts they had witnessed. The change of phrase *way of God* for *way of the Lord* is significant of his change of attitude towards the Scriptures: henceforth for him, as for all Christians, *the Lord* is Jesus the Son of *God*.

¹ The insertion of ἐν τῇ πατρίδι in 25 by the Roman text corrects the impression derived from neglect of distinction between Imperfects and Aorists.

² This seems to be the best explanation of Acts xvi 6 καλυθέντες ὑπὸ τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος λαλῆσαι τὸν λόγον ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ; cf. Rom. xv 20; 2 Cor. x 15 f. The Epistle of St James was perhaps intended to pave the way for the work of such unknown heroes of Christianity by removing the suspicion current (e.g.) at Rome (Acts xxviii 22).

The *disciples* whom St Paul found in Ephesus on his return (Acts xix 1 ff) are probably hearers of Apollos who had been attracted by his speaking and teaching in the streets of Ephesus or elsewhere. Baptism, as practised by John Baptist, would be the natural sequel of professed repentance. The fact that they are not discovered by Priscilla or Aquila or the brethren at Ephesus (v 27) suggests that they were not present in the synagogue (v 26). Perhaps they had retired into seclusion to meditate upon the hope of *him that cometh* (Acts xix 4), and to consolidate their resolution to lead a new life.

Disciples must not be taken in the technical sense of Christians: despite St Luke's habitual use of the word, it is an anachronism to suppose that all such phrases are already stereotyped. The mention of their number, *about twelve*, calls attention again to the parallel between St Paul and Jesus, Apollos and John Baptist, which is significant in view of the exaggerated notion of Apollos's importance current later in Corinth.

In spite of the momentous change which had come over his life, Apollos continued his journey as originally planned. The 'Roman Edition' bewrays its secondary character by supplying as motive a direct appeal from certain Corinthians resident in Ephesus, modelled on St Paul's vision at Troas (Acts xvi 9 f). There is no evidence that Apollos preached as a Christian in Ephesus. But when he arrived at Corinth, armed with letters of introduction from the Christians he left behind, he was of great assistance to the believers in their controversy with the Jews. *He proved by means of the Scriptures that the Messiah was Jesus*—the significant order of words is changed in the Western text to the ordinary one . . . *that Jesus was Christ*.

At this point the evidence of Acts must be supplemented by that of St Paul's First Epistle to the Corinthians, which throws much light on the work of Apollos in Corinth and its deplorable results.

In this Epistle St Paul has to deal with a somewhat disingenuous letter addressed to him by the Corinthian Church, and also with doubts and dangers reported to him at Ephesus by certain known and unknown travellers. Only in the latter sources of his information was Apollos mentioned by name: the letter was characterized by a discreet reticence which St Paul imitated.

The eloquence of Apollos and his learned exposition of the Scriptures (Acts xviii 28) exercised an influence not merely upon the Jews, as yet outside the Church, but also on the Church itself, which seems to have been recruited mainly from the heathen population. Sosthenes, the ruler of the synagogue (Acts xviii 17), was probably his most prominent convert, and therefore associated with St Paul in his letters to the Corinthians, as practical proof of the unanimity of the evangelists whom their ill-advised partisans strove to pit one against another. But the heathen Christians also seem to have found in his Alexandrian wisdom an attractive bulwark of their new faith, if only because it supplied them with the guarantee of immemorial antiquity which soon became indispensable to its extension. The direct result was a state of faction within the Church, whose members ranged themselves under separate standards, *each puffed up on behalf of his favourite teacher against his fellow* (1 Cor. iv 6). And St Paul concludes his remonstrance against this state of things with the words, *I have transferred these things by a fiction to myself and Apollos for your sake, so that from our case ye might learn the truth of the saying, 'Not beyond what is written.'* There is no need to suppose that St Paul has substituted the name of Apollos and his own for those of the leaders of the Corinthian factions. It was inevitable that the father and the foster-father of the infant Church should be pressed into the service of the sectaries. The fiction connoted by the word *μετεσχημάτισα* consists in his disregard of Cephas and Christ, whose self-styled partisans were not as yet a factor seriously to be reckoned with, and in his assumption for the sake of softening his rebuke that they, the leaders, were imbued with the spirit of their followers. It was not Apollos who set himself to improve upon the teaching of St Paul, but the misdirected and ignorant zeal of these infantile Christians who represented his work in this light. Ignorant confidence in the letter of the Scripture was dangerous enough, but ignorant allegorization of the same was deadly. The ignorance of the elementary moral teaching of Christianity rendered it imperatively necessary that the Corinthians should cease forthwith to pry beneath and above the plain meaning of the sacred books they had adopted—to say nothing of pleasing legends which, along with the principles of

mystical interpretation, they had filched from the anti-Jewish lectures of the first Christian philosopher of Alexandria.

In vindication of his preaching, St Paul contrasts himself with his successor and involuntary rival. The teaching of Apollos was distinguished by an excess of word and wisdom (1 Cor. ii 1), by artificial rhetoric (ib. 4): it was all human wisdom (ib. 5), a wisdom of this world, more particularly of the Jews who slew Jesus, and of the powers of wickedness which acted through them (ib. 6, 8). Apollos had presented the truth in the taught words of human wisdom (ib. 13)—the new wine in the old wine-skins of Alexandria. And if he is not to be entirely exonerated from the blame which naturally attaches itself to his adherents, the technical plea that he had not as yet been baptized with the Spirit may be put forward in his defence. It is easy to see how the principles of Alexandrian exegesis, as developed in the heat of controversy, might be used by non-Jewish and therefore illegitimate hearers to justify their natural inclination to evade the outspoken and impertinent prohibitions of the Decalogue. It is easy to say that the faults which St Paul condemns are characteristically Greek, but this predominantly plebeian Church needed a great personality to lead the reaction. If Apollos was not known to have taught at Corinth it would have been necessary to invent him. And whether Apollos is mentioned by name or not, the whole of the Epistle proves that this Church was saturated with ill-digested and misunderstood Alexandrinism which some of its members had wrested to their own destruction.

In 1 Cor. v, St Paul deals with a scandal which is matter of common talk. No barbarian tribe (or Gentiles) would tolerate the regular or irregular union of son with father's wife: yet these *Christian citizens* are *puffed up* thereat. The word *φυσιοῦσθαι* occurs with significant frequency in this epistle¹, and only once in the New Testament (Col. ii 18) outside it. It describes the state of mind induced by their boasted *gnosis*, and is exemplified also in their factiousness. On the other hand *love*, which St Paul would have them cultivate, *is not puffed up*. The natural inference from this insistent repetition is, that St Paul has adopted a term used by the Corinthians in their letter, or rather, since the

¹ iv 6, 18, 19; v 2; viii 1; xiii 4.

word must carry a bad connotation, has parodied one of their cant phrases. Apparently they justified the free indulgence of their various passions by an appeal to nature (*φύσις*); and so on the most trivial point which they submit for his decision they are 'hoist with their own petard'—'Does not even nature herself teach you that long hair is a disgrace to man and a glory to woman?' (xi 14). They professed the life according to nature, and therefore countenanced unnatural vice, as St Paul himself expressly points out in Rom. i—the epistle which is largely made up of the fruits of his experience of the Greek world in Corinth. It is a plausible theory that they were emboldened to set up and to abuse the Stoic ideal by overhearing the anti-Jewish exposition of Scripture set forth by Apollos. At any rate Philo, who to our scant knowledge stands for the Judaism of Alexandria, stated once for all that the Law of Moses was identical with the law of nature, that the man who with discernment followed the precepts of the Old Testament was living the life conformed to nature which befitted a citizen of the universe¹. The inevitable results of the misappropriation of such teaching were *φυσιώσεις* in both senses of the word, and in their train *ἀκαθαρσία*, *πορνεία* and even *ἀσέλγεια* (2 Cor. xii 20).

Later in this section of the Epistle St Paul refers to a misinterpretation of his earlier letter, which if put into practice would have involved the formation of monastic communities in a desert (1 Cor. v 10). This logical conclusion of their view of his command—that they should not keep company with fornicators—can hardly have escaped the notice of these wiseacres. The Alexandrian Jew-Christian may well have suggested the advisability of such retirement, if only for a time, lest old ties and associations should prove stronger than the requirements of their new faith. The communities of Therapeutae described by Philo in the *de Vita Contemplativa* presented a model for their imitation, if only in the matter with which St Paul proceeds to deal (1 Cor. vi 1-8), the settlement of all disputes outside the law courts.

In vi. 12, St Paul cites specious maxims which the Corinthians have converted to their own uses, and supplies the necessary qualifications. 'All things are lawful for me'—but not all things are expedient—'all things are lawful for me'—but I will not be

¹ *De Opificio Mundi*, init.

dominated by any thing—meats for the belly and the belly for meats—but God will bring both alike to nought.

The play on words (ἐξεστίν . . . ἐξουσιασθήσομαι) can hardly be represented in English. The point is that indulgence of any natural appetite leads to the formation of a tyrannical habit whereby a man's liberty of action is inevitably curtailed in the end. The gratification can only be temporary, but the body apart from its functions remains an integral part of the man even in the resurrection from the dead (ib. 13 f: cf. Mark xii 25). Here, as in the doubt about the resurrection itself, their fundamental error is exposed; and its source may well have been the Platonist philosophy of Alexandria, which inculcated contempt for the body and for material existence generally. Philo bases his doctrine of the resurrection upon Gen. ii 17 (*Legg. All. i. §§ 105-108*). He notes that although Adam and Eve ate of the forbidden fruit, they did not die but lived and perpetuated their life in their children. From this he infers that death is of two kinds—death of man and death of soul. The death which is the common lot of man is the separation of soul from body, whereas the soul's death is corruption of virtue and assumption of vice. The latter is the antithesis of the former, as it implies the fusion of soul and body and the domination of the body which is the inferior element in the combination. Here, then, is death indeed, when the soul dies to the life of virtue and lives only the life of vice. So Heraclitus agrees with Moses when he says, 'We live their death and have died to their life', meaning that when we live the soul is dead and buried in the body (σώματι) as in a tomb (σήμερι), but if we die the soul lives its own life and is freed from its evil and dead partner the body.

St Paul's second qualification of the Corinthian watchword 'all things are lawful for me', calls attention to the safeguard of the Alexandrian doctrine which they had neglected—'I will not be dominated by any bodily appetite.' But once they had neglected this point, the remainder affords an adequate explanation both of their abuse of the body and their denial of its resurrection as ridiculous—*how do the dead rise, and with what kind of a body—body quotha—do they come*¹?

¹ Liddell and Scott, s.v. ποῖος I 4 'In dialogue ποῖος is sometimes used with a word used by the former speaker, to express scornful surprise.'

It would seem, then, that most of the trouble in the Corinthian Church was due to the perversion of the teaching of Apollos, who was the disciple of John Baptist, and an Alexandrian Jew, and therefore philosopher, after the manner of Philo, and on both grounds imbued with the spirit of the Therapeutae. Space forbids the completion of a detailed enquiry into the evidence of St Paul's epistle.

In conclusion, some attempt may be made to reconstruct in outline the work of Apollos in Corinth. He found there a number of Christians converted by St Paul, by whose companions he was accredited. A student of Scripture, he naturally inclined to dwell upon and to elaborate the parallel between the old and the new Israel. As the deliverance of the old Israel was effected, under God, by two leaders, so was it now in Corinth. In his anxiety to render due honour to St Paul, Apollos naturally represented himself as another Aaron, the mere mouthpiece of the second Moses. Pharaoh, who knew not the Lord and hardened his heart, was present in the persons of the unbelievers—Jews and Greeks—who persecuted the faithful. With them were the wise men (Exod. vii 11) and the scribes (ib. v 6), standing by to deride the folly of the tongue-tied preacher, who could only repeat, again and again, his naked message, the proclamation of a crucified Messiah. And, as of old, God's despicable envoys triumphed over the magicians and the taskmasters. So far St Paul himself could not but endorse such a view of the situation (see 1 Cor. i 20 ff). But he found his faithful followers ready to murmur and cabal against him under this fresh influence. The new Israel construed the persuasive eloquence of Apollos, which whittled away the yoke of the Law, into warrant for the gratification of their longing for the fleshpots of heathenism. This Aaron was enlightened to a degree which left him free—as St Paul was not—to join the social festivals held under the merely nominal patronage of an imaginary idol, and to countenance the merely technical attendance of the new-made Christians at the familiar worship of their ancestral Rimmon. Such catholicity was noticed later by Hadrian as characteristic of the Alexandrian Christians who divided their devotion between Christ and Serapis. Confronted with such worship of the Golden Calf, the later Moses, 'on evil days now fall'n and evil tongues', was bound to enforce

the authority belonging to the rôle assigned him—in all honour by his successor, if in derision by his children. God's words were in his mouth, and if need be the staff which God had used for works of power was still in his hand¹. However much the disciples of the Baptist's disciple might prize the rite of baptism, St Paul thanked God that he had done nothing to encourage their superstition or their partisanship. He realized the dangers latent in this fascinating pursuit of allegory, and condemned the immature presumption of these pioneers of syncretistic Christianity in words which recall the stern sentence, 'Ye cannot serve God and Mammon.' He insisted on the literal observance of the spirit of the decree of the Council of Jerusalem as against the spiritual interpretation of the letter, in which the disciples of Apollos, or Apollos himself, had anticipated the Epistle of Barnabas. Pagan rites and practices must be avoided by Christians, at least for the sake of the weaker brethren who had not attained to the heights of gnosis: it was not a Christian's part to read for the forbidden foods, men like swine, like hyenas, like birds of prey, whose company must be shunned, and to debate with a specious show of docility how they might obey the decrees which they had wilfully exaggerated into an unnecessary counsel of perfection².

Apollos might say with Philo³ in reference to St Paul, ταῦτα μὲν δὴ θεμελίων τρόπον προκαταβεβλήσθω, τὰ δὲ ἄλλα τοῖς σοφῆς ἀρχιτέκτονος ἀλληγορίας ἐπόμενοι παραγγέλμασιν ἐποικοδομῶμεν: *Paul planted, I will water*. St Paul retorted, ὡς σοφὸς ἀρχιτέκτων θεμέλιον ἔθηκε, ἄλλος δὲ ἐποικοδομεῖ (1 Cor. iii 10-15). He could recognize no other παραγγέλματα than those of the Lord Jesus, whose spirit and mind he possessed; and later, when the glittering superstructure was revealed in its true colours, he had so much assurance of the sincerity of its builder that he was not afraid to beseech him to return to Corinth⁴: Εἴ τινος τὸ ἔργον μενεῖ ὃ ἐποικοδομήσεν, μισθὸν λήμψεται· εἴ τινος τὸ ἔργον κατακαήσεται, ζημιωθήσεται, αὐτὸς δὲ σωθήσεται, οὕτως δὲ ὡς διὰ πυρός. As it is written, 'And I will bring the third through the fire and purify it as silver is purified.'

J. H. A. HART.

¹ 1 Cor. iv 21.

² Cf. Philo *de Migr. Abr.* § 16 εἰσὶ γὰρ τινες οἱ τοὺς ρητοὺς νόμους σύμβολα νοητῶν πραγμάτων ὑπολαμβάνοντες τὰ μὲν ἄγαν ἠκρίβασαν τῶν δὲ βραθύμως ὠλιγώρησαν.

³ *De Somn.* ii 2.

⁴ 1 Cor. xvi 12.

THE CONDITION OF THE GERMAN PROVINCES AS ILLUSTRATING THE METHODS OF ST BONIFACE.

THE character of Saint Boniface's activity in the German provinces was determined by their political and religious condition. The Chatti, who from the third or fourth century before the Christian era dwelt in Hesse, the country to the west of Thuringia, lying about the rivers Fulda and Lahn, had not been moved by the wave of barbarian invasion. But the old free kingdom of the Thuringians, stretching from the Harz mountains to the Danube, from the Weser on the west to the Elbe-Saale rivers on the east, was the creation of later barbarian races. Both countries fell under Frank influence. Under King Hermanfrid Thuringia was subdued by the Frank Theuderich I in 531, only to regain practical independence under its own dukes who were set up by the Frank Dagobert I (628-638). But towards the end of the seventh century a family ruling in the Frank interest replaced the older line¹.

Though the political bond might not always be strong, yet it implied the partial entrance into these eastern provinces of Frank civilization and institutions. German life had changed its character since the war-times. War and hunting were already replaced by agriculture as the primary occupation of man. Of course it is difficult to determine when Tacitus's description ceased to hold good of the Germans². Yet certainly Roman methods of cultivation must have greatly influenced the Franks,

¹ Willibald *Vita Bonifacii* p. 453 gives Theobald and Hedenus as dukes of the new family; they were possibly set up by Pippin. References are made, unless indication is otherwise given, to Jaffé's edition of the Lives and Letters of Saint Boniface in his *Bibliotheca Rerum Germanicarum* iii.

² Tacitus *Germ.* 26: nec enim cum ubertate et amplitudine soli labore contendunt ut pomaria conserant et prata separent et hortos rigent; sola terrae seges imperatur. Roman methods of making butter and cheese probably also influenced the Teutonic settlers.

and probably a decided improvement in the manner of developing the soil had also been effected beyond the Rhine by the eighth century. Already the German villages, with their common meadow, pasture and woodland, and with the homes of their inhabitants surrounded by gardens growing the apple and the pear, were giving evidence of more peaceful times¹. By this period the large owner would be acquiring land at the expense of the small free proprietor. Local dignitaries would be required by the administrative system, as in the Frankish state, to serve as heads of *gaus*, and these would often be attached to the Frank interest. It can scarcely be wrong to see influential leaders of the official class in the brothers Dettic and Deorwulf who were ruling at Amoenburg when Boniface first went to Hesse, and gave him the land for his first monastery². There were indeed many channels for outside influences; trade opened its routes and markets; Frank immigrants made a permanent settlement on the Main; already the travellers, beggars, jugglers, and performers had begun the wayfaring which was so marked a feature of mediaeval life³.

General progress, however, had not reached any high level in the north-eastern provinces by Boniface's time. The vast forests, the lack of roads, the distances between the communities, made his task almost impossible. The people were poor and exposed to the marauding raids of the Saxons. When labouring in farther Hesse in 722 Boniface had to share the poverty and dangers of the people, and by so doing he won their hearts⁴. In Thuringia conditions were but little better. The Saxons were constant foes whose advance on the north, together with that of the Franks on the south, had confined the Thuringians to the country between the Werra and Saale rivers, the Thuringian forest and the Harz Mountains. On entering Thuringia in 725 Boniface found that part of the population

¹ *Monographien zur deutschen Kulturgeschichte* 6, Bartels *Der Bauer*. In the fifth century there was in Auxerre a pear-tree on the branches of which hung heads of wild beasts.

² Willibald, cap. 6 p. 449. Amoenburg, a fortified place, would be at least the centre of a villa and as such would have a *curtis regia*. v. Rübel *Die Franken, ihr Eroberungs- und Siedlungs-System im deutschen Volkslande* p. 32.

³ *Monographien zur deutschen Kulturgeschichte* 10, Hampe *Fahrende Leute*.

⁴ Willibald, cap. 6 p. 449; Liudger *Vita Greg. 2* (*M. G. H. Script.* xv p. 69 f). Saxon wars in 722 are mentioned by *Annal. Laurens.* 722.

had gone over to the Saxons as a result of the tyranny which the new ducal family was forced to exercise in order to assert Frank authority over a people attached to their former line of rulers¹. The Slavs also broke over the eastern border, and probably often remained as settlers to retard progress and Christianity.

Boniface indeed was not the first to teach Christianity in southern Hesse at least and in Thuringia. Probably before the end of the Empire some Christian teaching had spread from Mainz and Trier and the border cities into Hesse. Later, though there was no definite mission from the Frank church into either province, yet the advance of Frank power meant the gradual growth of Christian influence; the Thuringian king Hermanfrid married the niece of the Frank Theuderich, and his brother was the father of Saint Radegunde. Thus Frank Christianity defeated the earlier Arian faith. The native ruling family established by Dagobert I was Christian, as was the Frankish dynasty succeeding it. Indeed the second duke of the latter line, Hedenus, wished to call in the Roman archbishop Willibrord². But the orthodox faith of their rulers, associated as it was with Frank suzerainty, was rejected by the nobles and people; they became attached to the Celtic preachers who were recommended by their political neutrality, as were the early English workers in Friesland.

The restoration of orthodoxy within the Christian body was only one side of Boniface's task in Hesse and Thuringia. He had to remove heathen influences from his church. His measures were determined by the character of the popular heathenism and its relation to Christianity. The heathen faith, arising naturally from the conception of a superhuman life which dreams, nightmare, and the phenomena of death produced, manifested itself in observances relating to the souls of the dead, in belief in elves, giants, and wood- and water-spirits, in the practice of magic and divination, and in the worship of greater gods, possibly the personification of natural forces or the deified ancestors of tribes.

¹ Willibald, cap. 6 p. 453.

² He gave Willibrord grants of land about Armstadt and Schwarzburg; v. Hauck *K. D.* i p. 440, and Rübel *Die Franken* p. 333.

It is probable that this religion reached its highest development among the Frisians, Saxons, and Scandinavians; in the south it was more affected by the movements of the barbarian peoples and by external influences. True, in Hesse and Thuringia Boniface found well-established heathen usages, sacrifices by priests to Wodan, the offering of human lives, the eating of the flesh of horses and other animals which had been sacrificed to the gods¹. Yet the removal of a people from their ancestral homes, groves, and springs must have greatly weakened their inherited beliefs, which were so closely bound up with their local surroundings and associations. Thus Thuringia had been much more affected by Christianity than Hesse, because the inhabitants of Hesse by their long and unbroken residence could maintain their local rites. Farther Hesse was virtually heathen when Boniface first came there in 722, and his felling of the oak sacred to Thor on his second visit was not paralleled by any such extreme step in Thuringia².

The Teutonic religion was not a joyous worship of nature. Its gods were stern, possibly made so by their leadership in war; as exacting deities they had their groves, temples, images, and formal sacrificial worship. They were bound up indeed with the tribal life, with its justice and its fighting, but were removed from the spheres of thought and morality. They did not set any aesthetic or moral standard. The life of deeds, which their worshippers led, allowed little intellectual activity and required, as its main virtues, courage and fidelity. There were no humaner virtues associated with religion, nor had any Teutonic piety or meditation developed. When, with the advance of civilization, society turned to more peaceful occupations³, the want of a more intellectual religion and one appealing to the higher

¹ *Ep.* 28 p. 94. Christians sold their slaves to be sacrificed; *Epp.* 28 p. 93, 27 p. 89.

² The difference between Thuringia and Hesse in their relation to Christianity is made apparent by Willibald's account (cap. 6). In Thuringia Boniface has to recall the leading men and the clergy into the orthodox church, but in Hesse—Farther Hesse particularly—heathenism is the main obstacle. 'Similiter et iuxta fines Saxonum, Hessorum populum paganis adhuc ritibus oberrantem, a daemoniorum, evangelica praedicando mandata, captivitate liberavit, multisque milibus hominum expurgata paganica vetustate baptizatis . . .'

³ Note the opposition of the elves to agriculture, and the clearing of their forests. Grimm *Teutonic Mythology* ii p. 459.

feelings of men may have been felt. To the few better minds among the Germans Christianity offered, as it did to the noble at the court of Edwine of Northumbria, a fuller explanation of life and also a more satisfactory account of God and the universe than did the old faith. The letter of Daniel of Winchester to Boniface¹, which urged him to prove to his people the impossibility of a number of gods coming into existence, remaining of the same number, and being influenced by human offerings, can scarcely have been a mere scholastic exercise for the bishop who had the south Saxons bordering on his diocese, but probably shews that such speculation did interest some of the heathen. There had been no priestly caste among the Germans—if there had been, Boniface's task would have been more difficult—but the official priests possessed legal and religious knowledge, and possibly those Christian priests, who continued to offer heathen sacrifices², were converts from this class, whom the speculative side of Christianity had attracted.

But the effective appeal of Christianity to the heathen people was made by the superior strength of its Deity over their gods. The more striking portion of Daniel's letter emphasized the weakness of the heathen gods who did not hinder Christian advance, and the increasing prosperity of Christians who held the fertile parts of the earth. The latter argument may have arisen from the slightly sophistical turn of Daniel's mind, or may indicate that, however deeply Christianity affected the lives of the English, they had not yet fully grasped its spiritual character.

During the early centuries Christianity had spread among the humble and unfree, but when made the religion of the empire it gained in power and prestige, and in the north appealed at first to kings, and to all the strong and free who scorned feeble gods. The conversion of the people began from above. It was the leading men in Thuringia whom Boniface sought to win to his side³. In Hesse he wished by a bold stroke to convince the people that their gods could not lift a finger to help themselves.

¹ *Ep.* 15 p. 71. *M. G. H. Ep.* 111 p. 271. Cp. Hahn *Bonifat und Lul* p. 115 sq.

² *Ep.* 28 p. 93.

³ Willibald, cap. 5 p. 446. Of course it is true that these men had been influenced by Christian teaching before and were expected to be friendly. So too much importance should not be attached to this example.

So, after deliberation with the Christian converts, he felled the sacred oak at Geismar¹. His splendid courage and fine personality awed the heathen; who respected him, moreover, as being under the protection of Charles Martel. The practical Englishman rightly valued deeds above words. The crash of the sacred tree was the death-song of heathenism in Hesse.

Probably still another cause of Boniface's unresisted conversion of the German people was the similarity between their religion and Christianity as it was developing. The faith of Boniface and his contemporaries had a truly spiritual side, as shewn by the virtues of charity, purity, humility and piety which it fostered in these English men and women; but it was bound up with beliefs and practices which were at least analogous in their development to, if not derived from, those of the older religions. Hence, though the fundamental ideas of Christianity, such as the Atonement, might be difficult of comprehension to the heathen², yet there were many of its external features to which they knew some parallel. One of the deepest convictions of both Bede and Boniface was that of the intimate connexion between this world and the other, as shewn by the divine guidance of man, by the communion of man with angels and saints, and by dreams, visions, and miracles. Similarly, the lives of the heathen were filled with the presence of superhuman beings. Christian angels were to them transformed elves, and devils and demons took some of their attributes from gods and elves, many from giants. The whole Christian conception of death and the life of the soul after death resembled that of heathenism. Boniface accepted the account given to him by the Abbess of Barking of a sick man's vision of the after-world³; the conducting of the souls by guardian spirits, the fight of the good and the bad spirits over them, the crossing of the bridge from Heaven to Hell, and the places of eternal abode, as they were described, were quite within the range of the heathen imagination⁴. The honours given by the heathen to their dead found a counterpart in prayers for the

¹ Willibald, cap. 6 p. 452.

² They might find it difficult to grasp the idea of a suffering God, though their spring gods, Balder and Siegfried, were sacrificed.

³ *Ep.* 10 p. 53. Bede recounts similar visions: *H. E.* v 12.

⁴ Grimm *Teutonic Mythology* ii p. 826 sqq.; also iii Preface.

departed and in the keeping of special days in commemoration of them. Christian saints were taking the place of the older gods and borrowing their attributes, as St Michael did those of Wodan. Indeed there was no little toleration shewn by the new faith to the old. Gregory I had ordered his missionaries in England to change the heathen sanctuaries into Christian churches, so that the people might be drawn by their old associations¹. Boniface shewed the same spirit by erecting on the spot where the sacred oak stood at Geismar, and out of its timber, a chapel of St Peter². Sacred hills and fountains were christened and named after saints; Christian feasts fell on heathen holidays³; Christmas borrowed many characteristics of the Yule-feast; St John's day had characteristics of the old Midsummer feast; the Easter fire resembled the need-fire⁴. The Christian worship itself cannot have appeared wholly strange to the heathen. They had been accustomed in some measure to temples and images. Sacramental forms may have recalled some of their own usages⁵. Moreover, the ceremonial and especially the music⁶ of the Church can scarcely have failed to appeal to the Germans.

The Christian religion could indeed afford to be somewhat tolerant of heathen beliefs and usages; its attitude toward the German faith was necessarily different from that of unbending hostility, which it had at first taken up toward Graeco-Roman worship. Yet it did not fail to condemn the German spirits, such as the giants who wished to destroy Christian churches and were terrified by bells, or the gods whom it identified with devils. In his letters and synods Boniface persistently

¹ Bede *H. E.* i. 30.

² Willibald, cap. 6 p. 452.

³ Widukind writes: 'The feast days of heathen error have now been changed by the holy word of pious men into days of fasting and preaching, and days kept in honour of all departed Christians.'

⁴ Grimm *T. M.* ii p. 616 sq. Yet cp. Boniface *Ep.* 80 'ignis pascalis'.

⁵ 'The sprinkling of a new-born babe with water closely resembled Christian baptism, the sign of the hammer that of the cross,' &c. Grimm *T. M.* iii p. xxxvi. However, Grimm possibly exaggerates the resemblance in these particulars. For the heathen custom of carrying images in procession see the *Indiculus Superstitionum*, Migne *P. L.* lxxxix p. 810, and Grimm *I. M.* i p. 64.

⁶ Organs were known in England in Aldhelm's time. Boniface and his companions in all probability brought in the Gregorian chant. For the liturgical singing in the north see Schubinger *Die Sängerschule St. Gallens vom viii-xii Jahrhundert*.

denounced heathen survivals, which, though possibly unrepresented by Christian writers, were bound to degenerate as the people embraced Christianity more fully, into the practice of magic and divination, and the more superstitious forms of the older faith¹. But on the whole he can scarcely have found that the people in Hesse and Thuringia experienced much difficulty in changing from their religion to a low grade of Christianity. They certainly never raised any national opposition to Christian influence.

That resistance to Christianity for patriotic and religious motives was no impossibility was shewn by the Frisians, later by the Saxons. The character of Friesland, indeed, and its people, had cut it off in great part from the life of the continent. Probably it was some centuries before the Christian era that a German people from the Elbe district, akin to the Saxons, occupied the marshes and sandy coast of the North Sea, between the rivers Sinkfal and Weser, and the mainland. By settling first on the sandy soil in individual build, by diking back the sea, and by fishing, seafaring and piracy they won a hard livelihood, and developed an enduring independent spirit. A later writer described them as 'living almost like fishes amid the waters which hemmed them in on all sides, so that they rarely had access to outside countries unless in ships'². At peace with the Roman Empire, they were isolated by the barbarian invasions, behind the screen which they preserved their institutions, their German local assemblies and judicial usages, and their strong national religion. Their worship was as stern as themselves—the deities of the sea demanded human sacrifices; but the idols and temples in which it was death to profane, and the island Heligoland itself, its shrines, springs and cattle sacred to the god Frith, shewed a religious development reached by the Saxons and among other German peoples. It was in truth a faith worth fighting for. The people were with their kings in defence of their national institutions and beliefs against Frank supremacy.

¹ For a detailed account of the heathen survivals see the *Indiculus superstitionum*, Migne *P. L.* lxxxix p. 810; also Pirmin *De Singulis Tribus Germaniarum*, Migne *P. L.* lxxxix p. 1041; Grimm *T. M.* iv.

² Anonymous of Utrecht, early ninth century.

³ *Lex Frisionum* in *M. G. H.* iii Leges p. 631 sqq.

and Christianity. Christian influences might have entered gradually with the Frisian merchants returning from the markets of St Denis or by the trade route from Worms and Cologne; but they were retarded by the alliance between the Christian missionaries and the Frank kings. Legend has it that the Frisian king Radbod, with his foot in the water to be baptized, asked whether his ancestors were in Heaven or Hell. To an unsatisfactory answer he replied: 'I prefer to be with my ancestors in Hell rather than with a few beggars in Heaven', and rejected the sacrament¹. It took long years of English effort to overcome this opposition.

Though the absence of any such vigorous national resistance made the actual conversion of the German provinces easier for Boniface, yet it scarcely rendered his whole task less arduous. If the step from the old faith to the new was easy, the step backward was no more difficult. Indifference to the one could not readily be made enthusiasm for the other. The result was a mixture of heathen and Christian practices. The people had masses offered for their heathen relatives². They ate, after making the sign of the cross over it, meat which had been offered to the heathen gods³. It became necessary for Boniface under these circumstances to fix the standard of Christian usage definitely, and to bring his people to live up to it. Hence points of discipline always had the greatest importance in his sight. Moreover, a religion of ceremonial could only be replaced by a system also employing ceremonial. There could as yet be little grasp of spiritual meaning. So when ceremonial was so much in point it had to be insisted upon, and its peculiarities had to be clearly set forth. It has been the custom to assign undue scrupulousness as the cause of his attention to detail, and to reproach Boniface with it. But surely it is unwise to carp at the policy of a thoroughly practical Englishman who was face to face with the actual difficulties, when this care for the small points of discipline and administration was characteristic of the great missionaries of the period, and when a sufficiently valid explana-

¹ *Annales Xantenses* comes from the eleventh century, and *Chronicon Hollandiae* borrows from it. *Vita Wulframmi* (bishop of Sens) is not authentic: v. Richthofen *Untersuchungen über friesische Rechtsgeschichte* ii p. 356.

² *Ep.* 28 p. 93.

³ *Ep.* 27 p. 89.

tion of it can be given on other grounds. It would be as unsafe to judge from the official answers sent by the Papal court to Boniface, in which the questions are answered in orderly and business-like form¹, that he attached equal importance to all the subjects under discussion, as to infer from the record of synodical proceedings that all the enactments met equally serious difficulties. On the contrary, Boniface recognized clearly that the importance of right practice must be grasped by the heathen if they were to draw a sharp line between their old faith and the Christian worship. It was the conviction of Boniface that only upon pure observance could be built a religion of the heart. Accordingly he procured the papal order that flesh which had been offered in sacrifice must not be eaten². So in his old age he was concerned about the fitness of certain animals for food, about the proper time for eating lard, and about the form of blessing used in Gaul³. Such great carefulness, which his years possibly increased, cannot be taken to indicate hardness and lack of sympathy in the man who had given his life to his people, and in the matter of the prohibited degrees had been desirous of relaxing in their interest the established marriage-rules⁴.

The condition of the German provinces likewise explains another outstanding feature of Boniface's policy. If his people were to be prevented from relapsing into heathenism, they had gradually to be trained to an appreciation of the spiritual content of Christianity. In short, their lives had to be filled with permanent religious and educational influences. Hence the villages and hamlets were made the basis of a permanent organization. Monasteries were essential, as colonies of the faith planted to check reaction and to train the native clergy⁵. But to surround his people with such an atmosphere as he desired Boniface could look for aid only to his native land, where the Christian religion and the arts of civilization had most closely mingled.

English men and women gladly came to transplant their

¹ *Ep.* 80 p. 221. Compare the correspondence of Augustine and Gregory in its bearing on the whole subject.

² *Ep.* 27 p. 89.

³ *Ep.* 80 p. 221.

⁴ *Ep.* 27 p. 89; 30 pp. 96, 97; 29 p. 94; 31 p. 97.

⁵ Willibald, cap. 6 p. 454.

piety and culture into Germany. Lul, Denehard, and Burchard were only typical of these trained and trusted disciples. No missionary before Boniface had relied so much upon the assistance of women. Lioba, 'the beloved', 'beautiful as the angels, fascinating in her speech, learned in the Holy Scriptures and canons', was the most charming of these¹. She and Thecla and Chunihilt took charge of convents, and brought the spirit of Christian piety and virtue among German women and into German homes. To them girls were given to be educated. The handicrafts and fine arts in which English nuns excelled were taught. The embroidered corporal which Boniface sent to Bishop Pethhelm in 735 was certainly the work of these women². So the English monks, as they penetrated the country³, brought all the arts which England had developed. At Fritzlar the brothers under the English abbot Wigbert planted vines before their door. From such centres new methods of cultivation would spread among the people. Boniface knew well the value of such assistants when he went far to meet them⁴. It is indeed admitted that the character of his English friends furnishes the best proof of what Boniface did for Germany. They replaced immoral priests who sacrificed to Wodan and kept the popular faith mixed with heathen beliefs. Like Augustine, Theodore, and Hadrian, Boniface used education and all the civilizing arts to mould the character of his people and to raise them to a higher plane. Like the missionaries to England⁵ he recognized that the whole society must be pervaded by a thoroughly Christian atmosphere if the results of the Christian teaching were to be secured.

E. J. KYLIE.

¹ *Ep.* 23 p. 83.

² *Ep.* 29 p. 95 'corporale pallium, albis stigmatibus variatum.' *Palla corporalis* is the form in the *Ordo Romanus*, but there is one case of a similar use of *pallium*, v. Ducange. It is interesting to note that Boniface pleaded his ignorance of the best Roman usage to Gregory II. Life among an uncultured people may have been taking the edge off his scholarship. For the suggestion as to the translation of this phrase and for other assistance I am indebted to the Rev. F. E. Brightman.

³ Willibald, cap. 6 p. 454.

⁴ *Ep.* 98 p. 246.

⁵ Their methods must of course have influenced him. Cp. *Ep.* 30 p. 97.

THE SUBTLE SERPENT.

THE serpent has a great place in ancient legend; and 'Serpent Worship' has been the title of more than one modern treatise. Books and chapters on the serpent commonly bring together myths and legends impossible to reconcile. The serpent is the author of evil, and yet there is an Agathodaemon or good serpent. The serpent bites, and the serpent heals. In the garden of the Hesperides it guards the apples; in the garden of Eden it tempts Eve to take the fruit. People worship the serpent, or they worship Apollo for destroying it. It is the serpent who tempts Eve, yet Eve herself is the serpent. It will not be mere idleness if we try to reconcile these anomalies.

It is not sufficiently recognized that the legends of the ancient world were full of serious meaning for those to whom they were first addressed. A system of teaching existed in which truth was often set forth in dramatic representation, or suggested by symbols. The sun was a symbol of the Deity, as Lord of light and life, and Ruler of the seasons of the year. The welfare of man required that he should become acquainted with the laws of heaven, and regulate his life's activities thereby. To begin with, he must know the times and seasons for agricultural operations; and whatever power deranged his calendar or altered the declination of the stars on which he had depended, was the enemy of God and man alike. There is no doubt that the inimical power was represented by a serpent; though the reptile was no more the actual devil than the sun was the veritable Deity. But the sun and the serpent were thus brought into opposition and conflict. The system of teaching under which this was done may be described as astro-religious; for it took account of the general movement of the heavens, and inculcated reverence for the divine order. Its basis was so ample and its fabric so large that it found room for more than one serpent symbol: and we in these days must learn to distinguish if we desire to understand.

In Egypt the serpent Apophis or Apepi, the enemy of Ra the sun-god, is not necessarily the same as the serpent Typhon who caused the death of Osiris. Nor is a dragon possessing wings quite the same sort of creature as a wingless and limbless reptile gliding or creeping on the ground. Lenormant, writing on the First Sin, and remarking that there are in ancient legend divine serpents, essentially benign in character, protective, prophetic, linked with gods of health and healing, says that we do find by their side a gigantic serpent who personifies a hostile and nocturnal power, a wicked principle, material darkness, and moral evil. Let us seek a clue in natural facts.

When we look at a celestial globe and observe such constellations as *Andromeda*, *Hercules*, and *Pegasus*, we must acknowledge some connexion between Greek legend and the stars, whether the constellations suggested the stories, or were afterwards framed as a lasting record of events. Astronomy has several serpents, and it may be that this diversity will afford some clue to the different and sometimes opposite character of the serpents in legend. There is a *Draco* near the Pole and a *Serpentarius* near the Equator, besides a *Hydra* and a *Cetus* in southern waters. Of course whales and hydras are very different from serpents zoologically; but sometimes all that the legend requires is a monster of the waters. Egyptian charts of the northern skies shew a hippopotamus and a crocodile; and these as well as the serpent were emblems of Typho, the evil genius. Wilkinson tells us that the people of Apollonopolis ate the crocodile upon a certain occasion, in order to shew their abhorrence of Typho; and solemnly hunted this animal upon a particular day set apart for the purpose.

Take first the Polar Dragon. Around the present Pole as a centre, all the stars apparently revolve in circles; and the curves in fact do not differ perceptibly from circles. But in reality they are slightly cycloidal, like the curves made by any point in the circumference of a carriage wheel; for the polar axis, like the carriage axle, is in motion. It makes a circle round the pole of the ecliptic; and the motion of the stars near it becomes a motion in coils. Our astronomical charts or celestial spheres—which are derived from ancient zodiacs and star-temples—shew a dragon coiling round the pole of the ecliptic, though not

extending out to the wide circle which theory seems to demand. It is shrunken, and its tail, if it ever was between its teeth, has escaped. In the classical description of the Shield of Hercules, which Mr. R. A. Proctor, with much probability, regards as relating to the dome of a zodiac temple,—

The scaly horror of a dragon coiled
Full in the central field, unspeakable;
With eyes oblique, retorted, that askant
Shot gleaming fire.

Mr. Proctor says, however, that any one who considers attentively the aspect of the constellation Draco in the heavens will perceive that the drawing of the head in the maps is not correct. The head is no longer pictured as it must have been conceived by those who first formed the constellation. The two bright stars Beta and Gamma are now placed on a head in profile; whereas formerly they marked the two eyes. Mr Proctor considers that the attitude of the animal is far more natural when the star Iota of Hercules marks the tongue, for then the creature is situated like a winged serpent hovering above the horizon and looking downwards.

The second great serpent of the legends may be called the Equatorial Serpent; and this again ought theoretically to lie all round the Equator, with sinuosities above and below that line. But only the great snake which is handled by Ophiuchus (or Serpentarius) remains now, as a serpent of the sun's path. Sir William Drummond says that with the Egyptians a serpent was the hieroglyph of the ecliptic circle, the path of the sun. Mr King also, in *The Gnostics*, alluding to the serpentine legs of the Abraxas god, observes that the serpent symbolized the sun's winding course through the zodiac. The serpent with its tail in its mouth, as the Phoenicians represented it, has seemed so apt an emblem of eternity—or at least of time-cycles, never-ending, still beginning—that any search after a meaning has been apt to end there. But it is not the mere annual course of the sun that is chiefly concerned when his path is likened to a serpent. The constellation Ophiuchus, if not a remnant of a serpent that once extended all round the ecliptic, seems at least to suggest and represent such a serpent. The backward motion of the equinoctial points has a very marked effect on

the position of the zodiacal constellations, carrying them above the Equator in succession, on one side of the heavens, and below on the other. The movement is wave-like, and might be described as serpentine; it is slow and insidious, and on that account deceptive. Stars which had formerly heralded the spring, or the autumn, pass below or above; and no longer tell the season accurately. Men are deceived if they depend on them. This sinuous movement of the glittering stars explains Isaiah's reference to Leviathan the crooked serpent, gliding, winding, girdling the earth, and associated with the dragon that is in the sea (xxvii 1). The prophet seems to glance at Egypt, where the evil earth-serpent, Apepi, was the enemy of the sun-god Ra; and by connexion of thought the enemy of Jehovah whose symbol was also the sun. In the Egyptian story Apepi made a chine or chasm which was dangerous to sun and stars (thus clear is it that the serpent had astronomical connexions) into which the luminaries fell and were helpless. Through the shifting of the Pole the declination of the stars was changed; and for sun and stars alike the equinoctial point was moved. The gap between the old trysting-place and the new was the hiatus here called the chine. In the language of symbols the jaws of the serpent were thereabout; and in work-a-day fact it had become uncertain where the spring began¹, or where the summer ended. The Egyptians spoke of a crocodile of the west who swallowed down the stars.

The dragon of high heaven would be in full accord with the serpent of the ecliptic; because the shifting of the Pole and the recession of the equinoxes result alike from the conical motion of the earth's axis. The phenomena in the two regions bear a corresponding appearance. Certain stars fall away from the Pole; and those in league with them depart from the equinoctial point. In Egypt these stars or their tutelary divinities are 'children of failure', like angels who kept not their first estate. They disturb the ancient order and lead men into error. Apepi is spoken of as their leader.

These two serpents, however, do not exhaust the list. In

¹ Hast thou commanded the morning since thy days began, and caused the day-spring to know its place?—Job xxxviii 12.

Egypt there is a devil of darkness called Typhon, and his mischief is of a slightly different sort from that of Apepi. The encroachment of the dark hemisphere upon the light, through precession, is continuously in one direction, whereas the mischief wrought by Typhon was intermittent, varying, and admitted of advance and retreat. It was in all respects such as would result from a defective calendar, which assigned a wrong measure to the year, and was repeatedly altered this way and that without being made perfect. We know from Herodotus that the Egyptian year at one time consisted of twelve months of thirty days each; to which five days were added and called a 'little month'. Experience would shew that even this left the year too short; and it must be eked out with some form of intercalary. The new effort would perhaps make the year too long; and there would be a vexatious period of calendar-mending, with alternate give and take. The practical effect on the beginning of the year, or any season of the year, would resemble that produced by the precession of the equinoxes—the spring might be anticipated in the calendar, and then, six months later, the winter would come too soon. The two hemispheres were opposed as summer and winter, as light and darkness, as Heaven and Hades; and one was encroaching upon the other. Yet whereas the precession movement was continuously in the same direction; the effect of calendar changes was advance and retreat, as uncertain as the fortune of war.

This condition of things makes it easy to understand how there came to be two serpents, one of the summer and the upper air, the other of winter and the nether world. The two hemispheres are the double lands over which the sun-god reigns; and they were assumed to have their counterpart in the Upper and Lower Egypt, reigned over by the Pharaoh. Symbolically, Pharaoh was the sun-god, and sat on the throne of the sun-god; and in fact was addressed as the god. On the Stele of the Dream, Pharaoh beheld in his vision two snakes, one to his right, the other to his left; and the interpreters said, 'Thou wilt have the southern lands and seize the northern, and the two crowns will be put upon thy head.' The two snakes belonged to the two hemispheres, the dominions of Horus and Set respectively, and looked defiance at one another across the boundary. Set

or Typhon, the evil power of the nether world, has his basis in the defective calendar.

Typhon, as Serpent or Crocodile, stretches from west to east along the under hemisphere. He is the evil one of Egypt; but as he fills only half the circle there is room for him to be opposed by the good. When this monster of the darkness is allowed to advance, pushing the New Year's Day out of its proper place, the calendar year ceases to correspond with the facts of Nature: the truth is not told; the serpent speaks lies.

Horus and Set fought many battles, and each combatant suffered in turn. The dispute was about the boundary line; and the wrong-doing was always charged on Set (or Typhon). Plutarch had learned that the name Typhon signifies 'that which tyrannizes and constrains by force'; and also a return, and again an overleaping; a certain forcible and impeding check, opposition and turning upside down¹. Typhon, though often killed in these battles, was soon on his legs again. Finally, however, a treaty of peace was made between the combatants; and that we must take to mean that the two halves of the year were satisfactorily adjusted. Thoth, the lord of the balance, acted as arbitrator, and adjudged the kingdom to be divided between Horus and Set². Again we read that Seb, the earth-god (of the Equator circle), terminated the war, assigning to the one combatant Lower Egypt, to the other Upper Egypt, fixing with precision the limit of their domains. In an ancient version Horus and Set stand on opposite eminences, in the character of two land surveyors, and solemnly agree respecting the natural boundaries of each other's domains. Each pronounces the formula, 'The land of An is the boundary of the land'—An being On or Heliopolis, the city of the sun, the terrestrial representative of the spring equinox. Such was the symbolism.

So satisfactory was the new arrangement deemed to be—probably the adoption of the tropical year—that the north and south were believed to be eternally reconciled. Horus and Set had become friends. The erstwhile evil serpent is now as good as

¹ 'As though alternately attracted and repelled by a lodestone.' Plutarch *On Isis and Osiris* xlix and lxii.

² See *Proc. Soc. Bib. Archaeol.* xii 8. 424; Maspero *Dawn of Civilization* p. 178; Comp. Renouf on the *Book of the Dead* chap. cx.

the other. They are like brothers, and are sometimes called the two Horuses. They were united as a two-headed god, with an ass-head facing one way, a hawk-head the other—the symbolic heads which had belonged to them respectively: or again with the heads of the black vulture and the golden hawk, the colours being symbolical of the two hemispheres. Horus and Set are alike healers, giving efficacy to drugs and imparting strength to invalids. They were both adored throughout Upper and Lower Egypt, and were considered part of the same divine system.

On the rod of Mercury the two serpents are again face to face, suggesting either defiance or agreement; but in either case equilibrium, after a struggle in which there had been alternate gain of ground.

We have, then, a dragon of the North Pole, and a serpent of the Zodiac, with a duplication of the latter. Consistent symbolism would seem to require also a serpent or dragon for the South Pole, if only the ancients had been acquainted with the stars of that region. But apparently they were not, and the constellations of that part of the heavens are modern. Servius remarks (*ad Virg. Georg.* i 205) that there are three snakes in the sky, one lying between the Bears, the second grasped by Ophiuchus, the third to the south, around the *Crater* and *Corvus*. This third one is the *Hydra*, which lies below *Leo* and *Virgo*, and extends almost to *Libra*. 'Huge o'er heaven trail her spires' says Aratus the Greek poet. The constellation is said to represent the many-headed monster destroyed by Hercules, and probably does represent the zodiacal serpent as it figured in charts revised by Hercules—if we may take the story of his labours to be an allegorical account of certain astronomical reforms. This Hydra, though not identical with the Egyptian Set, is more or less analogous to that enemy of light. It does not in any way disturb our conclusion that Typhon, the embodiment of evil, personifies the nether half-circle of the ecliptic, associated with darkness and winter.

Myths, figures, and phrases survive to shew that a serpent or other monster was conceived of as extending all along the under side of the world, with its head at one of the equinoctial points and its tail at the other. 'The jaws of darkness' is an

expression which assumes terrible meaning when we know that they were the mouth of the monster; and 'the jaws of death' was the same thing, because that cavernous mouth was the entrance to Hades. Eclipses of the moon, because they occur when the satellite is near her nodes, are said to take place at the head and tail of the dragon. This is the language of our own astronomers, at the present day, derived by tradition from their fathers; and in view of it, the notions of the Chinese may not seem so very ridiculous. The dragon we are seeking to identify was plainly the Darkness of the Underworld, regarded as extended half-way round the ecliptic. As Night, the monster has its head and tail in the positions of dawn and sunset. As Winter the extremities are at the two equinoxes, and the monster is apt to creep onward factitiously when the calendar year is not of accurate length. As Precession Darkness or the winter of the Great Year, it creeps onward in reality, and the place of the equinox has to be readjusted.

Being opposed to Truth and the Divine Order of the world, this serpent might well enough serve as a type of the devil. In the religious system of Persia, at least, Ormuzd and Ahriman, the Deities of Light and Darkness, of Good and Evil, are plainly correlated with the two halves of the year. Such antagonisms as Apollo and the Python, St George and the Dragon, may be understood as conflicts between the two hemispheres or their champions, to hold back or to push forward the boundary between summer and winter. Ahriman's power was to be destroyed after a struggle of 12,000 years; which appears to be on the scale of the Great Year. Apollo's victory over the Python may represent the abolition of some precession anomaly—a check to the advance of the monster—when the error had not extended beyond a few degrees. In the warfare between St Michael and the Dragon (Rev. xii) the dragon according to the Scripture writer represents the old serpent, he that is called the Devil and Satan. The Feast of St Michael is appropriately fixed at the season of the autumn equinox.

This general survey should prepare us to consider whether the story of the Serpent in Paradise is not a record in symbolical language, by early priest-astronomers. The event occurred soon after the 'fall of the angels', which was the altered declination of

the stars, making them deceivers. The sun and moon had been adopted for signs and for seasons, for days and for years; and the new arrangement seemed to promise happiness. The year beginning in the spring, the palm-tree marked the first meridian, and was the tree of knowledge, where veracious words were spoken and trustworthy records were made. In Egypt a palm branch was the emblem of Thoth, the Divine Scribe, a tutelary divinity who presided over time and measure and the balance. That tree of knowledge, marking the true equinox, should be let alone; else the months and seasons will suffer disturbance, and human affairs begin to go wrong. But alas, the Deceiver has gained entrance into the garden. Here, close under the tree, is the head of the serpent whose slimy length trails through the Underworld. What the God of Light has said about the tree is contradicted by the Demon of Darkness: and those who listen are lost!

He came not as a Demon, but in some fascinating disguise. A serpent was one of the emblems of Thoth, the god of wisdom: and the fruit of the tree was to be desired if it would make one wise. But there is a knowledge of evil as well as a knowledge of good. Typhon as well as Thoth can assume the form of a serpent. He was a murderer from the beginning, for he killed his brother Osiris. He was a liar in offering false boundaries between the seasons: and so was Apepi, the father of him (John viii 44).

Near the beginning of this article mention was made of Abraxas, the Gnostic divinity with serpentine legs, whose connexion with the zodiac is acknowledged. The clue was not then pursued; and the relationship can be better understood now. The esoteric theology of the Gnostics appears to have been derived from Egypt and India; and where there has been developement of doctrine and symbol it is best to get back to the source, if we can. We can then work the same quarries for ourselves.

In Egypt tombs were constructed on the model of the world of night, and the constellations of the sky were figured on the ceiling. The soul of the deceased went the way of the sun; and a papyrus placed with the mummy in its coffin contained the needful directions and passwords. A serpent or dragon

waylaid the sun itself; and the human soul encountered crocodiles, and various perils. The devourer waiting for the condemned was a monster, part crocodile, part lion, part hippopotamus. The Underworld being at length traversed, and the region of the rising sun attained, the Paradise was on an island, and was reached by seven steps. The island, we may suppose, was in the first instance the equinox, and the seven steps were the seven successive positions of it, marked in the ancient record of precession.

In the Ophite symbolism of the Gnostics the Abraxas god is a Pantheus, representing the sun in his passage through the zodiac. On gems and seals he appears with a lion's head and a human body, while his legs are two serpents. In early time the summer sun was in Leo, and the year began there. The circle of 360 degrees is associated with the human body (with Adam and Eden) in certain myths. The two asps of Abraxas remind us of those on the rod of Hermes, which we take to symbolize the two halves of the ecliptic circle. Abraxas is identified with the Agathodaemon. Inscriptions on the gems declare, 'I am Chnumis, Sun of the Universe', or even shew Abraxas driving the car of Sol, in the exact attitude of its proper occupant, Phoebus (see King's *Gnostics* pp. 103, 433). His shield is usually emblazoned with some word of power, declaring his perpetual warfare against the rebellious angels (King 245-6). Phoebus, as the god of day, is similarly furnished with a whip; and the serpent, according to the Egyptians, hieroglyphically expressed his tortuous course through the zodiac (King 246). Epiphanius relates (*Haer.* xxxvii) how the later Gnostics kept a tame serpent in a chest or sacred ark, and piled loaves on the table, and then called upon the serpent to come forth. Whereupon, opening of himself the ark, he would come forth, mount upon the table, and twine about the loaves, which they brake in pieces, and distributed amongst the worshippers, calling this their Perfect Sacrifice and their Eucharist (King 323). The loaves of shewbread in the Hebrew tabernacle symbolized the twelve months and therefore the twelve signs, as the seven flames of the candlestick were emblems of the seven heavenly lights (Josephus *Ant.* III vi 7). The seven lights have for a long time been assumed to be the sun, moon, and planets; but

originally they were seven stars of the polar heavens, or stars of the equinoctial quarter, and their seven angels, who are fallen and evil.

The grand doctrine of Gnosticism was this: the soul, once released from the body (its prison-house and place of torment) has to pass through the regions of the Seven Powers; and it cannot do unless impregnated beforehand with knowledge. Otherwise it is seized upon and swallowed by the dragon-former ruler of this world, Satan Ophiomorphous. . . . But should it be filled with knowledge it eludes the seven powers . . . and mounts up into the eighth heaven. The talismans and their inscriptions were to the deceased as the Litanies of the Dead to the Egyptians (King *op. cit.* p. 333).

GEO. ST. CLAIR

DOCUMENTS

CODEX TAURINENSIS (Y).


[Add to symbols *J. T. S.* vol. vi no. 23 p. 379, OL¹=Old Latin texts
from Lucifer of Cagliari.]

HOSEA.

1† ΛΟΓΟΣ ΚΥΡ(ΟΥ) *ΟC *ΕΓΕΝΗΘΗ ΠΡΟΣ *ΩCΗΕ ΤΟΝ ΤΟΥ ΒΕΗΡ(Ι) I
ΕΝ *ΗΜΕΡΑΙC *ΟΖΙΟΥ ΚΑΙ *ΙΩΛΘΑΜ ΚΑΙ *ΑΧΑΖ ΚΑΙ *ΕΖΕΚΙΟΥ ΒΑCΙ-
ΛΕΩΝ *ΙΟΥΔΑ ΚΑΙ *ΕΝ *ΗΜΕΡΑΙC *ΙΕΡΟΒΟΛΜ *ΥΙΟΥ *ΙΩΛC ΒΑCΙΛΕΩC
*ΙΗΛ.

2 † *ΑΡΧΗ ΛΟΓΟΥ ΚΥ ΠΡΟΣ *ΩCΗΕ †

Καὶ εἶπε κ̄σ̄ πρὸς ὡσηε· βάδιζε λάβε σεαυτῷ γυναῖκα πορνείας· καὶ
τέκνα πορνείας διότι πορνεύουσα ἐκπορνεύσει ἡ γῆ ἀπὸ ὅπισθεν τοῦ κ̄ν·
3 καὶ ἐπορεύθη καὶ ἔλαβε τὴν γόμερ θυγατέρα δεβηλαῖμ καὶ συνέλαβε καὶ
4... αὐτῷ υἱόν· * καὶ εἶπε κ̄σ̄ πρὸς αὐτόν· κάλεσον τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ ἰεζραὲλ·
διότι ἐτι μικρ... δικήσω τὸ αἷμα τοῦ ἰεζραὲλ ἐπὶ... καὶ καταπαύσω
5 βασιλείαν οἴκου ἱηλ· * καὶ ἔσται ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἐκείνῃ συντρίψω τὸ τόξον
6 τοῦ ἱηλ ἐν τῇ κοιλάδι τοῦ ἰεζραὲλ· * καὶ συνέλαβε ἐτι καὶ ἔτεκε θυγατέρα.
καὶ εἶπε αὐτῷ κ̄σ̄· κάλεσον τὸ ὄνομα αὐτῆς οὐκ ἡλεημένη... προσθήσω
7 ἔτι τοῦ ἐλεῆσαι τὸν οἶκον ἱηλ... τασσόμενος ἀντιτάξομαι αὐτοῖς· † τοὺς

I. Inscr Ωσηε B Ωσηε α A Q I. Λογος-Βεηρι] om OL^h εγενηθη] εγενετο
62 153 Βεηρι] Βεηρι B A 22 48 62 97 147 153 233 Βεσηρει (corr^{id}) 51 
* ω̄ι? ᾱι? Ιω̄ι? Syro-Hex ημεραις 1^o ημερα 153 Οζιου] Οζειου B*
(Οζιου B^b) Ιωθαμ] Ιωθαμ 153 Αχαζ] Αχας B Αχαζ 153 Εζεκιου]
Ιεζεκιου 51 βασιλεων] βασιλεως 51 86 147 και 4^o] om Q* (hab Q^{ms}) ιου]
fr του A om 97 2. αρχη λογου κ̄ν] αρχη ην ελαλησε Aq προς 1^o] εν B Q*
(προς Q^{ms}) 48 233 ③ προς ωσηε 1^o] om 62 147 και ειπε κ̄σ̄ προς ωσηε] om
36 228 βαδιζε] om A τεκνα] pr fac OL^h πορνειας 1^o] πορνειων Aq Σ
πορνεουσα] εκπορνεουσα B A Q 48 62 86 95 147 185 228 εκπορνευσει] -νευση
147 -νευεται 153 η γη] om 153 3. γομερ] gomel OL^h δεβηλαιμ]
δεβηλαιμ A Q 86^a 86 147 153 228 αυτω ιου] tr 153 4. ιεζραελ 1^o]
ισραελ 22 86 ιεσδραελ (sic infra) 62 147 ιεζραηλ 153 israhel (sic infra) OL^h
.. δικησω] επισπεψομαι Aq ιεζραελ 2^o] ιεσραελ 86 επι] κατα Σ καταπαυσω]
αποστρεψω Q* (καταπαυσω οι ο' Q^{ms}) + et avertam OL^h 5. εκεινη] + dicit dñs
OL^h το τοξον] sagittam arcus OL^h του 1^o] om Q* (superser Q^a) 233 τη 2^o]
om B 48 86 τη κοιλαδι] valle OL^h ιεζραελ] ιεσραελ 86 israhel OL^h 6. αυτω]
om 228 OL^h κ̄σ̄] om B A Q 36 48 95 185 228 233 προσθησω] προθω (o superser)
22 προσθω 97 153 επι] om 97 228 του] om B A 48 233 ἱηλ] pr του A Q 233

- δὲ υἱοὺς ἰουδα ἐλεήσω καὶ σώσω αὐτοὺς ἐν κῶ θῶ αὐτῶν· καὶ οὐ σώσω
 αὐτοὺς ἐν τόξῳ οὐδὲ ἐν βόμβαι· οὐδὲ ἐν πολέμῳ οὐδὲ ἐν ἵπποις οὐδὲ ἐν
 8 ἵππεύσι· ⁹ καὶ ἀπεγαλάκτισε τὴν οὐκ ἡλεημένην· καὶ συνέλαβε καὶ ἔτεκε
 9 υἱόν· ¹⁰ καὶ εἶπε κῶ κάλεσον τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ οὐ λαός μου διότι ὑμεῖς οὐ λαός
 10 μου καὶ ἐγὼ οὐκ εἰμὶ ὑμῶν· ¹¹ καὶ ἦν ὁ ἀριθμὸς τῶν υἱῶν ἰηλ ὡς ἡ ἄμμος
 τῆς θαλάσσης ἡ οὐκ ἐκμετρηθήσεται οὐδὲ ἐξαριθμηθήσεται· καὶ ἔσται ἐν
 τῷ τόπῳ οὗ ἐρρέθη αὐτοῖς οὐ λαός μου ὑμεῖς ἐκεῖ κληθήσονται υἱοὶ θῶ
 11 ζῶντος· ¹² καὶ συναχθήσονται οἱ υἱοὶ ἰουδα καὶ οἱ υἱοὶ ἰηλ ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτό· καὶ
 θήσονται ἑαυτοῖς ἀρχὴν μίαν· καὶ ἀναβήσονται ἐκ τῆς γῆς ὅτι μεγάλη
 II. 1 ἡ ἡμέρα τοῦ ἰσραὴλ· ² εἴπατε τῷ ἀδελφῷ ὑμῶν λαός μου καὶ τῇ ἀδελφῇ
 2 ὑμῶν ἐλεημένη· ³ κρίθητε πρὸς τὴν μητέρα ὑμῶν· κρίθητε ὅτι αὕτη οὐ γυνή
 μου· καὶ ἐγὼ οὐκ ἀνὴρ αὐτῆς· καὶ ἐξαρῶ τὴν πορνείαν αὐτῆς ἐκ προσώπου
 3 μου· καὶ τὴν μοιχείαν αὐτῆς ἐκ μέσου μαστῶν αὐτῆς· ⁴ ὅπως ἂν ἐκδύσω
 αὐτὴν γυμνὴν· καὶ ἀποκαταστήσω αὐτὴν καθὼς ἡμέραι * * * γεννήσεως
 αὐτῆς· καὶ θήσω αὐτὴν ὡς ἔρημον· καὶ τάξω αὐτὴν ὡς γῆν ἀνδρόν· καὶ
 4 ἀποκτενῶ αὐτὴν ἐν δΐψει· ⁵ καὶ τὰ τέκνα αὐτῆς οὐ μὴ ἐλεήσω· ὅτι τέκνα

I 10^{aa} Chrys. In Psal. cvi § 5.

αντιταξομαι αυτοις] επιλησσομαι αυτων Aq 7. ιουδα] om B iude OL^b iuda OL^a
 ουδε 1^o] ουτε 228 πολεμω] + ουτε εν αρμασιν A 36 ουδε εν αρμασιν Q* (ουδε εν
 πολεμω Q^{1ms}) + ουδε εν αρμασιν 228 ιππευσι] -σιν BAQ 8. απεγαλακτισε] -σεν
 BAQ -ησε 62^a 147 την ουκ ελεημενην] την ουκ ηγαπημενην 153 non dilectam
 OL^b συνελαβε] -βεν BAQ 22 + ετι BAQ² (OL = Y) ετεκε] -κεν BAQ 22
 9. ειπε] -πεν BAQ 22* (-πε 22^a) κῶ] om BAQ 36 48 95 185 228 233 διوتي υμεις ad
 fin com] ουδε εγω εσομαι υμιν· ουδε γαρ υμεις λαος μου Σ διوتي] οτι 95 185 διوتي
 υμεις] om 228 (hab 228^{ms}) + ipsi OL^b 10. και ην ο αριθμος των υιων ιηλ] και εσται ο
 ψηφος υιων Ισραηλ Aq εσται δε ο ψηφος υιων Ισραηλ Σ και ην—θαλασσης] Chrys = Y
 ο] om 95 153 185 ως η] ωσει 95 153 228 ουδε εφαριθμησεται] om 62 + potest
 OL^b και εσται] erit enim OL^a εν τω τοπω ου] sup ras B^a ubi OL^b (quo loco
 OL^c) ου ερρεθη ad fin com] ου ρηθησεται αυτοις ο λαος μου ρηθησεται αυτοις υιοι
 ισχυρου ζωντος Aq ερρεθη] ερρηθη Q^a dictum fuerit OL^b dicetur OL^a μου] om
 95 185 υμεις] + αυτοι 51 62 86 95 147 153 185 (om 36 48 228 233) + ipsi OL^b
 OL^a (om υμεις OL^c) εκει] om BQ OL^b illo loco OL^a υιοι] fr και αυτοι BQ (μ
 θ' το και Q^{ms}) θῶ ζωντος] tr 228 11. οι υιοι 1^o] om οι 48 62 147 om OL^b
 ιουδα] ισραηλ 153 ioudae OL^b και οι υιοι ιηλ] οι superscr 22 om οι 62 147 και οι
 υιοι ιουδα 153 θησονται] ponet OL^b εαυτοις] αυτοις A εν αυτοις 36 228 αναβησονται]
 ascendet OL^b η] om 153 ιεραελ] ισραελ Q 62 86 147 israhel OL^b
 II. 1. και] om 51 τη αδελφη υμων] ταις αδελφαις υμων Aq ηλεημενη—μοιχειαν
 in com seq] sup ras A^b 2. κριθητε 1^o 2^o] δικασασθε 86 Aq Σ μου] + εστι
 147 ουκ] + εμι 51 + sum OL^b και εξαρω] αφελετω Aq Σ πορνειαν] πορνιαν
 B (-ειαν B^b) πορνιαν 153 εκ προσωπου μου και την μοιχειαν αυτης] om 22 αυτης
 3^o] om OL^b 3. οπως αν] μηποτε Aq Σ θ εκδυσω] εκλυσω B^b vid αποκατα-
 στησω] constituam OL^b αυτην 2^o] om OL^b ημεραι] η ημερα BQ ημερα A 36 48
 228 εν ημερα 22^a 51 62 86 147 153 εν ημεραις 95 185 γεννησεως] γενεσεως BAQ 48
 233 της γενεσεως 51 62 86 147 153 fr της 95 185 θησω] θησομαι AQ αυτην 3^o] om OL^b
 ως 1^o] om B 48 εις 62 86 147 ως γην] αν γην 147 εν διψει]
 εν διψη 36 95 185 et sitim mei OL^b 4. και] om OL^b εστιν] εισιν 153

5 πορνείας ἐστίν· ⁸ ὅτι ἐξεπόρνευσεν ἡ μήτηρ αὐτῶν· κατήσχυεν ἡ τεκοῦσα
αὐτά· ὅτι εἶπε πορεύσομαι ὀπίσω τῶν ἐραστῶν μου τῶν διδόντων μοι τοὺς
ἄρτους μου καὶ τὸ ὕδωρ μου καὶ τὰ ἱμάτιά μου καὶ τὰ ὀθονία μου τὸ ἔλαιον
6 μου καὶ πάντα ὅσα μοι καθήκει· ⁹ διὰ τοῦτο ἰδοὺ ἐγὼ φράσω τὴν ὁδὸν
αὐτῆς ἐν σκόλῳ· καὶ ἀνοικοδομήσω τὰς ὁδοὺς αὐτῆς καὶ τὴν τρίβον αὐτῆς
7 οὐ μὴ εὖρη· ¹⁰ καὶ διώξεται τοὺς ἐραστὰς αὐτῆς καὶ οὐ μὴ καταλάβῃ αὐτούς·
καὶ ζητήσῃ αὐτούς καὶ οὐ μὴ εὖρη αὐτούς· καὶ ἐρεῖ πορεύσομαι καὶ ἐπι-
στρέψω πρὸς τὸν ἄνδρα μου τὸν πρότερον ὅτι καλῶς μοι ἦν τότε ἢ νῦν·
8 καὶ αὕτη οὐκ ἔγνω ὅτι ἐγὼ δέδωκα αὐτῇ τὸν σίτον καὶ τὸν οἶνον καὶ τὸ
ἔλαιον καὶ ἄργυριον καὶ χρυσίον ἐπλήθυνα αὐτῇ· αὕτη δὲ ἀργυρᾶ καὶ χρυσᾶ
9 ἐποίησε τῇ βᾶαλ· ¹⁰ διὰ τοῦτο ἐπιτρέψω καὶ κομιοῦμαι τὸν σίτον μου καθ'
ῶραν αὐτοῦ· καὶ τὸν οἶνον μου ἐν καιρῷ αὐτοῦ· καὶ ἀφελούμαι τὰ ἱμάτιά
10 μου καὶ τὰ ὀθονία μου τοῦ μὴ καλύπτειν τὴν ἀσχημοσύνην αὐτῆς· ¹¹ καὶ
νῦν ἀποκαλύψω τὴν ἀκαθαρσίαν αὐτῆς ἐνώπιον τῶν ἐραστῶν αὐτῆς· καὶ
11 οὐδεὶς οὐ μὴ ἐξέλθῃ αὐτὴν ἐκ χειρὸς μου· ¹² καὶ ἀποστρέψω πάσας τὰς
ἐφροσύνας αὐτῆς· ἐορτὰς αὐτῆς καὶ τὰς νουμηνίας αὐτῆς· καὶ τὰ σάββατα
12 αὐτῆς· καὶ πάσας τὰς πανηγύρεις αὐτῆς· ¹³ καὶ ἀφανιώ ἄμπελον αὐτῆς·
καὶ τὰς συκὰς αὐτῆς· ὅσα εἶπε μισθώματά μου ἐστὶ ταῦτα ἃ ἔδωκάν μοι οἱ
ἐρασταί μου· καὶ θήσομαι αὐτὰ εἰς μαρτύριον· καὶ καταφάγεται αὐτὰ τὰ
13 θηρία τοῦ ἀγροῦ καὶ τὰ πετεινὰ τοῦ οὐνοῦ καὶ τὰ ἐρπετὰ τῆς γῆς· ¹⁴ καὶ
ἐκδικήσω ἐπ' αὐτὴν τὰς ἡμέρας τῶν βααλεὶμ ἐν αἷς ἐπέθυσεν αὐτοῖς· καὶ

5. ὅτι εἶπε] ὅτι εἶπεν B Q εἶπεν γὰρ A 233 πορεύσομαι] ακολουθήσω A 233 Σ
(ibo OL^b) ἄρτους μου] om μου OL^b ὕδωρ μου] + καὶ τὸν οἶνον μου καὶ τὸ
ἐλαιον μου 36 228^{me} καὶ τὰ ἱμάτια μου καὶ τὰ ὀθονία μου] καὶ τὸ ἐριον μου
καὶ τὸ λινον μου Aq ὀθονία] ia sup ras A⁷ vid τα ὀθονία μου] + καὶ τὸν
οἶνον Q¹ me + vinculum meum OL^b τὸ ἐλαιον μου] pr καὶ A Q* (om Q¹) 22 51
62 86 97 147 153 233 om 36 228 καὶ πάντα ὅσα μοι καθήκει] καὶ τὸν ποτισμον μου
Aq μοι καθήκει] tr 153 6. ἰδοὺ] om 147 153 ἐγὼ] om 22 αὐτῆς 1^o
αὐτῶν 147 ἐν σκόλῳ] ἐν σκολοφῶν B A Q ἀκανθαὶς 86 Aq Θ ἀνοικοδομήσω τὰς
ὁδοὺς αὐτῆς] pr ei OL^b καὶ φράσω τὸν φραγμον αὐτῆς Aq καὶ ἐμφραγμον κατ' αὐτῆς
περιοικοδομήσω Σ τὰς ὁδοὺς αὐτῆς] om αὐτῆς B 48 τὸ τεῖχος αὐτῆς Θ 7. διώξεται]
καταδιώξεται B A Q 48 233 αὐτοὺς 1^o sup ras B^a b (vid) καὶ ζητήσῃ αὐτοὺς] om
86 om αὐτοὺς OL^b ζητήσῃ] -ση 147 καλῶς] καλὸς 153 228 8. καὶ 1^o
om 86 δέδωκα] ἔδωκα B 48 228 ἐδίδουν Σ καὶ χρυσίον] om B A Q (hab Q¹ me)
48 228 (hab 228^{me}) 233 OL^b ἐπλήθυνα αὐτῇ] pr om 147 ἐπλ. αὐτῆς 153 ἐποίησε]
-σεν B A Q τῇ βααλ] τῷ βααλ 22 51 97 huic Bahal OL^b 9. καθ'] καὶ 147 pr
καὶ 153 τὸν οἶνον μου] + et oleum meum OL^b τὰ ἱμάτια μου] τὸ ἐριον μου Σ Θ
τὴν ἀσχημοσύνην] τὴν αἰσχυνὴν Q 233 om τὴν 153 αὐτῆς] αὐτοῖς 185 10. ἀκα-
θαρσίαν] ἀσχημοσύνην 62 86 147 ἐνώπιον] ἐναντίον A Q 153 233 ἐναντί 228
ἐξέλθῃ] ἐξελεῖται 62 147 233 μου] αὐτῆς Aq 11. ἐορτὰς αὐτῆς] pr τας A 147
pr καὶ πάσας τας 95 185 om αὐτῆς OL^b (hab OL^{tert}) ἐορτὰς αὐτῆς καὶ τὰς νουμηνίας
αὐτῆς] om 228 (hab 228^a) om αὐτῆς 2^o 228 OL^b OL^{tert} καὶ τὰ σάββατα αὐτῆς]
subΣ Θ πανηγυρεῖς] -is B* (-eis B^{ab}) 12. ὅσα] pr καὶ 62 86 147 quoniam
OL^b εἶπε] -πεν B A Q 22 (-πε 22^a) ἐστὶ ταῦτα] ταῦτα ἐστὶν B A Q 48 233
om ἐστὶ 228 α] om 147 228 αὐτὰ 1^o 2^o] eam OL^b εἰς μαρτυρίον] εἰς
ἔρπον Aq Σ Θ Quint Sext καταφάγεται] -ετε 147 τοῦ οὐνοῦ] τοῦ ἀγροῦ 153
13. ἐκδικήσω] ἐπισκεφθῶμαι Aq Σ Θ Quint Sext βααλεὶμ] -λιμ 95 185 ἐν

20 κρίματι καὶ ἐν ἐλέῳ καὶ ἐν οἰκτιρμοῖς· 20 καὶ μνηστεύσομαί σε ἑμαυτῷ ἐν
 21 πίστεϊ· καὶ ἐπιγνώσῃ τὸν κν· 21 καὶ ἔσται ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἐκείνῃ λέγει κς·
 22 ἑπακούσομαι τῷ οὐνῷ καὶ ὁ οὐνός ἑπακώσεται τῇ γῇ· 22 καὶ ἡ γῆ ἑπακού-
 σεται τὸν * * * * * οἶνω καὶ τῷ ἐλαίῳ· καὶ αὐτὰ ἑπακούσεται
 23 τῷ ἰεζραέλ· 23 καὶ σπερῶ αὐτὴν ἑμαυτῷ ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς· καὶ ἐλεήσω τὴν οὐκ
 ἡλεημένην· καὶ ἐρῶ τῷ οὐ λαῷ μου λαός μου εἶ σύ· καὶ αὐτὸς ἐρεῖ κς ὁ θς
 1 μου εἶ σύ· καὶ εἶπε κς πρὸς μέ· ἔτι πορεύθητι καὶ ἀγάπησον σαν III.
 πονηρὰ καὶ μοιχαλλίν· καθὼς ἀγαπᾷ ὁ θς τοὺς υἱοὺς ἰηλ· καὶ αὐτοὶ ἀπο-
 βλέπουσιν ἐπὶ θεοῦ ἀλλοτρίους καὶ φιλοῦσι πέμματα μετὰ σταφίδων·
 2 καὶ ἐμισθώσαμην ἑμαυτῷ πέντε καὶ δέκα ἀργυρίων· καὶ γόμορ κριθῶν καὶ
 3 νέβελ οἶνου· 3 καὶ εἶπον πρὸς αὐτὴν ἡμέρας πολλὰς καθίσῃ ἐπ' ἐμοί· καὶ
 4 ἐγὼ ἐπὶ σοὶ καὶ οὐ μὴ πορνεύσης οὐδὲ μὴ γένῃ ἀνδρί· 4 διότι ἡμέρας πολλὰς
 καθίσονται οἱ υἱοὶ ἰηλ οὐκ ὄντος βασιλέως οὐδὲ ὄντος ἀρχοντος οὐδὲ οὐσης
 5 θυσίας οὐδὲ ὄντος θυσιαστηρίου οὐδὲ ἱερατείας οὐδὲ δέλων· 5 καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα
 30 Chrys. In Psal. lxxviii § 8 Theod. In Cantic. Lib i III 1¹⁰ Theod.

In Isr. vii

ομι εν 185 ελεω] ελεει BA Q 36 48 228 233 Theod εν οικτιρμοις] εν οικτειρμ.
 BA Q ομι εν 62 147 εν επιγνωσει Chrys 20. εμαυτω] ομι Theod επιγνωση]
 -σει 62 86 147 21. εν τη ημερα εκεινη] εν εκ. τη ημ. A Q 36 48 97 228
 233 εν τη εκ. ημ. 95 επακουσομαι τω ουνω και ο ουνος] ομι 22 (hab 22^{me})
 ο ουνω] αυτος B 48 (ο ουρανός A Q) επακωσεται] επακουσεται B A Q
 22. τον * * * * * οινω και τω ελαιω] superscr aliq ras litt 5 (t) Y^a τον σιτον και τον
 οινον και το ελαιον B A Q τω σιτω και τω οινω και τω ελαιω 22 36 51 62 86 95 97 147
 153 185 συν το χευμα και συν την οινιαν και συν την σιληπνοτητα Aq αυτα] ταυτα
 62 86 147 228 ισραηλ] ισραηλ 22 36 86 95 97 147 185 ισραελ 62 23. ελεησω]
 αγαπησω B 48 153 233 ηλεημενην] ηγαπημενην B 48 233 μου 1^o] ομι 153 ει
 σε 1^o—ει 2^o] ομι 62 ο θς μου] ομι ο 147 ομι ο θς 185 και ερω ad fin com]
 vocabo non populum meum populum meum et non dilectum dilectum OL^o

III. 1. ειπε] -πεν B A Q 22* (-πε 22^a) . . σαν πονηρα] ηγαπημενην τω πλησιον Aq
 ηγαπημενην υφ ετερου Σ πονηρα] πονηραν 62 86 147 153 μοιχαλλιν] μοιχαλιν B A Q
 22* μοιχαλιδα 22* 153 μοιχαλλην 147 μοιχαλλιδα 228 αποβλεπουσιν] επιβλ. B 48 62
 147 φιλουσι] -σιν B Q φυρωσι 62 86 147 εφιλουν Theod πεμματα μετὰ σταφιδων]
 παλαια σταφυλων Aq ακαρπους σταφυλας Σ παλαιουσθαι επι σταφυλων Θ σταφιδων]
 σταφιδος B Q* (-δων Q*) 48 228 2. και εμισθωσαμην] και εσκαψα αυτην Aq
 αργυριαν] αργυριον B A Q 48 62 86 95 147 153 185 228 233 και γομορ κριθων και
 νεβελ οινου] και κορον κριθων και νεβελ οινου Aq και θυλακος κριθων και ασκου οινου Σ
 και γομορ αλφитων και νεβελ οινου 86 Θ και κορον κριθων και ημκορον κριθων οι ο'
 3. ειπον] ειπα BA Q 48 228 233 καθιση] καθιση BA Q 22* (καθιση 22^a) καθησει 62 147
 καθιση επ εμοι] καθιση μοι Aq προδοκησεις με Σ επ εμοι] παρ εμοι 233 και εγω ad fin
 com] και ου μη πορνευσης ουδε μη γενη ανδρι και εγω επι σοι B A Q και εγω] καγω
 A και εγω επι σοι] ponit post ανδρι 48 228 233 αλλα και εγω σε Σ πορνευσης]
 πορνευση] Q^a επι πορνευσεις 36 ουδε μη] ουδ ου μη 62 147 ανδρι] + ετερο A Q
 22 36 48 95 97 153 185 228 233 4. καθισονται] καθισονται B A Q 22* (καθισονται
 22^a) 36 48 51 153 οι] ομι 147 ουδε 2^o] ουκ A Q* (ουδε Q*) 233 ουδε οντος
 θυσιαστηριου] και ουκ ουσης στηλης οι λοιποι + لا صهيلا صهيلا صهيلا
 Syro-Hex ουδε 4^o 5^o] ουτε A ουδε ιερατειας ουδε δελων] και ακουοντος δι
 εδματος και δια μορφωματος Aq ουδε Εφωδ ουδε θεραφιμ (αί επιλυσεως Σ επιλυομενου
 86 Θ) Σ Θ ιερατειας] ιερατίας B* (-ειας B*) 5. ζητησουσι] επιζητησουσιν

- ἐπιστρέφουσιν οἱ υἱοὶ ἰηλ· καὶ ζητήσουσι κν̄ τὸν θν̄ αὐτῶν· καὶ δαδ̄ τὸ βασιλέα αὐτῶν· καὶ ἐκστήσονται ἐπὶ τῷ κω̄ καὶ ἐπὶ τοῖς ἀγαθοῖς αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ
 IV. 1 ἐσχάτων τῶν ἡμερῶν· ¹ ἀκούσατε λόγον κν̄ υἱοὶ ἰηλ· ὅτι κρίσις τῷ κω̄
 πρὸς τοὺς κατοικοῦντας τὴν γῆν· διότι οὐκ ἔστιν ἀλήθεια οὐδὲ ἔλεος οὐδὲ
 2 ἐπίγνωσις θῷ ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς· ² ἀρὰ καὶ ψεῦδος καὶ φόνος καὶ κλοπὴ καὶ
 3 μοιχεία κέχνται ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς· καὶ αἵματα ἐφ' αἵμασιν μίσγονται· ³ διὰ τοῦτο
 πενήθῃσι ἡ γῆ· καὶ σμικρυνθήσεται σὺν πᾶσι τοῖς κατοικοῦσι αὐτήν· σὺν
 τοῖς θηρίοις τοῦ ἀγροῦ· καὶ σὺν τοῖς ἐρπετοῖς τῆς γῆς· καὶ σὺν τοῖς πετει-
 4 νοῖς τοῦ οὐνοῦ· καὶ οἱ ἰχθύες τῆς θαλάσσης ἐκλείψουσιν· ⁴ ὅπως μῆθεις
 μήτε δικάζηται μήτε ἐλέγχηται μῆθεις· ὁ δὲ λαός μου ὡς ἀντιλεγόμενος
 5 ἱερεὺς· ⁵ καὶ ἀσθενήσῃ ἡμέρας καὶ ἀσθενήσῃ καὶ προφίτης μετ' αὐτοῦ
 6 νυκτός· νυκτὶ ὁμοιώσα τὴν μητέρα σου· ⁶ ὁμοιώθῃ ὁ λαός μου ὡς οὐκ
 ἔχων ἐπίγνωσιν· ὅτι καὶ σὺ ἐπίγνωσιν ἀπώσω· ἀπώσομαι σὲ καὶ γὰρ τοῦ
 μὴ ἱερατεύειν μοι· καὶ ἐπελάβου νόμον θῷ σου· ἐπιλήσομαι τέκνων σου
 7 καὶ γὰρ· ⁷ κατὰ τὸ πλῆθος αὐτῶν οὕτως ἡμαρτόν μοι· τὴν δόξαν αὐτῶν εἰς
 8 ἀτιμίαν θήσομαι· ⁸ ἀμαρτίας λαοῦ μου φάγονται· καὶ ἐν ταῖς ἀδικίαις

IV 1, 2 Chrys. In Psal. xiii § 5 Ad Stag. iii 10
 Iviii 2 8* In Ep. 1 ad Tim. v. Homil. xiv 2

6* Chrys. In Ioan. Homil.

BA Q 48 233 κν̄ τον θν̄] τον κν̄ θν̄ A ἐκστήσονται] κτησονται 153 ἐκστή-
 σονται ἐπὶ τῷ κω̄] προσησονται ἐπὶ τῷ κυρίῳ Aq 86 ἐπαινεῶσι τον κυρίον Σ
 ἐσχάτων] ἐσχάτου Q 62 86 147

IV. 1. ἀκούσατε] ἤρ και 62 υἱοὶ] ἤρ οι Q 22 36 51 62 86 97 147 233 Chrys
 οτι] διότι A Q* 233 κρίσις] -εις A 2. ἀρὰ και] ομι OL^o ψεῦδος] ἀρνήσις Aq
 ομνῶν και ἀρνούμενος Σ ὁρκοι και ψεῦδος Θ ἤρ exsecratio et OL^o φόνος] φόβος 62
 86 147 φόνος και κλοπή και μοιχεία] κλοπή και μοιχεία και φόνος (al = Y) Chrys
 κλοπή και μοιχεία] tr 153 κέχνται] ἐκκεχται 153 233 και 5^o] ομι 153
 αἵμασιν] -σι 22 αἵματα 36 μίσγονται] -σιν BA Q 3. πενήθῃσι] -ση 185
 και σμικρυνθήσεται] και μικρυνθήσεται B ομι και Q hab sub ✠ 22 Θ ομι 233 OL^o
 πασι] -σιν BA κατοικοῦσι] -σιν BA 22 σὺν 1^o] ἐν 153 και 2^o 3^o]
 ομι OL^o 4. μῆθεις] μῆδεις B Q μῆτε 1^o] μῆδε Q* (μῆτε Q*) δικα-
 ζῇται] διδάξεται 62 ἐλέγχεται] ἐλεγχῇ BA Q 48 233 ἐλεγχεται 62 86 ἐλε-
 γχειτε 147 μῆθεις 2^o] μῆδεις BA Q ὡς ἀντιλεγόμενος ἱερεὺς] ὡς ο ἀντιδικαν ἱερεῖ
 Aq ὡς ἀντιρρῆσις ἡ πρὸς ἱερεῖ Σ 5. ἀσθενήσῃ 1^o] ἡσθενῆσεν 36 ἡμέρας]
 σημερον Aq και 3^o] ομι B 95 185 ο 48 και ο 86 μετ' αὐτου] μετὰ σου BA Q
 48 62 86 95 97 147 153 185 233 νυκτός] ομι BA Q 1 (hab 22* gas 22*) 86
 νυκτι ὁμοιώσα] νυκτος εἰσιωπησα (al ἐν νυκτι ἡσυχασα al ἐν νυκτι εἰσιγησα Aq) Aq Θ νυκτος
 σιωπησω Σ 6. ὁμοιωθῇ] ἤρ νυκτι A ὁμοιωθῇ ο λαος μου ουκ εχων ἐπίγνωσιν]
 εἰσιωπησεν (ἐφίμαθῃ Σ) ο λαος μου οτι ουκ εχει γνῶσιν Aq Σ Θ ουκ] ομι 22* hab 22*
 ἐπίγνωσιν 1^o] γνῶσιν BA Q 86 48 62 86 233 ἀπογνωσιν (sic infra) 147 οτι και σν]
 ομι και BA Q 48 153 233 ομι σν 228 ἀπώσω] + σν 228 ἀπώσομαι σε καὶ γὰρ]
 καὶ γὰρ (και ἐγὼ A Q) ἀπώσομαι σε BA Q 48 233 μῇ] ομι B Q 233 μοι] με 62
 νομον] νομον A 22 95 97 185 Chrys νομον 228 νομῶν 153 ἐπιλήσομαι τέκνων σου
 καὶ γὰρ] καὶ γὰρ ἐπὶ λ. τέκνων σου BA Q 48 233 ομι τέκνων Chrys 7. θήσομαι] θήσω
 A ἀλλαξω Aq 8. ἀμαρτίας λαου μου φαγονται] ἀμαρτίας ο λαος εσθιει Σ (Chrys
 = Y) και ἐν ταῖς ἀδικίαις ad fin com] και κατὰ τὰς ἀνομίας αὐτῶν εχουσι τὰς ψυχὰς
 αὐτῶν Σ και κατὰ τὰς ἀμαρτίας αὐτῶν ληφονται ἐν ταῖς ψυχαῖς αὐτῶν Θ ἀδικίαις] ἀμαρ-

9 αὐτῶν λήφονται λαοὶ τὰς ψυχὰς αὐτῶν· ⁹ καὶ ἔσται καθὼς ὁ λαὸς οὕτως
καὶ ὁ ἱερεὺς· καὶ ἐκδικήσω ἐπ' αὐτοὺς τὰς ὁδοὺς αὐτῶν· καὶ τὰ διαβουλίαι
10 αὐτῶν ἀνταποδώσω αὐτοῖς· ¹⁰ καὶ φάγονται καὶ οὐ μὴ ἐμπλησθῶσιν·
ἐπόρνευσαν καὶ οὐ μὴ κατευθύνωσιν· διότι τὸν κ̄ν ἐγκατέλιπον τοῦ
11 φυλάξαι ¹¹ πορνείαν· καὶ οἶνον καὶ μέθυσμα ἐδέξατο καρδία λαοῦ μου·
12 ¹² ἐν συμβόλοις ἐπηρώτων· καὶ ἐν ῥάβδοις αὐτοῦ ἀπήγγελλον αὐτῷ· πνεύ-
13 ματι πορνείας ἐπλανήθησαν καὶ ἐξεπόρνευσαν ἀπὸ τοῦ θῦ αὐτῶν· ¹³ ἐπὶ
τὰς κορυφὰς τῶν ὀρέων ἐθυσίαζον· καὶ ἐπὶ τοὺς βουνοὺς ἔθνον ὑποκάτω
ὄρους καὶ λεύκης καὶ δένδρου συσκιάζοντος ὅτι καλὸν σκέπη· διὰ τοῦτο
14 πορνέουσιν αἱ θυγατέρες ὑμῶν· καὶ αἱ νύμφαι ὑμῶν μοιχεύουσιν· ¹⁴ καὶ
οὐ μὴ ἐπισκέψωμαι ἐπὶ τὰς θυγατέρας ὑμῶν ὅταν πορνέωσιν· καὶ ἐπὶ τὰς
νύμφας ὑμῶν ὅταν μοιχεύωσιν· ὅτι καὶ αὐτοὶ μετὰ τῶν πορνῶν συνεφύ-
ροιντο· καὶ μετὰ τῶν τετελεσμένων ἔθνον· καὶ λαὸς ὁ συνίων συνεπλέκετο
15 μετὰ πόρνῃς· ¹⁵ σὺ δὲ ἡλὼς μὴ ἀγνόει καὶ Ἰουδα μὴ εἰσπορεύεσθε εἰς

14^a Adv. Iud. vii 1

ταις 95 185 λήφονται] ληψ. B A λαοί] om B A Q 22^a (hab 22^a) 48 62 86 97
233 ἄλλοι 95 185 228 τας] om 62 95 147 153 185 228 ῥρ καὶ 86 9. καὶ εἶπαι
καθὼς ὁ λαὸς οὕτως καὶ ὁ ἱερεὺς] καὶ ἐγενοντο ὁμοίως ὁ λαὸς καὶ ὁ ἱερεὺς Aq Σ οὕτως]
ντοὶ 86 καὶ 2^o] om 86 καὶ ἐκδικήσω] καὶ ἐπισκεψομαι Aq Σ Θ Quint Sext
αὐτοῦ] αὐτοῦ B A Q 48 233 αὐτῶν 1^o 2^o] αὐτοῦ B A Q 48 86 233 διαβουλίαι]
λεια A αὐτοῖς] αὐτῶν B A Q 48 233 10. ἐμπλησθῶσιν] -σι 22^a (-σιν 22^a)
καὶ οὐ μὴ κατευθύνωσιν] καὶ οὐ πληθυνθήσονται Σ Θ κατευθύνωσιν] -ουσιν A -οσι 22^a
(-σιν 22^a) 62 86 95 147 153 185 228 233 ἐγκατέλιπον] -λειπον A Q 11. πορνείαν
καὶ οἶνον καὶ μέθυσμα ἐδέξατο καρδία] πορνεία καὶ οἶνος καὶ μέθυσμα ἀφαιρείται καρδίαν Σ
12. ἐπηρώτων] ἐσκιρτων 153 καὶ ἐν ῥάβδοις αὐτοῦ] καὶ ἐν ξύλῳ αὐτοῦ Aq καὶ δια ξύλου
... Σ αὐτοῦ] om 153 ἀπήγγελλον] ἀπηγγέλλον B Q 22 αὐτῷ] αὐτοῦ B* (αὐτῶν
B^{ab}) αὐτῶν 147 πνεύματι] ῥρ om 228 233 13. τοὺς βουνούς] τοῖς βουνοῖς 62 αἰνία
ὑποκάτω ὄρους καὶ λεύκης καὶ δένδρου συσκιάζοντος] ὑποκάτω ὄρους καὶ λεύκης καὶ τερέ-
βινθου Aq ὑπο τὴν δρυὶν καὶ πευκὴν καὶ πλατάνον ἐπισκιάζουσιν Σ κατὰ τῆς δρυὸς καὶ
πευκῆς καὶ δένδρου συσκιάζοντος Θ 86 πορνέουσιν] ἐκπορν. (εκ superscr) Y^a 48 228
233 (-σιν 22) ὑμῶν 1^o] ἡμῶν 86 μοιχεύουσιν] -σιν B A Q moecabuntur OL^b
14. καὶ οὐ μὴ ἐπισκεψομαι] οὐκ ἐπισκεψομαι Chrys ἐπὶ 1^o 2^o] om Chrys ὅταν 1^o
-ὅταν 2^o] om 233 πορνέωσιν] -σιν B A -σῶσιν Q Chrys -ουσι Θ μοιχεύωσιν] -σῶσιν
Q Chrys moecat OL^b om καὶ αὐτοὶ] om καὶ B 48 OL^b διότι καὶ αὐτοὶ A Q 233 διότι
αὐτοὶ 228 μετὰ τῶν 1^o—μετὰ τῶν 2^o] om 233 συνεφύροντο] συνανεφύροτο Q^a συνανεφύ-
ροντο 153 ῥρ καὶ 185 ἐχωρίζοντο A ἠκολούθησαν Σ κατηριθμήθησαν 86 Θ καὶ μετὰ
τῶν τετελεσμένων] καὶ μετὰ τῶν διηλλαγμένων (αἱ ἐνδιηλλαγμένων) Aq καὶ μετὰ τῶν
ἀκαθάρτων (αἱ ἐταιριδῶν) Σ καὶ μετὰ τῶν κειραρισμένων (αἱ καὶ τοῖς βδελυγμάτων) 86 Θ
καὶ λαὸς ὁ συνίων συνεπλέκετο] καὶ ὁ λαὸς ὁ συνίων (αἱ συνेतὸς) δαρησεται Aq καὶ ὁ λαὸς
ὁ ἀσυνετός παρελήφθη (αἱ ἠροτραβή) Σ καὶ ὁ λαὸς ὁ μὴ συνίων ταραχθήσεται Θ λαὸς]
ῥρ o B A Q 48 62 95 147 153 185 228 233 + σου 95 ο συνίων] οἱ ο' ου συνίων Q^{ms}
qui non intellegebatur OL^b om o 95 185 14. 15. πορνῆς· σὺ δὲ ἡλὼς] εἰ πορνὸς σὺ
Ἰσραὴλ Aq εἰς πορνείας σὺ Ἰσρ. Σ εἰ πορνέει Ἰσρ. Θ αἱ εἰς πορνείας σὺ Ἰσρ. Aq Σ Θ
Quint 86 15. μὴ ἀγνοεὶ καὶ Ἰουδα] μὴ ἀγνώκει καὶ Ἰουδα 62 147 μὴ πλημμελεῖτω
Ἰουδα Aq Σ Θ αἱ μὴ συμπλημμελεῖται 86 Aq Σ Θ Quint εἰσπορεύεσθε] -σθαί 62 86

γάλαλα· καὶ μὴ ἀναβαίνετε εἰς τὸν οἶκον ὧν· καὶ μὴ ὀμνίετε ζῶντα
 16¹⁶ ὅτι ὡς δάμαλις παροιστρῶσα παροίστησεν ἡλ· νῦν νευμήσει αὐτοὺς
 17 ὡς ἄμνον ἐν εὐρυχώρῃ· ¹⁷ μέτοχος εἰδῶλων ἐφράϊμ ἔθηκεν ἐντὶ σκάνδαλο
 18, 19 ¹⁸ ἡρέτισεν . . . αὐτῶν· ¹⁹ συστροφή πνὸς σὺ εἰ ἐν ταῖς πτέρυξιν αὐτῆς· κα
 V 1 κατασχυνθήσονται ἐκ τῶν θυσιαστηρίων αὐτῶν· ¹ Α . . . ἱερεῖς καὶ προσ
 ἐχετε οἶκος . . . βασιλέως· ἐνωτίσασθε διότι πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἐστὶν τὸ κρίμα· ὅτ
 παγὶς ἐγενήθητε τῇ σκοπιᾷ· καὶ ὡς δίκτυον ἐκτεταμένον ἐπὶ τὸ ἰταβύριον
 2, 3 ² ὁ οἱ ἀγρεύοντες τὴν θήραν κατέπηξαν· ἐγὼ δὲ παιδευτὴς ὑμῶν· ³ ἐγὼ
 ἔγνω τὸν ἐφράϊμ καὶ ἡλ οὐκ ἄπεστιν ἀπ' ἐμοῦ· διότι νῦν ἐξεπόρνευσεν
 4 ἐφράϊμ ἐμάνθη ἡλ· ⁴ οὐκ ἔδωκαν τὰ διαβούλια αὐτῶν τοῦ ἐπιστρέψαι
 πρὸς τὸν θν αὐτῶν· ὅτι πᾶ πορνείας ἐστὶν ἐν αὐτοῖς· τὸν δὲ κν οὐκ
 5 ἐπέγνωσαν· ⁵ καὶ ταπεινωθήσεται ἡ ὑβρις τοῦ ἡλ εἰς πρόσωπον αὐτοῦ·

16^a Adv. Ind. i 2. Theod. In Psal. xxi. In Cant. Cantic. Praef.

αναβαινετε] -εται 51 62 147 εἰς τον οικον αν] εἰς οικον αναφελους (al αναφελη Aq)
 86 Aq εἰς οικον του αναφελους (al αδικιας al αβειας) Σ εἰς οικον αναφελους (al αναφελη
 al της αδικιας) Θ αν] της αδικιας B^{ab} ms A Q (Ων B* Q^{ms} non inst Ων B^b) 36 228 233
 om 147 Og OL^b ζωντα] pr τον 62 86 147 κν] dom dm OL^b 16. οτι]
 διοτι B 48 οτι ως—ηλ] οτι γαλγαλα αιχμαλωτευθησεται και βεληλ εσται ως οχ
 νπαρχουσα· οτι 62 sic nisi αιχμαλωτιυομενη αιχμαλωτευθησεται 86 147 ως 1^o om 22
 (hab 22^a) παροιστρῶσα] εκκλινουσα Aq Θ επιθυμουσα Σ παροιστρησεν] παροι
 στρωσεν Q* tid ηλ] εφραιμ Theod νευμσει] -ση 147 εμισεσα 153 κσ] pr ο 153
 αμνον] αρνον 153 agnos OL^b 17. μετοχος ειδωλων] ηνωθη ειδωλοις 86 Σ Quint
 εφραιμ] ephrem OL^b εαυτω] αυτα 228 17, 18. εθηκεν εαυτω σκανδαλο· ηρετισεν
 (χαναναιους)] ανεπαυσεν εαυτω αρχων συμποσιου αυτων Aq εασον αυτον· επεκλινε το συμπο
 σιον αυταν Σ Quint 86 ανεπαυσον εαυτω· επεκλινε τον οικον αυταν Θ 18. ηρετισεν]
 -εε 22 147 -σαν 228 αυτων] αυτης B Q* (-ων Q*) 48 62 86 95 147 185 suo OL^b
 19. συστροφή] pr haec OL^b συστροφή πνὸς συ εἰ ἐν ταῖς πτέρυξιν αυτης] ενδεσμων
 πνευμα αυτης εν πτερυξιν αυτης Aq ωςπερει τις δησειε τον ανεμον εν ταῖς πτερυξι του
 ανεμου Σ πνὸς] + αυτου 22 62 86 147 153 228 συ εἰ] συρει 22 62 86 147 153
 αυτους συρει 36 51 95 97 185 ταῖς] om Q 233 αυτης] αυτων 228 θυσιαστηριων]
 θυσιων 228

V 1. A . . . ad fin com] Audite haec sacerdotes et adtendite domus Israel et
 domus regis, intuimini: ad vos est iudicium quia ut laqueum facti estis ad insidiam
 et sicut retia extensa ad aviarium venantis OL¹ οἶκος] pr ο B ενωτισασθε]
 ενωτιζεσθε BA Q 48 86 95 147 153 185 228 233 παγῖς] pakis B* (παγῖς B^{ab})
 ἐγενήθητε] ἐγενήθη 95 147 185 τη σκοπία] pr εν 95 185 OL^b τη σκοπευσει Aq τη
 πλατεια 86 Σ επι το ιταβυριον] επι τον ιταβ. 22 147 επι θαβωρ Aq επι το οριον Σ
 επι τον δρυμον 86 Θ in statum OL^b + in se OL^b 2. κατεπηξαν] ηξ sup gas B^{ab}
 υμων] + ειμι 95 185 + sum OL^b 3. τον] το 22* (τον 22^a) εφραιμ 1^o—εφραιμ
 2^o] om 62 ηλ 1^o] pr τον 228 ουκ απεστιν απ εμου] ουκ απεστην (απεστη B^b)
 απ εμου B* ουκ απεστησα απ εμου 228 ουκ επεκαλυφθη εφ εμου Aq ουκ ελαθεσαν . . . Σ
 (86 Θ = Y) om ουκ OL^b 22* (hab 22^{ms}) απ εμου] μου 86 147 εξεπορνευσεν]
 -νευσεν 22 εφραιμ 2^o] ephre et OL^b 4. ουκ εδωκαν] non dabunt OL^a
 διαβουλῖα] -λεια A επιτηδευματα Aq βουλας Σ γνωμην Θ του επιστρεψαι] om OL^a
 uti convertantur OL^b προς τον θν αυτων] ad dom OL^b τον θν] om τον 228
 πορνείας] πορνῖας B* (-εας B^{ab}) ἐστὶν ἐν αυτοῖς] εν αυτ. ἐστὶν BA Q 48 228 233 in
 eis est OL^b in medio eorum OL^a 5. και 1^o] sed OL^b η υβρις] η υπερηφανα

καὶ ἡλ καὶ ἐφραίμ ἀσθενήσουσιν ἐν ταῖς ἀδικίαις αὐτῶν καὶ ἀσθενήσει
 6 καὶ ἰούδας μετ' αὐτῶν * μετὰ προβάτων καὶ μόσχων πορεύονται τοῦ
 ἐκζητῆσαι τὸν κν' καὶ οὐ μὴ εὕρωσιν αὐτόν· ὅτι ἐκκέκλιεν γὰρ ἀπ' αὐτῶν
 7 ὅτι τὸν κν' ἐνκατέλιπον· ὅτι τέκνα ἀλλότρια ἐγενήθησαν αὐτοῖς· νῦν
 8 καταφάγεται αὐτοὺς ἡ ἐρυσίβη καὶ τοὺς κλήρους αὐτῶν * σαλπίζατε
 σάλπιγγι ἐπὶ τοὺς βουνούς· ἡχήσατε ἐπὶ τῶν ὑψηλῶν· κηρύξατε ἐν τῷ
 9 οἴκῳ ὧν· ἐξέστη βενιαμὴν * ἐφραίμ εἰς ἀφανισμόν ἐγένετο ἐν ἡμέραις
 10 ἡλέγχου· ἐν ταῖς φυλαῖς τοῦ ἡλ ἔδειξα πιστά· 10 ἐγένοντο οἱ ἄρχοντες
 11 ἰούδα ὡς μετὰ . . . ἐκχεῶ ὡς ὕδωρ τὸ ὄρημά . . . 11. ἐφραίμ τὸν ἀντιδικὸν
 αὐτοῦ· κατεπάτησε τὸ κρίμα· ὅτι ἤρξατο πορεύεσθαι ὀπίσω τῶν ματαίων·
 12, 13 καὶ ἐγὼ ὡς ταραχὴ τῷ ἐφραίμ καὶ ὡς κέντρον τῷ οἴκῳ ἰούδα· 13 καὶ
 εἶδεν ἐφραίμ τὴν νόσον αὐτοῦ· καὶ ἰούδας τὴν ὀδύνην αὐτοῦ· καὶ ἐπορεύθη
 ἐφραίμ πρὸς ἀσσυρίους· καὶ ἀπέστειλε πρέσβεις πρὸς βασιλέα ἰαρείμ· καὶ
 αὐτὸς οὐκ ἠδυνάσθη ῥύσασθαι αὐτούς· καὶ οὐ μὴ διαπαύσῃ ἐξ αὐτῶν ὀδύνη·
 14 διότι ἐγὼ εἰμι ὡς πανθῆρ τῷ ἐφραίμ· καὶ ὡς λέων τῷ οἴκῳ ἰούδα· καὶ

V 9 Chrys. In Is. iii 4

Αἱ θ η υβρις Σ του ἡλ] ομι του 153 και 2°] ομι OL^h ασθενησουσιν] -σωσιν
 62 147 ασθενησει] -ση 147 infirmabuntur OL^h και 5°] + γε Α ομι 228 6. οτι
 εκκεκλιεν γαρ] οτι εξεκλεινεν Α Q* (εκκεκλιεν Q^{ms}) -κε 22 οτι εξεκλεινεν 233 ομι οτι
 23 36 51 62 86 95 97 147 185 228 OL^h ομι γαρ Β Α Q 7. οτι 1°] ομι 233 τον]
 ομι 51 228 ενκατελιπον] εγκ. B^{ab} (ενκ. B*) εγκατελειπον Α Q οτι 2°] και Α
 γενηθησαν] εγεννηθησαν Β Α εγεννησαν Q* (α' θ' εγεννηθησαν Q^{ms}) 62 86 95 147 153
 185 θ sunt OL^h αυτοις] εαυτοις 62 86 95 147 153 185 νυν] ρη και 228
 ρησιβη] νεομηρια Αἱ μην Σ θ αυτων] αυτους 233 8. σαλπιγγι] λ sup ras Α*
 ηχησατε] ψυχησατε 62 ηχυσατε 153 ρη dmo OL^h κηρυξατε εν τω οικω αν] αλαλαξατε
 ει οικον αναιφελους Αἱ . . . εν βηθων Σ σημανατε τω οικω αν θ (εις οικον αναιφελους Α Σ
 αν Σ θ 86^{ms}) κηρυξατε εν] ομι OL^h αν] og OL^h εξεστη] οπισω σου Αἱ Σ θ
 κατα τωτου σου 86 Quint et expavit OL^h βενιαμειν] βενιαμιν 22* (-μειν 22*) uenia-
 min OL^h 9. εφραιμ] ρη και 233 εγενετο] εγενοντο Chrys ημεραις] ημερα
 147 151 vid εν 2°] sup ras Β? του] ομι 95 185 εδειξα] -ξεν 228 -ξατο 233 ρη
 ibi OL^h 10. ως] ομι OL^h ως μετὰ . . .] ως παρορμίζοντες Σ ομοια τοις αποτεμνο-
 μοις ορια Quint ως υδωρ το ορημα μου] . . . ανυπερθεσιαν μου Αἱ υδροκελιαν
 ορηματος μου Σ ως υδωρ τον κολον μου θ 11. κατεπατησε] -σεν Β Α Q 22* (-σε 22*)
 το κριμα] ομι το Α Q* 22* (hab 22*) 62 86 147 233 12. ταραχη] βρωστηρ Αἱ
 ενρας Σ και ως] ομι και 95 185 OL^h και ωςει 153 κεντρον] σηψις Αἱ Σ 13. αυτου
 1°] αυτων 153 την οδυνην] επιδεσιν (α' συνδεσμον) Αἱ dolores OL^h απεστειλε]
 αν Β Α Q απεσταλεν 62 προς βασιλεα ιαρειμ] δικασομενον (α' δικαζοντα) Αἱ φονα
 (α' φονεντην) Σ κριστως θ (α' δικασομενον 86^{ms}) ιαρειμ] ιαρειβ Q* ιαριμ 22 ιαρηβ 153
 iurim OL^h Syto-Hex αυτος] ουτος Β 48 ουκ ηδυνασθη ρυσασθαι] ου δυνη-
 εται ιασασθαι Αἱ Σ θ Quint Sext ηδυνασθη] εδυνηθη 22 51 ηδυνηθη 36 62 86 95 97
 147 153 185 228 233 potius OL^h ρυσασθαι] ιασασθαι Β Α Q (οι ο' ρυσασθαι Q^{ms})
 48 233 αυτους] υμας Β Α Q 48 62 86 95 147 153 185 233 (eos OL^h) διαπαυση]
 -σει 36 αυτων] υμων Β Α Q 14. διوتي] ρη εγενετο γαρ εφραιμ ως περιστερα ανους
 ουκ εχουσα καρδιαν αιγυπτον επεκαλειτο και εις ασσυριους επορευετο 228 ειμι] ομι OL^h
 ως πανθηρ τω εφραιμ και ως λεων] ως λεαινα (α' ως επιβολη λεαινης Σ α' ως λις θ) τω

ἐγὼ ἀρπῶμαι καὶ πορεύσομαι καὶ λήψομαι· καὶ οὐκ ἔσται ὁ ἐξαιρούμενος
 15¹⁵ πορεύσομαι καὶ ἐπιστρέψω εἰς τὸν τόπον μου· ἔως οὗ ἀφανισθῶσι καὶ
 VI 1 ἐπιστρέψουσιν καὶ ζητήσουσι τὸ πρόσωπόν μου· ¹ ἐν θλίψει αὐτῶν ὀρθριοῦς
 πρὸς μὲ λέγοντες πορευθῶμεν καὶ ἐπιστρέψωμεν πρὸς κν̄ τον θν̄ ἡμῶν· ὅτι
 2 αὐτὸς πέπ*κεν ἡμᾶς καὶ ἰάσεται ἡμᾶς· πατάξει καὶ μοτώσει ἡμᾶς· ² ὑγιᾶ-
 σει ἡμᾶς μετὰ δύο ἡμέρας· ἐν τῇ τρίτῃ ἡμέρᾳ ἀναστήσομεθα· καὶ ζητήσομεθα
 3 ἐνώπιον αὐτοῦ· ³ καὶ γνωσόμεθα· διώξομεν τοῦ γνῶναι τὸν κν̄· ὡς ὀρθρον
 4 ἔτοιμον εὐρησο· . . . ἥξει ἡμῶν ὡς νετὸς πρόμιος καὶ ὄψιμος τῇ γῇ· ⁴ τί σοι
 ποιήσω ἐφραίμ; τί σοι ποιήσω ἰούδα; ὁ δὲ ἔλεος ὑμῶν ὡς νεφέλη πρωινῇ
 5 καὶ ὡς δρόσος ὀρθρινῇ πορευομένη· ⁵ διὰ τοῦτο ἀπεθέρισα τοὺς προφήτας
 ὑμῶν· ἀπέκτεινα αὐτοὺς ἐν ῥήματι στόματός μου· καὶ τὸ κρίμα μου ὡς φῶς
 6 ἐξελεύσεται· ⁶ διότι ἔλεον θέλω ἢ θυσίαν· καὶ ἐπιγνώσιν θῷ ἡ ὀλοκαυτώ-

VI 1^b Chrys. *Ad Vid. Jnn.* 1 3^b *In Matth. Hom.* xxii 6 4^a *In Psal.* lxxii 2
 4^b *In Matth. Hom.* xxii 6 5^a *In Ep. ad Ephes.* iii. *Hom.* vii 1. Theod.
In Dan. Praef. 5^c Chrys. *In Psal.* xlv 9 6^a *Ad Stag.* i 5. *De Eleemos.* v.

ἐφραιμ καὶ ὡς σκυμνος Aq ΣΘ τοι οικω] *pr* εν Q^a 228 αρπῶμαι] αρπουμαι 86 147
 αρπασαι 153 καὶ ληψομαι] καὶ ληψ. BA om 153 εσται] om 86 εστιν 228 233
 15. μου 1^o + priorem OL^b εως ου αφανισθωσι καὶ επιστρεψουσιν καὶ ζητησουσι] εως
 ου πλημμυλησωσι . . . Aq Θ εως ου πλημμυλουντες επιζητησωσι Σ αφανισθωσι] -σιν
 BA Q 22* (-σι 22*) καὶ επιστρεψουσιν] om BA Q 48 62 86 153 233 228* (*hab* 228*)
 καὶ επιστρεψωσι 62 147 om OL^b OL^{tert} καὶ 3^o ut OL^{tert} (et OL^b) (ζητησουσι]
 -σιν B επιζητησουσιν A Q -σωσι 62 86 153 επιζητησωσι 233

VI. 1. ἐν θλίψει αὐτῶν] οταν θλιβωσιν 233 ὀρθριοῦς] -σιν A Q προσορβριοῦς 95
 185 προσορβριοῦς 153 diluculo vigilabunt OL^b ante lucem surgent OL^{tert} πορευ-
 θωμεν] δευτε 233 καὶ επιστρεψωμεν] om 62 -ομεν 147 κν̄] *pr* τον Q^a om
 153 πεπ*κεν] ηπρακεν BA Q 48 επαισε (*al* πεπταικε) Θ ο θηρευσας Σ laesit
 OL^b OL^c ημας 1^o] om BA Q 62 86 95 147 185 228 OL^b OL^c ιασεται
 salvavit OL^b vivificabit OL^c curabit (*al* sanabit) OL^{tert} ημας 2^o 3^o υμας
 147 παταξει καὶ μοτωσει ημας] om 62 228 (*hab* 228^{ms}) OL^b καὶ μοτωσει ημας]
 καὶ μαλαγματισει ημας Σ 86 + percutiet et miserebitur nostri OL^b μοτωσει] μοτωσει
 B^a?^b A^a?^{tert} (μοτ sup ras A^b) 2. υγιασει] (Σ επιδησει 'Α αναζωσει 'Ε υγειεις αποδειξει
 86^{ms}) υγιασει ημας] om OL^b OL^{tert} ημας υμας 147 ημερας] + et OL^b ἐν
 τη τριτη ημερα] ἐν τη ημ. τη τρ. BA Q 86 11 (*exc* 22 51 147) αναστησομεθα] *pr* καὶ
 B Q εξαναστ. 22 48 233 ενωπιον] εναντιον Q 11 (*exc* 22 48 233) 3. καὶ γνωσομεθα·
 διωξομεν] γνωμεν ουν σπευσαι Σ παιδευθωμεν ουν καὶ επειχθωμεν Quint διωξομεν]
 -ωμεν 11 (*exc* 153) ως ὀρθρον ετοιμον ευρησο . . .] om ως ὀρθρος βεβαια η επιφανεια αυτου
 Quint ημιν ως νετος] ως νετος ημιν BA Q 48 233 υμιν ως νετος 147 228 προμιος]
 προμιος B^{ab} Q^a 22 (προμιος B^a A Q^a) τη γῇ] om τη B 48 233 4. σοι ποιησω 1^o 2^o
tr Chrys εφραιμ] + τι ποιησω σοι Μανασση Chrys τι 2^o] *pr* καὶ 36 228^a ο δε
 ελεος] το δε ελεος BA Q Chrys το δε ελεον 228 ο γαρ περι υμας οικτιρμος 86 Quint
 υμων] μου Chrys νεφελη] lux OL^b πορευομενη] eris OL^b παραπορευομενη Chrys
 5. απεθερισα] ελατομησα Aq Θ ουκ εφεισαμην Σ εξεκοφα 86 Quint τους προφητας-
 στοματος μου] απεκτεινα δι υμας τους προφητας εν ρηματι στοματος μου Theod απε-
 κτεινα] τ superscr Y^a απεκτεινον Chrys ρηματι] ρημασιν A Q^a (οι ο' Q^{ms}) -ματι Q^a
 καὶ το κριμα μου ως] η δικαιοκρισια 86 Quint μου 2^o] αυτου Chrys 6. ελεον]
 ελεος BA Q 48 233 ελαιον 86 θελω] mallo OL^c mallit OL^{tert} (volo OL^b) η 1^o
 καὶ ου A Q^a (η Q^a) 36 51 62 86 147 228^{ms} 233 Chrys quam OL^b c a tert η θυσιαν]
 om OL^b ολοκαυτωματα] ολοκαυτωμα 95 185 holocausta OL^b holocaustomata

7 ματα· 7 αὐτοὶ δὲ εἰσιν ὡς ἄνθρωπος παραβαίνων διαθήκην· ἐκεῖ κατεφρό-
 8,9 νησάν μου 8 γαλαὰδ· πόλις ἐργαζομένη μάταια ταρασσουσα ὕδωρ· 9 καὶ
 ἡ ἰσχὺς σου ὡς ἀνδρὸς πειρατοῦ· ἐκρυψαν ἱερεῖς ὁδόν· ἐφόνευσαν σίκιμα
 10 ὅτι ἀνομίαν ἐποίησαν 10 ἐν οἴκῳ τοῦ ἱηλ· εἶδον φρικώδη ἐκεῖ· πορνείαν τοῦ
 11 ἐφραίμ· ἐμίανθη ἱηλ καὶ ἰουδας ἀφη*****σμον αὐτοῦ· 11 ἄρχου τρυγᾶν
 1 σεαυτῷ ἐν τῷ ἐπιστρέφειν με τὴν αἰχμαλωσίαν τοῦ λαοῦ μου· 1 ἐν τῷ VII
 ἰασασθαι με τὸν ἱηλ· καὶ ἀποκαλυφθήσεται ἡ ἀδικία ἐφραίμ καὶ ἡ κακία
 σαμαρείας· ὅτι ἠργάσαντο ψευδῇ· καὶ κλέπτῃς πρὸς αὐτὸν εἰσελεύσεται·
 2 ἐκδιδύσκων ληστής ἐν . . . 2. συναδῶσιν ὡς ἄδοντες ἐν . . . πασῶν τῶν
 κακιῶν αὐτῶν ἐμν . . . σεν αὐτοὺς τὰ διαβούλια αὐτῶν· ἀπέναντι τοῦ προσ-
 3 ὤπου μου ἐγένοντο· 3 ἐν ταῖς κακίαις αὐτῶν εὐφραναν βασιλεῖς· καὶ ἐν
 4 τοῖς ψεύδεσιν αὐτῶν ἄρχοντας· 4 πάντες μοιχεύοντες· ὡς κλίβανος καίομενος
 εἰς πέψιν κατακαύσει αὐτοὺς ἀπὸ τῆς φλογός· ἀπὸ θυράσεως στέατος· ἔως

OL^{ab} holocausta OL^a 7. καταφρονῆσαν] -σεν BAQ -σε L (exx 62 95 97 147 185
 8. γαλαὰδ] γαλγαλα 22* (γαλαὰδ 22*) 36 51 95 97 153 185 228^{ms} (galaad OL^{ab})
 ἐργαζομένη ματαια ταρασσουσα ὕδωρ] quae operatur stulta turbat aquas OL^f (operans
 vana turbans aquam OL^b) ταρασσουσα ὕδωρ] περικαμῃς ἀπο αιματος Aq διωκεται
 ἀπο αιματος Σ η πτερνα αὐτῆς ἀφ αιματος Θ υποσκελιζουσα καὶ δολοφονουσα 86 Quint
 9. καὶ η ισχυς σου ανδρος πειρατου] καὶ ὡς θυρεὸς ἀνδρὸς ευζωνων Aq καὶ ὡς φρυαγμα
 ἀνδρὸς υποκριτου Σ ὡς λοχος πολυχειριας ληστρικης 86 Quint σου] μου 147 ὡς]
 om BAQ 48 228 233 OL^b (hab OL^f) εκρυψαν ιερεῖς οδον εφονευσαν σικιμα] η
 παροιδουντας εἰς συχημ δια της ειδωλοποιας αυτων της αθεμιτου Quint (Hieronymus:
 Participatio sacerdotum in via occidebant humeros Aq Societas sacerdotum in via
 interficiebant sichem Σ Absconderunt sacerdotes viam interficiebant in dorso Θ
 ιρεῖς] οἱ ιερεῖς σου 228^{ms} pr οἱ 233 οδον] + κῦ A Q σικιμα] σικημα 22^a (σικιμα 22*)
 σικιμα 95 185 10. οικω] pr τω 22 του ἱηλ] om του A Q* (hab του Q*) 153 233
 φρικωδη ἐκεῖ] tr 86 om ἐκεῖ OL^b καὶ ιουδας—αρχου τρυγαν σεαυτω in com seq] καὶ
 σοι (συ 86) ιουδα αποκείται θερισμος Σ 86 ἀλλὰ καὶ συ ιουδα παρασκευαζε σαυτον εἰς το
 εθερισθησαι Quint ιουδας] ιουδα BQ 48 233 αφη*****σμον αυτου] om BAQ
 48 233 OL^b αφηκε θερισμον αυτου L (exx 48 233) 11. με] om OL^b αιχμαλωσιαν]
 αιχμασιαν Q + αυτου 153

VII. 1. ἐν 1^o] pr et OL^b ιασασθαι] ιασθαι 36 95 185 τον] του 153· ἀδικια]
 κακια Q^a 233 κακια] ἀδικια 153 ηργασαντο] ειργ. B^{ab} A Q (ηργ. B*) ειργασαντο 22
 (r superscr) καὶ κλεπτῃς—εκδιδυσκων] Σ ληστής 4 ἐν τη οδῳ αὐτου Θ καὶ κλεπτῃς
 μὲν εἰσηλθεν ἐκδυον δε ληστηριον ἐξω Σ καὶ κλεπτῃς μὲν ἐστιν ἐνδον λωποδυτῃς δε ληστευει
 τα ἐξω Quint 2. . . . συναδῶσιν ὡς ἀδοντες ἐν . . . πασῶν των κακιων αυτων ἐμν . . .]
 καὶ μηποτε εἰπωσι ταις καρδιας αυτων πασαν κακιαν αυτων ἐμνησθην Aq (αἱ ὡς λεγοντες ἐν
 τη καρδια αυτων . . . Aq Θ συναδῶσιν] -ουσιν A ἀδοντες] συναδοντες A Q 233 ἐν]
 om BAQ πασων—ἐμν(ησθην)] om 95 185 πασων των κακιων] πασας τας κακίας
 BAQ 48 228 233 πασων γαρ των κακιων 86 . . . σεν] (εκυκλω)σαν B (-σεν A Q)
 τα διαβουλια αυτων] επιτηδευματα αυτων Aq Σ ασεβηματα αυτων Quint (Theod affert:
 'ΑΣ τα επιτηδευματα) (Σ επιτηδευματα 'Ε ασεβηματα 86^{ms}) μου ἐγενοντο] sup ras A^b
 ἐγενοντο] ἐγενέτο Q 3. κακίαις] καρδιαῖς 147 αυτων 1^o] om 95 185 βασιλεις] βασι-
 λειας Q* (οἱ ο' -λεα Q^{ms}) βασιλεια Aq Σ βασιλεις Θ ψευδεσιν] sup ras A^b 4. παντες
 μοιχευοντες—του ζυμωθηναι αυτο] απαντες εἰς το μοιχευειν εκπερουμενοι ὡς οπτανιον
 υπο του πεποντος· επανασατο προς ολιγον η πολις (της) του φυραματος κοινοβιας καὶ μετα
 μικρον πασα ἐζυμωθη Quint· μοιχευοντες] μοιχευωντες A (es sup ras A^b) κατακαυσει
 αυτους] κατακαυματος BAQ 48 228 233 στεατος] εἰς στεατος (cum o superscr) 147

5 τοῦ ζυμωθῆναι αὐτὸ ὅλον· ⁵ αἱ ἡμέραι τῶν βασιλείων ὑμῶν ἤρξαντο ἄρχοντες
 6 θυμοῦσθαι ἐξ οἶνου· ἐξέτεινε τὴν χεῖρα αὐτοῦ μετὰ λοιμῶν· ⁶ διότι ἀνεκα-
 ῖθησαν ὡς κλίβανος αἱ καρδίαι αὐτῶν ἐν τῷ ἐνεδρεῖν αὐτοὺς ὅλην τὴν νύκτα·
 ὑπνον ἐφράϊμ ἐνεπλήσθη· πρῶτὴ ἐνεγενήθη καὶ ἀνεκαῖθη ὡς πυρὸς φέγγος·
 7 ⁷ πάντες ἐθερμάνθησαν ὡς κλίβανος· καίόμενος κατέφαγε τοὺς κριτὰς
 αὐτῶν· πάντες οἱ βασιλεῖς αὐτῶν ἔπεσον οὐκ ἦν ἐν αὐτοῖς ὁ ἐπικαλούμενος
 8 πρὸς μέ· ⁸ ἐφράϊμ ἐν τοῖς λαοῖς αὐτοῦ συνανέμειντο· ἐφράϊμ ἐγένετο ἐγ-
 9 . . . φόμενος· ⁹ κατέφαγον ἀλλότριον . . . αὐτὸς δὲ οὐκ ἔγνω· καὶ πολία-
 10 ἐξήν . . . αὐτὸς οὐκ ἔγνω· ¹⁰ καὶ ταπεινωθῇ . . . πρόσωπον αὐτοῦ· καὶ οὐκ
 11 ἔπε . . . ἦν αὐτῶν· καὶ οὐκ ἐζήτησαν αὐτὸν ἐν πᾶσι τούτοις· ¹¹ καὶ ἦν
 ἐφράϊμ ὡς περισσότερα ἄνους οὐκ ἔχουσα καρδίαν· αἰγυπτον ἐπεκαλοῦντο·
 12 καὶ εἰς ἀσσυρίους ἐπορεύθησαν· ¹² καθὼς ἂν πορεύονται ἐπιβαλὼν ἐπ' αὐτοὺς
 τὸ δίκτυόν μου· καθὼς τὰ πετεινὰ τοῦ οὐνοῦ κατάξω αὐτούς· παιδεύσω αὐτοὺς
 13 ἐν τῇ ἀκοῇ τῆς θλίψεως αὐτῶν· ¹³ οὐαὶ αὐτοῖς· ὅτι ἀπεπήδησαν ἀπ' ἐμοῦ·

VII 6th Chrys. In Psal. cxviii. iii 211th In Gen. Sermo ii

ⲙⲁⲗⲁ Syro-Hex ὅλον] om BAQ 48 228 233 5. αἱ] om BAQ 48 228* 233
 ἡμέραι τῶν βασιλείων ὑμῶν] ἡμέρα βασιλείας ἡμῶν Σ Θ (Θ ἡμέραι βασιλείας ὑμῶν 86^{me})
 ὑμῶν] ἡμῶν A ἀρχοντες] ῥη οι BAQ^{me} (om οι Q*) 48 228 ἐξέτεινε] -νεν BAQ
 -ναν Ξ (εxc 36 48 228 233 -νεν) τὴν χεῖρα] ἐν τῇ χεὶρ Q αὐτοῦ] αὐτῶν (aw
 gas) Y* (-ου Y*) Ξ (εxc 36 48 228 233) μετὰ λοιμῶν] λοιμῶν 86 χλευσάσταν Aq
 6. διότι ἀνεκαῖθησαν] ὅτι ἡγγίσαν Aq Θ ἡγγίσαν γὰρ Σ (A ἡγγίσαν 86^{me}) αἱ καρδίαι
 αὐτῶν] τῇ καρδίᾳ αὐτῶν Aq Σ ἐν τῷ ἐνεδρεῖν—κλίβανος in com seq] om 36 ἐν
 τῷ ἐνεδρεῖν αὐτοὺς] ἐν τῷ καταρασσεῖν αὐτοὺς BAQ Ξ (εxc 22^{me} 228^{me}) (οἱ λοιπ.,
 ἐρμενεύτ. ἐνδρεῖν 22^{me}) ὑπνον] ὑπνον 86 ὑπνον ἐφράϊμ ἐνεπλήσθη] ὑπνωσεν
 οὐ πείσαν πρῶτας Aq ὑπνον pistor αὐτῶν Σ ἐκοιμῶντο (αἱ ἐκαθεύδον) οὐ πείσαν Θ ἐνε-
 πλήσθη] ἐπλήσθη + διότι ἀνεκαῖθησαν ὡς κλίβανος αἱ καρδίαι αὐτῶν 147 πρὸς ἐνεγενήθη
 καὶ ἀνεκαῖθη] πρῶτας ἐστὶ ζυμῶν Aq πρῶτας δὲ ἐξέκαυσεν Σ πρὸς ἐνεγενήθη ἀνεκαῖθη
 Θ ἐνεγενήθη] γε sup gas B' ἐγενήθη A Q Ξ (εxc 36 48 228 = Y) καὶ] om BAQ
 22 36 48 228 233 ἀνεκαῖθη] ἀνεκαῖθησαν Q* πυρὸς] πυρ A Q* (πυρὸς Q*)
 φέγγος] φλόγος 62 86 147 7. κλίβανος] + αἱ καρδίαι αὐτῶν 233 καίόμενος] om
 36 48 228 233 καίόμενος κατέφαγε] καὶ κατέφαγον B 48 228 233 πυρὸς καίόμενος αἱ
 καρδίαι αὐτῶν κατέφαγον πυρ A αἱ καρδίαι αὐτῶν κατέφαγε Q* (Q* = B) καὶ πυρ κατέ-
 φαγεν 36 62 86 95 147 153 185 καὶ ἀπλώσαν Quint et ignis comedit OL* ἐπέσον]
 ἐπέσαν B Q* (-σαν Q*) 48 153 228 ἐν] om 62 233 ἐν αὐτοῖς οὐ ἐπικαλούμενος] ο
 ἐπικ. ἐν αὐτ. BAQ 8. αὐτοῦ] αὐτοῖς 95 185 συνανέμειντο] συνέμειντο B 48
 228 233 ἐγ . . .] ἐν (ἐφράϊμ) B ἐγ . . . φόμενος] αἱ ἐν σποδῇ πείσσομενος ἄρτος
 ἀμειψόμενος Quint 9. αὐτοῖς 8e] καὶ αὐτοῖς 36 οὐκ ἔγνω· καὶ πολία ἐξήν . . .]
 οὐκ ᾔθετο καὶ ταῦτα πολία ᾔδη τυγχάνων Quint ἐγὼν 1^o] ἐπὶ γὰρ A ἐγὼν 1^o
 —ἐγὼν 2^o] om 36 147 πολία] πολία 22 51 62 95 153 185 10. ἐπὶ . . .] μετε-
 νοσῶν Quint ἐζήτησαν] ἐξεζήτησαν BA 36 48 95 153 185 228 233 ἐπεκαλοῦντο
 Quint αὐτῶν] αὐτῶν 62 παρὶ] παρὶν A 11. αἱ] αἱ 153 αὐτοῖς] θελγο-
 μένη Aq ἀπαταμένη Σ (A ἀπαταμένη ἀνοήτως 86^{me}) ἔχουσα] ἔχουσαν B* (-σα B*)
 ἐπεκαλοῦντο] ἐπεκαλεῖτο BA Q* (ἐπεκαλεῖτο Q*) 48 153 228 233 εἰς] om 185
 ἐπορεύθησαν] ἐπορεύοντο 62 86 147 12. ἐν αὐτοῖς] κοινῇ· ὅτι καὶ κοινῇ πάντες ἐξη-
 μαρτυροῦν Quint κατάξω] ἀξω 95 185 ἐν τῇ ἀκοῇ τῆς θλίψεως αὐτῶν] κατὰ ἀκοῆς
 (δοτ' ἀκοῆς) τῆς στυγερῆς Aq . . . μαρτυρίας Σ 13. ἀπεπήδησαν] ἀπεπέπηδη B π

Δειλαιοί εἰσιν ὅτι ἡσέβησαν εἰς ἐμέ· ἐγὼ δὲ ἐλυτρωσάμην αὐτούς· καὶ
 14 αὐτοὶ κατελάλησαν κατ' ἐμοῦ ψευδῆ· ¹⁴ καὶ οὐκ ἐβόησαν πρὸς με αἱ καρδίαι
 αὐτῶν· ἀλλ' ἡ ὠλόλυζον ἐν ταῖς κοίταις αὐτῶν· ἐπὶ σίτῳ καὶ οἴνῳ κατετέ-
 15 μνοντο· ¹⁵ ἐπαιδευθήσαν ἐν ἐμοὶ καὶ ἐγὼ κατίσχυσα τοὺς βραχίονας αὐτῶν·
 16 καὶ εἰς ἐμέ ἐλογίσαντο πονηρά· ¹⁶ ἐπεστράφησαν εἰς οὐθέν· ἐγένοντο ὡς
 τόξον οὐ τεταμένον· πεσοῦνται οἱ ἄρχοντες αὐτῶν ἐν ῥομφαίᾳ διὰ ἀπαιδευ-
 17 σίαν γλώσσης αὐτῶν· οὗτος ὁ φανλισμὸς αὐτῶν ἐν γῇ αἰγύπτου· ¹ ***φά- VIII
 ρυγ*****ὡς γῇ ἄβατος ὡς σάλπιγξ· ὡς ἀετὸς ἐπ' οἶκον κῦ ἀνθ' ὧν
 παρέβησαν τὴν διαθήκην μου· καὶ κατὰ τοῦ νόμου μου ἡσέβησαν·
 18 ¹⁸ ¹*****ταὶ ὁ θς ἐγνώκαμέν σε· ² ὅτι ἠλ . . . θά ἐχθρὸν κατεδί-
 4 ῶξαν· ⁴ ἐαυτοῖς ἐβασίλευσαν καὶ οὐ δι' ἐμοῦ· ἤρξαν καὶ οὐκ ἐγνώρισάν μου·
 τὸ ἀργύριον αὐτῶν καὶ τὸ χρυσίον αὐτῶν ἐποίησαν ἐαυτοῖς εἰδῶλα ὅπως
 5 ἐξολεθρευθῶσιν· ⁵ ἀπορρίψον τὸν μόσχον σου σαμάρεια· παρωξύνθη ὁ

VIII 4^a Chrys. *Ad Pop. Antioch.* iii 2

3^o sup ras B^{ab} δειλαιοι] δικαιοι 153 δειλαιοι εισιν] προνομη αυτοις Aq διαφθορα Σ
 κεκρηθουσιν Quint ταλαιπωρια . . . Θ και αυτοι] αυτοι δε BA Q 48 153 228 233
 κατ] περι 233 14. και 1^o omi 51 αλλ η] αλλ 95 185 αλλ η ωλολυζον εν ταις κοι-
 ταις αυτων] αλλα ασελγως ελαλησαν . . . (al αλλ η εχρεμετισαν εν κατακλισειςιν αυτων
 Σ) Aq Σ (al αλλα ασελγως ελαλησαν Σ 86^{ms}) εν] επι Q^a 228 επι σιτω και οινω
 κατετεμνοντο] υπο τρυφης και πλησμονης σιτου και οινου απεστησαν μου Quint (Θ=Y)
 + εξελιναν απ εμου 86^{ms} 15. και εγω] καγω B κατισχυσα] α 2^o sup ras A¹
 και 2^o omi A 16. επεστραφησαν] απεστρ. BA Q 48 95 97 153 185 228 233
 επεστραφησαν εις ουθεν] ανεστρεψαν εις το μη εχειν ζυγον Σ απεστησαν ινα διαγωσιν ανεν
 ζυγου Quint ως] εις 95 185 ου τεταμενον] omi ου BA Q (hab ου Q^a) εντεταμενον 86
 48 86 228 233 ου τεταγμενον 153 ανεστραμμενον Σ διαστροφον Quint οι αρχοντες
 αυτων εν ρομφαια] εν ρομφ. οι αρχ. αυτων BA Q 48 153 228 αυτων 1^o omi 62 86
 147 δια] δι B δια απαιδουσιν] απο εμβριμσεως Aq δι εμβριμσιν Σ δι απαιδευ-
 σιν Θ δια μανιαν Quint (A Σ εμβριμσιν 86^{ms}) γλωσσης—ως com 1 in cap seq]
 αιγυπτου επι φαρνγγι αυτων ως γη αβατος ως σαλπιγξ 51 ουτος ο φανλισμος αυτων εν
 γη αιγυπτου] τουτο εστιν ο εφθεγξατο εν Αιγυπτω Σ αυτην εβλασφημησαν Quint φαν-
 λισμος] μυχθισμος Aq αιγυπτου]-τω BA Q 48 51 62 86 147 228

VIII. I. ***φαρυγ*****ως γη αβατος ως σαλπιγξ] εις κολπον αυτων ως γη BA Q 48
 51 233 επι φαρνγγι (φαραγγι 147) αυτων ως γη αβατος ως σαλπιγξ (σαλπηξ 62) 22 36 62
 86 95 97 147 153 185 εις κολπον αυτων ως γη αβατος ως αλωπηξ 228 επι φαρνγγι σου κερα-
 τινη + ܟܪܬܝܢܐ? ܟܪܬܝܢܐ Syro-Hex Σ in sinu eorum sicut terra OL^w
 οικον] οικον 153 ησεβησαν] omi B (hab B^{ab} 86^{ms}) 1, 2. και κατα του νομου μου
 ησεβησαν ***] και επι του νομου μου ηθετησαν με Aq Σ Θ 2. *****ται] με
 κεκραζονται BA Q προς με (με 62 86 147) κεκραζονται 3L (exc. 48 233) in me procla-
 mabunt OL^w + λεγοντες Q^{ms} + dicentes OL^w ο θς] omi OL^w 3. ηλ] istrabel OL^w
 εχθρον κατεδιωξαν] εχθρων κατ. 62 86 + αυτοι 233 εχθρος καταδιωξει αυτον Aq Σ Θ Quint
 Sext ut iniquum (sic) persecuti sunt ipsi OL^b 4. εαυτοις 1^o omi Chrys εβασι-
 λευσαν] regem constituerunt OL^a rege futurunt OL^b (regnauerunt OL^w) ηρξαν]
 obtinuerunt OL^b ουκ εγνωρισαν μοι] non ex me OL^b οπως] + αν 228 οπως
 εξολεθρευθωσιν] quemadmodum ad nihil redigantur OL^w ut dispareat OL^b εξολε-
 θρευθωσιν] εξολοθρ. B Q 3L 5. απορριψον] αποτριψαι BA Q 48 228 233 απορριψον
 τον μοσχον σου] απωθησαν μοσχους σου Aq απεβληθη . . . Σ απορριψαι . . . Θ αποβλητος
 σου εστιν ο μοσχος Quint παρωξυνθη] παροξ. B (παρωξ. B^{ab}) μου] σου 153 επ

6 θυμός μου ἐπ' αὐτούς· ἕως τίνος οὐ μὴ δύνωνται καθαρισθῆναι ⁶ ἐν τῷ
 ιηλ· καὶ αὐτὸ τέκτων ἐποίησε καὶ οὐ θς ἐστι· διότι πλανῶν ἦν ὁ μύσχος
 7 σου σαμάρεια· ⁷ ὅτι ἀνεμόφθορα ἔσπειραν· καὶ ἡ καταστροφή αὐτῶν
 ἐκδέξεται αὐτό· δράγμα οὐκ ἔχον ἰσχὺν τοῦ ποιῆσαι ἄλευρον· ἐὰν δὲ καὶ
 8 ποιῇσῃ ἄλλότριοι καταφάγονται αὐτά· ⁸ κατεπόθη ιηλ· νῦν ἐγένετο ἐν τοῖς
 9 ἔθνεσιν ὡς σκεῦος ἄχρηστον· ⁹ ὅτι αὐτοὶ ἀνέβησαν εἰς ἀσσυρίους· ἀνέβαλεν
 10 καθ' ἑαυτὸν ἐμοὶ ἐφραίμ δῶρα ἡγάπησεν· ¹⁰ διὰ τοῦτο παραδοθήσονται ἐν
 τοῖς ἔθνεσιν· νῦν εἰσδέξομαι αὐτοὺς καὶ κοπάσουσι μικρὸν τοῦ χρεῖν
 11 βασιλεία καὶ ἄρχοντας· ¹¹ ὅτι ἐπλήθυνεν ἐφραίμ θυσιαστήρια εἰς ἁμαρτίας
 12 ἐγένοντο αὐτῷ· ¹² καταγράψω αὐτῷ πλήθος· καὶ τὰ νόμιμα αὐτοῦ εἰς
 13 ἄλλότρια ἐλογίσθη· θυσιαστήρια τὰ ἡγαπημένα· ¹³ . . . σωσι θυσίαν καὶ
 φάγωσι κρέα· ^{κς} οὐ προσδέξεται αὐτά· νῦν μνησθήσεται τῶν ἀδικιῶν
 αὐτῶν καὶ ἐκδικήσει τὰς ἁμαρτίας αὐτῶν· αὐτοὶ εἰς αἴγυπτον ἀπέστρεψαν
 14 καὶ ἐν ἀσσυρίοις ἀκάθαρτα φάγονται· ¹⁴ καὶ ἐπελάθετο ιηλ τοῦ ποιήσαντος
 αὐτόν· καὶ ὠκοδόμησε τεμένη· καὶ ἰούδας ἐπλήθυνε πόλεις τετειχισμένας
 αὐτοῦ] εαυτοῖς 62 εἰς αὐτοὺς 147 καθαρισθῆναι] αλωθῆναι Αq καθαρθῆναι Σ 6. καὶ
 αὐτο τεκτων ἐποίησε καὶ οὐ θς ἐστι] το ὑπο τεκτονος γενομενον οὐκ αν η θεος Quint
 ἐποίησε] -σεν ΒΑ Q 22* (-σε 22^a) ἐστι] -ιν ΒΑ Q διότι πλανων ην] ακαταστατος Σ
 παραπλησιως τω της αραχνης ιστω Quint 7. ανεμοφθορα] -ρια Α + ἐστι 95 185 καὶ
 η καταστροφή αυτων εκδεξεται αὐτο] καὶ συσσεισμον θεριουσι Σ καὶ καταγιδα θερισαν Θ
 αὐτο] αὐτα Β (αὐτο Β^{ab}) δραγμα—αλευρον] σταχυες ακαρποι μη ποιουντες αλευρον
 Σ ποιησῃ] -σει 62 147 8. εγενετο] εγενοντο Q* (εγενετο Q^a) 9. ανεβησαν]
 εγενοντο Q* (ανεβησαν Q^{ms}) ανεβησαν 62 86 147 ανεβαλεν] -λε 22^a (-λεν
 22^a) ανεβαλεν καθ εαυτον εμοι εφραιμ] οναγρος μοναζων εαυτω Εφραιμ Αq καὶ
 οὐκ ανεβαλεν εμοι Εφραιμ Σ οναγρος μοναζων καθ εαυτον Εφραιμ Θ ως οναγρος μονα-
 ζων καθ εαυτον διαιτωμενος . . . Quint εμοι] ομι ΒΑ Q 48 51 62 95 147 185
 233 δωρα]] ܕܘܪܐ Syro-Hex] ܕܘܪܐ Syro-Hex^{ms} ηγαπησεν] -σαν
 Β Q* (-σεν Q^a) -σε 22^a (-σεν 22^a) 36 48 95 185 233 10. δια τουτο — εισδε-
 ξομαι αὐτοῖς] αλλα καὶ οταν μισθωσῃται εθνη ευθεις περιστοιχιουμαι αὐτοὺς Quint
 παραδοθησονται] παρεδοθησαν Α Q* παρεδοθησεται 51 86 97 147 εν] ομι Q*
 (superscr Q^a) 233 εθνεσι] -σιν ΒΑ Q εισδεξομαι] συναξω Αq Σ καὶ
 κοπασουσι ad fin com] ομι 95 185 καὶ λιτανευσουσιν ολιγον απο αρματος βασιλεως
 καὶ αρχωντων Αq καὶ μενουσιν βραχυ απο φοβου βασιλεων . . . (καὶ διαλειψουσι του
 χρειν) Σ καὶ διαλειψουσι του χρειν . . . Θ κοπασουσι] -σιν Β Q κοπιασουσιν Α
 κρηπασωσι 62 86 147 μικρον] ομι Α αρχοντας] αρχοντα 228 11. θυσια-
 στηρια] -τηριον 228 αμαρτίας] -τιαν Α Q* (-τίας Q^a) εγενοντο] εγενετο 153
 αυτω] + θυσιαστηρια (τα Α) ηγαπημενα Β Α Q 48 228 233 + θυσιαστηρια ηγιασμενα
 153 + (θυσιαστηρια) εἰς αμαρτιαν Σ 12. καταγραψω—ελογισθη] γραψω αυτω
 πληθυνομενους νομους ομοιως αλλοτρια ελογισθησαν Αq εγραψα αυτω πληθη νομων μου
 ως αλλοτριοι ελογισθησαν Σ αυτω] αυτου 62 147 αυτον 86 νομιμα] νοηματα 95
 185 αυτου] μου Β^{ab} 1^a (αυτου Β^a) ελογισθη] ελογισθησαν Β (α ελογισθησαν
 sup ras Β^{ab}) Α Q 48 228 233 τα ηγαπημενα] ομι τα Q* (superscr Q^a) 233 ομι 228
 13. . . . σωσι θυσιαν] θυσιας φερε θυσιαζουσιν Αq θυσιας επαλληλους Σ θυσιας
 μεταφοραν ευθυσιασαν Θ φαγωσι] -σιν ΒΑ Q κρεα] κρεας 147 νυν] και 95 185
 των αδικων] τας αδικιας ΒΑ Q 48 233 αυτων 1^o] εαυτων 147 εκδικησει] -ση 147
 αμαρτίας] ανομιας Q^{ms} 228 αυτοι] + δε Α εν ασσυριοις] εἰς ασσυριους 95 185
 14. του ποιησαντος] τον ποιησαντα Q ωκοδομησε] -σαν Β Α 48 233 -σεν Q 22* (-σε
 22^a) aedificaverunt OL^w επληθυνε] -γεν ΒΑ Q 22* (-νε 22^a) αυτων] αυτου Α 228

καὶ ἐξαποστελῶ πῦρ εἰς τὰς πόλεις αὐτοῦ καὶ καταφάγεται τὰ θεμέλια
 1 αὐτῶν ¹ μὴ χαῖρε ἱηλ· μηδὲ εὐφραίνου καθὼς οἱ λαοί· ὅτι ἐπόρνευσας IX
 2 ἀπὸ κυ τοῦ θυ σου· ἠγάπησας δόματα ἐπὶ πάντα ἄλωνα σίτου· ² καὶ ἄλων
 3 καὶ ληνός οὐκ ἔγνω αὐτούς, καὶ ὁ οἶνος ἐψεύσατο αὐτούς· ³ οὐ κατώκησαν
 4 ἐν τῇ γῇ τοῦ κυ· κατώκησεν ἐφράϊμ αἴγυπτον· καὶ ἐν Ἀσσυρίοις ἀκάθαρτα
 αὐτῶν ὡς ἄρτος πένθους αὐτοῖς· πάντες οἱ ἔσθοντες αὐτὸν μianθήσονται·
 5 διότι οἱ ἄρτοι αὐτῶν ταῖς ψυχαῖς αὐτῶν οὐκ εἰσελεύσονται εἰς τὸν οἶκον κυ·
 5,6 τί ποιήσετε ἐν ἡμέραις . . . ἐν ἡμέρᾳ ἑορτῆς τοῦ κυ; ⁶ διὰ . . . σονται ἐκ
 ταιλαιπωρίας αἰγύπτου . . . ται αὐτοὺς μέμφεις· καὶ θάψει . . . τὸ ἀργύριον
 7 αὐτῶν ὀλεθρος κληρονομήσει αὐτό· ἀκανθαὶ ἐν τοῖς σκηνώμασιν· ⁷ ἤκουσιν
 αἱ ἡμέραι τῆς ἐκδικήσεώς σου, ἤκουσιν ἡμέραι τῆς ἀνταποδοσεώς σου· καὶ
 καθίσταται ἱηλ ὥσπερ ὁ προφήτης ὁ παρεξεστηκώς· ἄνθρωπος ὁ πνευ-
 8 ματοφόρος· ἀπὸ τοῦ πλήθους τῶν ἀδικιῶν σου ἐπληθύνθη μανία· ⁸ σκοπὸς
 ἐφράϊμ μετὰ θυ· προφήτης παγὶς σκολιὰ ἐπὶ πάσας τὰς ὁδοὺς αὐτοῦ·

IX. 4^{ab} Chrys. In Ep. ad Rom. xx i7^{ba} In Matth. Hom. xliii

IX. 1. μηδε] και μη 95 185 λαοι] + terrae OL^w οτι] διοτι BA Q 22 48
 233 ἐπορνευσας] ἐξεπορν. 153 κυ] omi BA Q 48 95 185 233 OL^w παντα]
 πασαν L (exc 48 86 228 233) 2. και 1^o] omi BA Q 48 95 185 233 αλων]
 αλων 153 αυτοις 1^o] αυτοις 62 147 και ο οἶνος ἐψεύσατο αυτοις] omi 95 185 ο
 σον] omi ο A* (superscr A¹) ο οἶκος 62 147 3. ου κατωκησαν] -σεν 95 153 ου
 κατακισεν 185 ου κατοικησουσιν Σ του κυ] sup ras B^{ab} κατωκησεν] pr και Q αλλα
 υποστρεψει Σ αιγυπτον] pr eis A Q 22^a 233 pr in OL^w ακαθαρτα] μεμιασμενα Aq
 αποβλητα Σ 4. ουχ] ουκ A* (ras κ A¹) Q* (ουχ Q^a) ηδυναν] ηδυναντο A ως] omi
 Chrys παντες] omnis OL^{co} εσθοντες] εσθιοντες Q^a (εσθοντες Q*) 22* (εσθοντες
 22*) 48 62 86 147 153 185 233 manducaverunt OL^w manducant OL^o OL^a tetigerit OL^{co}
 αωτος] αυτα BA Q 36 48 153 228 233 αυτου Σ ea OL^w ex eis OL^{co} μianθησονται]
 μολισθησονται 62 147 inquinabitur OL^{co} (coinquinabuntur OL^w contaminabuntur
 OL^o OL^a ταις ψυχαις αυτων] αντι των ψυχων Σ 5. ποιησετε] ποιησεται BA Q
 62 ημεραις] ημερα A Q L (exc 48 51) die OL^w ημερα] ημεραις A 6. δια . . .]
 οτι Aq Σ . . . σονται] πορευονται B (-σονται A Q) (ibunt OL^w) θαψει] θλιψει
 62 86 θλιψη 147 . . . το αργυριον αυτων] επιθυμημα . . . Aq τα επιθυμηματα του
 αργυριου αυτων Σ το] + γαρ 153 κληρονομησει αυτο] αυτο 4 κληρονομησει θ
 αυτο] omi A Q L (exc 51 233) OL^w αυτοις 62 86 147 ακανθαι] κνιδαι Σ pr et OL^w
 σκηνωμασιν] + αυτων B^{ab} A Q 22 OL^w 7. ηκουσιν 1^o 2^o] ηκασιν BA Q L (exc 22 51
 95 97 185) αι ημεραι της εκδικησεως σου ηκουσιν] omi Y (hab Y^{me}) σου 1^o] omi
 B Q 48 51 228 233 (hab OL^w) ηκουσιν ημεραι της ανταποδοσεως σου] omi 147
 ημεραις 2^o] pr ai BA Q 22 ανταποδοσεως] -δωσεως A και κακωθησεται] και εγνω Aq
 θ και γνωσεται Σ κακωθησεται] κω superscr Y* 22 καθισεται 95 185 ωσπερ ο pr.
 ο παρεξεστηκως ανθρωπος ο πνευματοφορος] αφρονα τον προφητην ανδρα επιληπτον (al
 επιληπτος) απο του πνευματος Aq αφρων αυτοις ο προφητης κραιπαλων (al εννεος) ο εχων
 πνευμα Σ αφρονες οι προφηται . . . θ (Quint Sext = Y) παρεξεστηκως] παρεστηκως
 153 ανθρωπος] pr ο 62 147 pr ωι ο 86 απο] υπο BA Q 48 228 233 επληθυνθη
 μανια] και πολλη η εκστασις (al εγκατοησις Aq) Aq Σ μανια] + σου BA Q 22 48 51
 233 μακρια A η μανια σου 86 μανιαι 62 147 η μακια 95 η κακια 185 insaniae OL^w
 8. μετα θυ] εμοι Aq Σ σκολια] εσκολωμενη Aq ενεδρα Σ αυτου μανιαν εν οι]
 sup ras A¹ μανιαν] μανια 62 86 147 θυ 2^o] κυ A Q κυριω 233 αυτου 2^o] omi

9 ⁹μανίαν ἐν οἴκῳ θυ αὐτοῦ κατέπηξεν· * ἐφθάρησαν κατὰ τὰς ἡμέρας τοῦ
 10 βοννοῦ· μνησθήσεται τῶν ἀδικιῶν αὐτῶν· ἐκδικήσεται ἁμαρτίας αὐτῶν· ¹⁰ ὡς
 σταφυλὴν ἐν ἐρήμῳ εἶρον τὸν ἡλ καὶ ὡς σκοπὸν ἐν συκῇ πρῶμον εἶδον
 πατέρας αὐτῶν· αὐτοὶ δὲ εἰσῆλθον πρὸς τὸν βεελφεγῶρ· καὶ ἀπηλλοτριώ-
 θησαν εἰς αἰσχύνην· καὶ ἐγένοντο οἱ ἡγαπημένοι ὡς οἱ ἐβδελυγμένοι·
 11 ¹¹ ἐφράϊμ ὡς ὄρνεον ἐξεπετάσθη· αἱ δόξαι αὐτῶν ἐκ τόκων καὶ ὠδίνων καὶ
 12 συλλήψεων· ¹² διότι καὶ ἐὰν *****ωσιν τὰ τέκνα αὐτῶν ἀτεκνωθήσονται
 13 . . . οὐαὶ αὐτοῖς ἐστὶ διότι ἀφῆκα . . . αὐτῶν· ¹³ ἐφράϊμ ὃν τρόπον . . . τὰ
 14 τέκνα αὐτοῦ· καὶ ἐφράϊμ . . . κέντησιν τὰ τέκνα αὐτοῦ· ¹⁴ δὸς αὐτοῖς κἂν τί
 15 δώσεις αὐτοῖς; δὸς αὐτοῖς μήτραν ἀτεκνοῦσαν καὶ μαστοὺς ξηρούς· ¹⁵ πᾶσαι
 αἱ κακίαι αὐτῶν ἐν γαλγάλοις· ὅτι ἐκεῖ αὐτοὺς ἐμίσησα διὰ τὰς κακίας τῶν
 ἐπιτηδευμάτων αὐτῶν· ἐκ τοῦ οἴκου μου ἐκβαλῶ αὐτούς· οὐ μὴ προσθῶ
 16 τοῦ ἀγαπήσαι αὐτούς· πάντες οἱ ἄρχοντες αὐτῶν ἀπειθούντες· ¹⁶ ἐπόνεσεν
 ἐφράϊμ τὰς ρίζας αὐτοῦ ἐξηράνθη καρπὸν οὐκέτι μὴ ἐνέγκη· διότι ἐὰν καὶ
 17 γενήσωνται ἀποκτενῶ τὰ ἐπιθυμήματα τῆς κοιλίας αὐτῶν· ¹⁷ ἀπόσεται
 αὐτοὺς ὁ θς· ὅτι οὐκ εἰσῆκουσαν αὐτοῦ· καὶ ἔσονται πλανῆται ἐν τοῖς

10^a Chrys. *Ad Pop. Antioch.* xix 3 Theod. *In Jer.* ii

BA Q 22 48 233 Aq Σ αυτων 153 κατεπηξεν]-αν BA Q 48 153 228 233 εβαθυναν
 Aq 9. του βοννου] γαβαθα Aq Σ μνησθησεται] + dabitur OL^w των
 αδικιων αυτων] αδικias αυτων B 48 αδικias αυτου A Q (αυτων Q^a) 233 om των 228
 iniustitia eorum OL^w εκδικησει]-ση 147 pr et OL^w αυτων 2^o αυτου 233
 10. εν 1^o om 51 σκοπον] συκον Q^a 228 καρπον (ai σκοπον Chrys) Chrys Theod
 εν συκη πραιμον] εν τη συκη πραιμον Chrys συκου πραιμον Theod πραιμον] προιμον
 B (πραιμον B^{1b}) Q προδρομον Aq Σ θ Quint Sext ειδον] ευρον Theod αυτων]
 υμων Aq Σ θ Quint Sext δε] om BA Q 22 48 153 228 233 OL^w τον 2^o om 228
 και εγενοντο οι ηγαπημενοι ως οι εβδελυμενοι] και εγενοντο βδελυγματα ως ηγαπησαν
 Aq . . . εβδελυμενοι οσω ηγαπηθησαν Σ ηγαπημενοι] εβδελυμενοι B 48 51 95 97
 185 233 pr ως 51 95 97 185 ως οι εβδελυμενοι] ως οι ηγαπημενοι B 48 51 97 (om
 ως 51 97) 233 om οι 62 228 om 95 185 11. αι δοξαι] gloria OL^w εκ τοκων
 ad fin com] απο τοκετων και απο γαστρος και απο συλληψεως Aq Σ θ Quint τοκων]
 τοκετων 95 185] Σ Syro-Hex] Σ Syro-Hex^{ms} αιδωνων] pr
 εφ 86 51 86 97 153 pr ex OL^w συλληψεων] συνλημψεων B συλλημψεων A pr ex
 OL^w 12. και] om OL^w *****ωσιν]-σι 22^a (-σιν 22^a) εστι διоти αφηκα
 . . . αυτων] εστιν σαρε μου εφ αυτων BA Q 48 153 233 OL^w εστι διоти αφηκα αυτους
 σαρε μου εφ αυτων 22 36 86 228 (sic nisi εσται 62 147 sic nisi om εστι 95 185)
 12, 13. [αυτους σαρε μου εφ] αυτων] εφραιμ ον τροπον . . . τα τεκνα αυτου] εκκλιναντος
 μου απ αυτων. (Εφραιμ) ουτως ειδον ως ακροτομον πεφυτευμενην εν κατοικια Aq Σ σαρε
 μου εφ αυτων. Εφραιμ καθως ειδον εις πετραν πεφυτευμενοι οι νιοι αυτης θ (Quint
 Sext = B) 13. αυτον 1^o αυτων BA Q Σ (exc. 22 62 95 97 185) και εφραιμ
 ad fin com] Εφραιμ δε του εξαγαγειν προς με τον αναιρουντα τους νιους αυτου Aq
 14. dos αυτοις 2^o om B 48 62 147 233 15. πασαι] pr et OL^w εν] εις A 233
 γαλγαλοις] γαλγαλ BA Q 48 γαλγαλα 233 galgala OL^w αυτους εμισησα] tr 48 233
 ου μη] ουκετι μη 62 86 95 147 185 ουκετι ου μη 153 προσθω] προσθησω BA Q^{ms}
 (θησω Q^a) adiciam OL^w 16. επονεν εφραιμ-εξηρανθη] επληγη τω Εφραιμ η ριζα
 αυτον . . . Aq Σ καρπον] pr et OL^w μη] ου μη 95 153 185 εαν και] και εαν
 BA Q γεννησων] τεκνωσων 95 185 της] om BA Q 48 233 17. ο θς]
 + μου Aq Σ θ Quint Sext πλανηται] pr ως A ανασταται Aq θ

XI. 1. ὁρθρον ἀπεριφύσαν ὡς ὁρθρος ἀπεριφύ βασιλευν ἡλ] ἐν ὁρθρῳ κατεσιωπηθῇ
 βασιλευν Ἰσραὴλ Αq ὁρθρον B* (ὁρθρον B^{ab}) ἀπεριφύσαν] ἀπεριφ. B (ἀπεριφ.
 B^{ab}) ἀπεριφύσαν B* + μετὰ πολλῆς πέσουνται ταχυτήτος 95 185 ὡς ὁρθρος] οἷ
 BA Q 48 233 καὶ ὁρθρον 223 ἀπεριφύ] ἀπεριφ. B* (ἀπερρ. B^{ab}) ἡλ γ^o ρ^o

ἡγάπησα αὐτὸν ***** πτου μετεκάλεσα τὰ τέκνα αὐτ*****² **τεκά-
 λεσα αὐτούς· οὕτως ὥχον . . . μου· αὐτοὶ τοῖς βααλεῖμ ἔθνον . . . ἔθυμῶν
³ καὶ ἐγὼ συνεπόδισα . . . νέλαβον αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τὸν βραχίον . . . γνωσαν ὅτι
⁴ ἰαμαι αὐτούς·⁴ ἐν διαφθορᾷ ἀνθρώπων ἐξέτεινα αὐτοὺς ἐν δεσμοῖς ἀγαπή-
 σεώς μου· ἔσομαι αὐτοῖς ὡς ῥαπίζων ἄνθρωπον ἐπὶ τὰς σιαγόνas αὐτοῦ·
⁵ ἐπιβλέψομαι πρὸς αὐτὸν καὶ δυνήσομαι αὐτῷ·⁵ κατώκησεν ἐφράϊμ αἰγυπ-
⁶ τὸν· καὶ ἄσσοῦρ αὐτὸς βασιλεὺς αὐτοῦ ὅτι ἠθέλησεν ἐπιστρέφαι·⁶ καὶ
 ἠσθένησε ῥομφαία ἐν ταῖς πόλεσιν αὐτοῦ· καὶ κατέπαυσεν ἐν ταῖς χερσὶν
⁷ αὐτοῦ· καὶ φάγονται ἐκ τῶν διαβουλίων αὐτῶν·⁷ καὶ ὁ λαὸς αὐτοῦ ἐπικρε-
 μάμενος ἐκ τῆς κατοικίας αὐτοῦ· καὶ ὁ θς ἐπὶ τὰ τίμια αὐτοῦ θυμωθήσεται·
⁸ καὶ οὐ μὴ ὑψώσῃ αὐτόν·⁸ τί σε διαθῶ ἐφράϊμ; ὑπερασπῶ σου ἡλ· τί σε
 διαθῶ; ὡς ἄδαμὰ θήσομαί σε καὶ ὡς*****μετεστράφη ἡ καρδία μου ἐν
⁹ τούτῳ συ . . . ταμελία μου·⁹ οὐ μὴ ποιήσω κατὰ . . . θυμοῦ μου· οὐ μὴ
^{4c} In Es. ii § 8 ^{8b} Ad eos qui scand. i § 6 ^{9b} Expos. Psal. vi § 8

του Α *****πιος] διότι νηπιος B (εξ ου 48) 86 ηγαπησα] ηγαπηκα Α εκαλεσα
 233 μετεκαλεσα] εκαλεσα Chrys τα τεκνα αυτα*] τον υιον μου Chrys
 2. **τεκαλεσα] μετεκαλεσατο Α (μετεκαλεσα B) αυτους] αυτον B* (αυτους B^{ab})
 ωχον . . .] απωχοντο Β Α Q ωχον . . . μου] ωχοντο εκ (απο 95 185) προσωπου μου
 B (εκ απωχοντο etc. 48 153 228 233) τοις βααλειμ] τα βααλειμ 62 τοις βααλιμ 95
 153 τας βααλειμ 147 τας βααβααλιμ (sic) 185 3. συνεποδισα] επαιδαγωγουν Σ κατα
 ποδας Θ [α]νελαβον επι τον βραχιον[α μου]] ομι 95 185 επι τον βραχιον[α μου]]
 επι τους βραχιονας . . . Αq Σ Θ Quint Sext 4. εν διαφθορα ανθρωπων] εν σχοινοις
 ανθρωπων Αq Σ Θ Quint Sext εξετεινα αυτους] ειλκυσα αυτους B (εκ 48 228 233)
 86 οτε ειλευσα Αq Σ Θ Quint Sext δεσμοις] δεσμω Q εσομαι αυτοις] ηρ και
 BQ 22 ηρ και εγω Α ομι αυτοις 95 185 ενομοσθην Αq Σ ην Θ ως ραπιζων ανθρωπον επι
 ται σιαγονας αυτου] ως αιρων (αλ επαιρων) (υγον επι τας σιαγονας . . . Αq ως ο επιθει
 (υγον επι τας σιαγονας . . . Σ ανθρωπων) -ος Β Α Q B (εκ 22 95 97 185) 86 τας
 παγονας αυτου] σιαγονα (τας σιαγονας Q^a) αυτου Q 95 185 τας σιαγονας αυτων 62 86
 147 επιβλεψομαι] ηρ και Β Α Q 36 48 233 επιβλεψομαι προς αυτον και δυνησομαι
 αυτω] και εκλινα (αλ παρεβαλον) προς αυτον βρωματα Αq και εξεκλινα (αλ εκλινα) προς
 αυτον τροφην Σ και εκλινα (αλ παρεβαλον) προς αυτον βρωσιν Θ και] ομι Β Α Q (hab
 Q^a 7) 48 233 αυτω] αυτον 62 86 147 (αλ αυτον) Chrys 5. αιγυπτον] εν αιγυπτω
 Β Α Q 48 228 233 αιγυπτω 62 εις αιγυπτον 86 εν γη αιγυπτου 86^{me} αυτου] αυτων 153
 ηθελησεν] -σαν 62 95 147 185 επιστρεψαι] μετανοησαι Σ 6. και ησθενησε] -σεν
 Β Α Q 22 και τραυματισει (αλ τρασει) Σ ρομφαια] ηρ εν 48 95 185 228 και κατε-
 παυσεν εν ταις χερσιν αυτου] και συντελεσει τους βραχιονας αυτου Σ και φαγονται] και
 φαγωνται 153 228 και φαγονται ad fin com] καταναλωσει δια τας διαβουlias αυτων
 Σ διαβουλιων] -ειων Α 7. και ο λαος ad fin com] . . . επικρεμαμενοι τη επι-
 στροφη μου και προς (υγον καλεσει αυτον αμα ουχ υψωσει αυτους Αq . . . επικρεμαμενος
 (αλ μετεωρος) εις το επιστρεφειν προς με (υγος δε συναντησει αυτω ομου ος ουκ αρθησεται
 Σ . . . εις επιστροφην αυτου και εις (υγον καλεσει αυτον αμα ουχ υψωσει αυτους Θ
 αυτου 1^o) ομι 153 κατοικιας] παροικιας Q^a 36 228 και ο θς] ο δε θς Α και
 ο θς ad fin com] ομι 153 τιμια] ταμεια Q^{me} θυμωθησεται] υψωθησεται 233
 8. διαθω 1^o] διαθωμαι Β 48 153 υπερασπω σου] οπω κυκλωσω σε Αq εκδωσω σε Σ
 αποφλιω σε Θ τι σε διαθω 2^o] + τι σε διαθω εφραιμ 95 185 τι διαθω σε 228 ως]
 ομι Chrys αδαμα] σαιδαμα 62 σοδομα 147 ως *****] ως σεβωειμ 22 36 51 97
 233 ως σεβοειμ 48 62 86 95 147 153 185 228 εν τούτῳ] εν τω αυτω Β Α Q 48 153
 228 233 (εν τούτῳ Σ) [η με]ταμελια μου] (-λεια B^{ab} Q 22 -λια B^a A) η παρακλησις μου

ἐγκαταλίπω τοῦ ἐ . . . τὸν ἐφράϊμ· διότι θς ἐγὼ καὶ οὐκ ἄν . . . καὶ οἱ
 10 εἰσελεύσομαι εἰς πο . . . ¹⁰ *****σθε ὡς λέων ἐρεύξεται· ὁ . . . καὶ ἐκστῇ
 11 ὁπτα τέκνα υἱά . . . ¹¹ . 5 ὄρνεον ἐξ αἰγύπτου· καὶ ὡς . . . συρίων· καὶ
 12 ἀποκαταστήσω αὐτοὺς εἰς τοὺς οἴκους αὐτῶν λέγει κς· ¹² ἐκίκλωσέ με ἐν
 ψεύδει ἐφράϊμ καὶ ἐν ἀσεβείᾳ οἶκος ἡλ καὶ ἰούδα· νῦν ἔγνω αὐτοὺς ὁ θς
 XII 1 καὶ λαὸς ἅγιος κέκληται θν· ¹ ὁ δὲ ἐφράϊμ πονηρὸν πνεῦμα ἐδίωξε καύσωνα
 ὅλην τὴν ἡμέραν· κενὰ καὶ μάταια ἐπλήθυνε καὶ διαθήκην μετὰ ἀσσυρίων
 2 διέθετο· καὶ ἔλαιον εἰς αἰγυπτον ἐνεπορεύετο· ² καὶ κρίσις τῷ κῶ πρὸς
 ἰούδα· τοῦ ἐκδικῆσαι τὸν ἰακώβ κατὰ τὰς ὁδοὺς αὐτοῦ καὶ κατὰ τὰ ἐπιτηδεύ-
 3 ματα αὐτοῦ ἀνταποδώσει αὐτῷ· ³ ἐν τῇ κοιλίᾳ ἐπτέρνισεν τὸν ἀδελφὸν
 4 αὐτοῦ· καὶ ἐν κόποις αὐτοῦ ἐνίσχυσεν πρὸς θν· ⁴ καὶ ἐνίσχυσε μετὰ ἀγγέλου
 καὶ ἠδυνήθη· ἔκλαυσε καὶ ἠδεήθη μου ἐν τῷ . . . ὧν εὗρε με· καὶ ἐκεῖ
 5,6 ἐλαλήθη πρὸς . . . ⁵ . δὲ κς ὁ θς ὁ παντοκράτωρ ἔσται . . . τοῦ· ⁶ καὶ σὺ ἐν
 7 θῷ σου ἐπιστρέψεις . . . μα φυλάσσον καὶ ἔγγιζε . . . παντός· ⁷ χανάαν
 8 ἐν χειρὶ . . . καταδυναστεύειν ἡγάπη . . . ⁸ . πλὴν εὐρηκα . . . τῷ· πάντες οἱ

XII. 7. Chrys. *Pone man. tuam*, Sermo ii

Aq Σ τα σπλαγχνα του ελεους μου Θ 9. εγκαταλιπω]-λειπω A Q [θς] ρr ο 228
 εγω]+ειμι B A 48 95 153 185 228 233 OL^c ρr ειμι Q 10. *****σθε] πορευσομαι
 B A Q 48 153 228 233 πορευεσθε 22 36 51 86 97 147 πορευεσθαι 62 πορευονται 95 185
 Aq Σ Θ ibo OL^c ερευξεται] ορευξεται B^{vid} ωρυσσεται B^{ab} 36 48 153 228 233
 εξερευξεται 62 εξερευξεται 86 147 omi 95 185 ωρυσονται Aq και εκστησονται] και
 εκστησεται Q* (-σονται Q^a) και σεισθησονται (al πτοθησονται) Σ τεκνα υδα[των]]
 υιοι της θαλασσης Aq Σ Θ Quint Sext 11. . . . 5] και ηξουσι ως Ξ (ex εκπη-
 σονται 228 και εκστησονται 233 εκστησονται 48) 86 (εκπησονται B^{vid} A Q^{me} εκστη-
 σονται Bⁱ Q* ρr και A Q) τους] omi 233 12. εκκλωσε]-σεν B A Q (-σαν Q^a)
 23* (-σε 22^a) ωδ^{me} Syro-Hex^{me} ασεβεια] ασεβειας A ασεβειαις Q* 36 48 228
 οικος] οικον A εγνω αυτους ο θς] επικρατων . . . Aq αυτους] αυτος 62 147 λαος]
 ρr ο 48 233 κεληται] κελησεται B Q 48 86 62 147 233 κληθησεται A 95 185 228
 XII. 1. πονηρον πνευμα εδιωξε] ποιμαινει ανεμον (al πνευμα) και διακει Aq Σ εδιωξε]
 -ξεν B A Q 22* (-ξε 22^a) κενα] καινα A επληθυνε]-νεν B A Q 22 -ναν 95 185
 διαθηκην] συνθηκην Aq Σ και ελαιον] και ελεον 22^a (ελαιον 22^a) 95 185 omi και 153
 2. κρισις] κρισεις A τω κω] του κυριου 62 86 147 228 ιουδαν] ρr τον A τον
 ιακωβ] in Iacob OL^c κατα 1^o] και 153 ανταποδωσει] αποδωσει B 22 48 ανταποδωση 62
 αυτω] αυτον 153 3. (OL^c=Y) επτερνισεν]-σε 22 υπεροικισε 153 και] omi 153
 εν κοποις] εν ισχυι Aq Σ Θ Quint Sext ενισχυσεν] ισχυσε Ξ (ex ενισχυσε 48 228
 233) 86 ενισχυσεν προς θν] καταωρθωσε προς αγγελον Aq θν] ρr τον A 153
 4. και ενισχυσε μετα αγγελου] και καταωρθωσε μετα θεου Aq Θ κατεδυναστευσε τον
 αγγελον Σ ενισχυσε μετα αγγελου] ε[γελων Q* ^{vid} (ενισχυσε μετα αγγελου Qⁱ ^{me})
^{ei} ^{cort} ενισχυσε]-σεν B A ηδυνηθη] ηδυνασθη B A Q 48 233 εδυνασθη 228
 εδυνηθη Ξ (ex 48 228 233) 86 εκλαυσε]-σαν B A Q (λαυ sup ras B^{ab}) Ξ (ex 51
 97) εκλαυσε και—ευρε με] εκλαυσε και εδεθη αυτου και εν βαιθηλ ευρεν αυτον Aq
 Σ Θ ηδεθη] ηδεθησαν B A Q Ξ (ex 51 97) ων] omi Q* (hab Q^{me}) μου A 36*
 (μου ων 36^a) 62 86 147 233 μου ων 97 meo OL^{tert} ευρε] ευροσαν B A Q 22 36 48
 228 233 ευρον 62 86 147 153 185 ευρομεν 95* (ευρον με 95^a) invenerunt OL^{tert} και
 4^o] omi 228 ελαληθη] εδεθη 147 προς . . .] προς αυτους B Q Ξ (ex προς αυτον
 A 36 51 97 233) ad eos OL^{tert} 6. και συ] και σοι 62 επιστρεψεις]-ψον 95 185
 -ψης 153 -ψε 228 7. καταδυναστευειν] συκοφαντειν Aq Σ Θ Quint Sext κατα-
 δυναστευειν ηγαπη . . .] *tr* Chrys 8. πλην] πολλην 92 185 + πεπλουτηκα B A Q Ξ

- 9 πόντοι αὐτοῦ οὐχ . . . αὐτῷ δι' ἀδικίας ἧς ἡμαρτεν· ⁹ ἐγὼ δὲ κσ̄ ὁ θς σου
ἀνήγαγον σε ἐκ γῆς αἰγύπτου ἔτι κατοικίῳ σε ἐν σκηναῖς καθὼς ἐν ἡμέραις
10 ἰορτῆς· ¹⁰ καὶ ἐλάλησα πρὸς προφήτας· καὶ ἐγὼ ὁράσεις ἐπλήθυνα καὶ ἐν
11 χερσὶ προφητῶν ὁμοιώθην· ¹¹ εἰ μὴ γαλαὰδ ἐστὶν ἄρα ψευδεῖς ἦσαν ἐν
γαλγάλ*s ἀρχοντες θυσιάζοντες· καὶ τὰ θυσιαστήρια αὐτῶν ὡς χελῶναι
12 ἐπὶ χέρσον ἀγροῦ· ¹² καὶ ἀνεχώρησεν ἱακὼβ εἰς πεδῖον συρίας καὶ ἐδού-
13 λευσεν ἡλ̄ ἐν γυναικί, καὶ ἐν γυναικί ἐφυλάξατο· ¹³ καὶ ἐν προφήτῃ ἀνή-
14 γαγεν κσ̄ τὸν ἡλ̄ ἐκ γῆς αἰγύπτου· καὶ ἐν προφήτῃ διεφυλάχθη· ¹⁴ ἐθύ-
μωσέν με ἐφράϊμ καὶ παρώργισε· καὶ τὸ αἷμα αὐτοῦ ἐπ' αὐτὸν ἐκχυθήσεται·
1 καὶ τὸν ὀνειδισμὸν αὐτοῦ ἀνταποδώσει αὐτῷ κσ̄· ¹ κατὰ τὸν λόγον ἐφράϊμ XIII
2 δι' . . . ἔλαβε καὶ αὐτὸς ἐν τῷ ἡλ̄· καὶ . . . βάαλ καὶ ἀπέθανεν· ² καὶ νῦν
. . . οὐ ἄμαρτάνειν καὶ ἐποίησαν . . . ἐκ χρυσοῦ καὶ τοῦ ἀργυ . . . εἰκόνα
εἰδῶλων· ἔργα τεκτο . . . μένα αὐτοῖς· αὐτοὶ λέγουσι θύσατε ἀνθρώπους
3 μόσχοι γὰρ ἐκλελοίπασιν· ³ διὰ τοῦτο ἔσονται ὡς νεφέλη πριωνή· καὶ ὡς
δρόσος ὀρθρινή πορευομένη· καὶ ὡς χνοὺς ἀποφυσώμενος λαίλαπι ἀπὸ
10^b *De in Dei Nat.* iv 3 *Theod. In Esch.* viii 12^b *In Ioan. Homil.* xxi 3

εἴρηκα] ευρον 147 αυτω] μοι Aq Σ Θ Quint Sext δι] δια A Q αδικίας] αμαρ-
τιας 95 185 ας] ομι 62 147 9. σου] ομι 62 86 147 γης] της 95 σκηναῖς
10. ελα-
λησα] λαλησων BA Q 48 228 233 προς προφητας] προς τους πρ. Q 95 185 ομι προς
62 86 147 χερσιν] -σιν BA Q χειρι 153 11. εἰ μὴ γαλααδ—θυσιάζοντες] εἰ
Γαλααδ ἀναφελῆς πλην εἰκη ἦσαν ἐν Γαλγαλ θυσιάζοντες βοας Aq εἰ Γαλααδ ἀνομα πλην
μνην ἐν Γαλγαλ βοας ἐθυσιάζον Σ εἰ Γαλααδ μὴ ἀδικος πλην ψευδεις ἦσαν ἐν Γαλγαλ
βοαι ἐθυσιασαν Θ γαλγαλ*s] Γαλααδ BA 48 γαλγαλοῖς Q¹ Ξ (ἐκ 48 γαλγαλ 233)
86 αρχοντες θυσιάζοντες] ομι 95 185 ως χελωναι] ως χελωνες 153 ως σωροι Aq
εἰ χελωναι ἐπὶ χέρσον ἀγρου] ως σωροι (αἰ ως βατραχοι) λιθων ἐπὶ των βουνων του ἀγρου
Σ ως βουνοι ἐπὶ των αυλακων (αἰ των αλωπεκων fort αυλακων) . . . Θ 12. καὶ 1^ο] ομι
95 185 εἰς πεδῖον] εἰς χωραν Aq Σ ἐν γυναικι 1^ο] 12. 12. και 1^ο] ομι
γυναικι 1^ο] γυναικι Q* (-κι Q^a) ἐν 2^ο] ομι 48 153 ἐφυλαξατο] διεφυλαξατο 228
13. καὶ ἐν προφήτῃ 1^ο—αἰγυπτου] ομι 22 καὶ ἐν προφήτῃ] καὶ δια προφητου Σ κσ̄
+ αὐτου Q^{ms} ἐκ γης] ἐξ A Q* (ἐκ γης Q^a) 233 14. ἐθυμωσεν] -σε 22* (-σεν 22*)
με] ομι BA Q 48 147 233 παρωργισε] -σεν BA Q 22* (-σε 22*) + με 153 αυτω
62] 12 48 228

XIII. 1. κατα τον λογον—ελαβε και αυτος] κατα το ρημα Εφραιμ φρικην ελαβεν αυτος
Aq ἐν τῷ λαλῶν Εφραιμ τρομον ελαβε Σ ελαβε] -ἐν BA Q 22* (-ε 22^a) ελαβε και
αυτος] ομι και 48 153 228 αυτος ελαβεν 233 και αυτος] ομι BA Q και . . .]
και εθετο αυτα (αυτο 62 αυτω 147 ομι αυτα 228) Ξ . . . βααλ] τῷ βααλ 22 36 51 95
97 147 185 το βααλαμ 62 τῇ βααλ BA Q 48 86 153 228 233 βααλ] bahalim OL^w
+ 𐤁𐤏𐤃𐤁 𐤁𐤏𐤃𐤁 𐤁𐤏𐤃𐤁 Syro-Hex^{ms} 2. νυν ομι BA Q
(hab Q^{ms}) 48 86 233 νυν . . .] νυν προσεθετο Ξ (ἐκ -θεντο 48) αμαρτανειν]
+ ἐτι A 228 233 αμαρτειν 147 ἐκ χρυσιου και . . .] ομι ἐκ χρυσιου BA Q ομι
χρυσου και 48 233 και του] ἐκ του BA Q ειδωλων] 12 των 228 αυτοι
λεγουσι ad fin com] ομι 153 λεγουσι] -σιν BA Q θυσате ad fin com] . . .
μοσχους καταφιλοντες Aq θυσате ανθρωποι μοσχους προσκυνησασωσαν Σ . . . μοσχους
προσκυνησετε Θ εκλελοιπασιν] -σιν BA Q 3. και ως χνους] ομι και B 48 ωσπερ
χους A 86^{ms} (και ως αραχνη 86*) η ωσπερ χνους Q και ως αραχνη 62 95 147 153 185
αποφυσωμενος] -σωμενη 62 86 95 147 153 185 -σωμενος 86^{ms} φυσωμενος 228 λαίλαπι]

4 ἄλωνος· καὶ ὡς ἀτμὶς ἐκ καπνοδόχης· ⁴ ἐγὼ δὲ κσ ὁ θς σου στερεῶν οὐρανὸν
καὶ κτίζων γῆν· οὐ αἱ χεῖρες ἔκτισαν πᾶσαν τὴν στρατιάν τοῦ οὐνοῦ· καὶ
οὐ παρέδειξά σοι αὐτὰ τοῦ πορεύεσθαι ὀπίσω αὐτῶν· καὶ ἐγὼ ἀνήγαγόν σε
ἐκ γῆς αἰγύπτου· καὶ ἦν πληρὸν ἐμοῦ οὐ γνώσῃ· καὶ σῶζων οὐκ ἔστι παρεῖ-
5,6 ἐμοῦ· ⁵ ἐγὼ ἐποίμαινόν σε ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ ἐν γῇ ἀουκίτῳ· ⁶ κατὰ τὰς νομὰς
αὐτῶν· καὶ ἐνεπλήσθησαν εἰς πλησμονήν· καὶ ὑψώθησαν αἱ καρδίαι αὐτῶν·
7 ἔνεκεν τούτου ἐπελάθοντό μου· ⁷ καὶ ἔσομαι αὐτοῖς ὡς πανθὴρ . . . δαλεῖ
8 κατὰ τὴν ὁδὸν αὐτῶν· ⁸ . . . σομαι αὐτοῖς ὡς ἄρκος . . . διαρρήξω συγκλεισμόν . . .
9 καταφάγονται αὐτοὺς . . . καὶ θηρία ἀγροῦ διασπορεύουσιν αὐτοὺς· ⁹ *****φθορὰ σου ἐπὶ
10 τίς βοηθήσεται αὐτοὺς· ¹⁰ . . . σου οὗτος· καὶ διασωσάτω σε ἐν πάσαις ταῖς πόλεσι
11 σου· καὶ κρινάτω σε ὃν εἶπας δός μοι βασιλείαν καὶ ἄρχοντα· ¹¹ καὶ ἔδωκά
12 σοι βασιλείαν ἐν ὄρεσιν καὶ ἀνέσχον ἐν τῷ θυμῷ μου· ¹² συστροφὴ ἀδικίας
13 ἐφράϊμ ἐγκεκρυμμένη ἢ ἁμαρτία αὐτοῦ· ¹³ ὥδινες ὡς τικτούσης ἤξουσιν
αὐτῷ· οὗτος ὁ υἱός σου ὁ φρόνιμος διότι νῦν οὐ μὴ ὑποστήνῃ ἐν συντριβῇ
14 τέκνων αὐτοῦ· ¹⁴ ἐκ χειρὸς ἄδου ῥύσσομαι αὐτούς· καὶ ἐκ θανάτου λυτρώ-
σομαι αὐτούς· ποῦ ἢ διαθήκη σου θάνατε; ποῦ τὸ κέντρον σου ἄδη;

XIII. 8^a Chrys. *Sermo cum Presb. fuit ordinatus* 9 *In Psal. xiii § 4*

ομι BA Q 48 233 απο] αφ BA Q και ως ατμς] και ως ατμος (τ superscr) απο
ακριδος 22 και ως ατμος 51 97 ομι ως 153 και ως ατμς εκ καπνοδόχης] και ως καπνος
απο καταρακτου Αq και ως καθαρις απο ακριδων (al οπης) Σ και ως σκια της ακριδος (al
εκ s. απο καπνοδόχης) Θ εκ καπνοδόχης] απο δακρυων B Q^{ms} (εκ καπν. Q^a) 48
απο ακριδος 97^a απο ακριδων 62 86 95 147 185 απο δακρυων καπνοδόχης 228 εκ καπνο-
δόχης απο ακριδων 153 4. δε] ομι 62 147 σου] ομι Q^a (superscr Q^a)
στερεων] pr ο A 36 48 86 228 ουνου] pr τον B 48 51 εκτισαν] επλασαν 228
πασαν] ομι 228 την] ομι 51 στρατιαν] στρατειαν BA (-ian B^b Q) τον
ουνου] των ουρανων 153 αυτου 228 αυτα] ομι 95 153 185 OL^a του 2^o
ομι 153 πορευεσθαι] + σε 62 95 147 185 228 γης] της 95 γνωση] -σε
147 εστι] -ιν BA Q 6. κατα τας νομας αυτων και ενεπλησθησαν] κατα
την νομην αυτων ην επλησθησαν Σ και 1^o] ομι A πλησμονην] πλησμον
sup ras B^{ab} ενεκεν] ενεκα BA Q 48 233 τουτου] τουτων 153 επελα-
θοντο] -θεντο B* (-θοντο B^a b) 8. αρκος] ασαρκος 62 αρχος 86 συγκλει-
σμο[ν]] συ[κλεισμον B* (συγκ. B^a Q^a) συγκλισμον A καταφαγονται] φαγονται
A 95 185 και] ομι BA Q 48 233 9. *****φθορα] θ sup ras A^b τη διαφθορα Ξ
(εχε τη διασπορα 22 36 97) βοηθ*****] βοηθησει Ξ + σοι 62 86 95 147 153 185 erit
adiutor OL^w 10. πασαις] ομι 233 πολεσι] -σιν BA Q και 2^o] ομι BA Q
48 153 228 233 OL^w 11. εδωκα] εδωκε 153 βασιλεια] + et OL^w και
ανεσχον] εσχον BA Q (ανεσχ. Q^a) 48 233 και ηρα Σ και ελαβον Θ habuisti OL^w εν
τω θυμω μου] in impetu tuo OL^w 12. συστροφη] συστροphen BA Q 48 86 233
collectionem OL^w συστροφή αδικίας εφραιμ] ενδεδεμενη αδικια αυτου Θ εγκεκρυμ-
μενη] ενκ. B^a A (εγκ. B^{ab} Q^a) κεκρυμμενη Q^a η αμαρτια] αδικεια A η αδικια 36 51 97^{ms}
ομι η 95 185 13. ως τικτουσης ηξουσιν αυτω] ηξ. αυτω ως τικτ. A σου] μου 153
ο φρονιμος] ου φρονιμος Q^a ανοητος Αq ου σοφος Σ θ sapiens OL^w Syro-Hex
vnn] ομι BA Q (hab Q^a θ' σ' ου σοφος Q^{ms}) 48 233 αυτου] ομι BA Q 48 86 228 233
tuorum OL^w 14. ρυσσομαι] λυτρωσομαι 153 ρυσσομαι αυτους] ερρυσσαμην αυτους Σ
αυτους 1^o] ομι B 48 86 αυτον 153 OL^w και] ομι A 233 λυτρωσομαι] ελυτρωσαμην
Q^a (κ, το εξασελιδον ελυτρ. ειχεν Q^{ms}) ρυσσομαι 153 πον η διαθηκε σου θανατε] εσομαι
ρηματα σου θανατε Αq εσομαι πληγη σου εν θανατω Σ και εσται η δικη σου εν θανατω Θ

15 παράκλησις κέρνυται ἀπὸ ὀφθαλμῶν σου· ¹⁶ διότι οὗτος ἀνὰ μέσον
 ἀδελφῶν διαστελεῖ· ἐπάξει κῶ ἄνεμον καύσωνα ἐκ τῆς ἐρήμου ἐπ' αὐτόν·
 καὶ ἀναξηρανεῖ τὰς φλέβας αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐξηραμώσει τὰς . . . ἐρημώσει τὴν
 1 γῆν αὐτοῦ καὶ . . . αὐτοῦ τὰ ἐπιθυμητά· ¹ ἀφα . . . ἀντέστη πρὸς τὸν θν XIV
 2 αὐτῆς . . . καὶ τὰ ὑποτίθθαι αὐ . . . αἱ ἐν γαστρὶ αὐτῶν ἔχουσιναι . . . ³· στρά-
 3 φθη ἱηλ πρὸς κν τὸν . . . ταῖς ἀδικίαις σου· ² λάβετε μεθ' ἑαυτῶν λόγους
 καὶ ἐπιστράφητε πρὸς κν τὸν θν ὑμῶν· εἶπατε αὐτῷ δύνασαι πᾶσαν ἀφελεῖν
 ἁμαρτίαν ὅπως μὴ λάβητε ἀδικίαν καὶ ἵνα λάβητε ἀγαθά· καὶ ἀνταποδώ-
 4 σουμεν καρπὸν χειλέων ἡμῶν· ⁴ ἄσσοῦρ οὐ μὴ σώσῃ ἡμᾶς ἐφ' ἵππων οὐκ
 ἀναβησόμεθα· οὐκέτι μὴ εἴπωμεν θεοὶ ἡμῶν τοῖς ἔργοις τῶν χειρῶν ἡμῶν·
 5 ὅτι ὁ ἐν σοὶ ἐλεήσει ὀρφανόν· ⁵ ἰάσομαι τὰς κατοικίας αὐτῶν· ἀγαπήσω
 6 αὐτοὺς ὁμολόγως ὅτι ἀπέστρεψεν ἡ ὀργή μου ἀπ' αὐτῶν· ⁶ ἔσομαι ὡς
 ὁ ὀφθαλμὸς τῷ ἱηλ ἀνθήσει ὡς κρίνον· καὶ βαλεῖ τὰς ῥίζας αὐτοῦ ὡς ὁ λίβανος·
 XIV. 3^a Chrys. *Sermo cum Presb. fuit ordinatus* 4^{ab} Exp. in Psal. cxvii § 2

τον οι λογοι σου . . . Quint διαθηκη] δικη BA Q L (εκε νικη 22^a διαθηκη 22^a 51 97)
 του το κεντρον σου αδη] εσομαι δηγμοι σου αδη Αq εσομαι ακηδια (αl απαντημα) σου εν
 αλη Σ και πληγη σου εν αδη Θ το κεντρον] συγκλεισμος Quint απο] εf A 238
 σου 3^o] μου 48 153 228 meis OL^w 15. αδελφων] + σου 228 διαστελει] δια-
 σιλλει A 62 147 153 separavit OL^w επαξει κῶ ανεμον καυσωνα εκ της ερημου επ αυτον]
 επαξει καυσωνα ανεμον κυριος εκ της ερημου επ αυτον B επαξει ανεμον καυσωνα εκ της
 ηρημου κυριος επ αυτον A επαξει ανεμον καυσωνα κυριος εκ της ερημου επ αυτον (αυτους Q^a)
 Q κῶ] om 48 228 233 ανεμον καυσωνα] fr 48 228 233 ανεμον και καυσωνα 95
 155 + κυριος 36 48 97 153 228 233 αναξηρανει] exsiccavit OL^w φλεβας] φλε-
 vas ras A^b και 2^o] om BA Q 48 233 OL^w ερημώσει] καταξηρανει BA Q 36 48
 233 ξερανει 153 228 om 95 185 την γην αυτου] om 95 185 την] om Q
 αυτου 2^o] του sup ras A^a αυτου 3^o] om BA Q αυτου τα επιθυματα] om αυτου
 36 62 95 97 147 153 185 τα επιθ. αυτου 48 228 233 τα επιθυματα] τα] επι sup
 ras B^{ab} + αυτου BA Q + τα αυτου Q^a vid

XIV. 1. αφα . . .] pr νυν δε 86 μεταμελησει Σ αντεστη] αντεστι 22^a (-στη 22^a)
 και τα υποτιθθια αυ . . .] τα βρεφ αυτων Αq τα νηπια αυτων Σ υποτιθθια] υποτιθθια B^a
 (-τιθθια B^{ab} A Q^a) υποτιθθια Q^a αι] om 36 αυτων εχουσιναι] fr BA Q 48 228 233
 2. . . στραφηθι] επιστραφηθι B^a (-στραφηθι B^{ab}) ηηλ] Ιερουσαλημ 228^{ms} προς] επι 228
 3. λαβετε] αναλαβετε 95 185 λογους] + πολλους 62 86 147 om λογους hab multos OL^w
 τον θν υμων] om 228 δυνασαι πασαν αφελειν αμαρτιαν] om BA Q 48 228 (hab
 228^{ms}) 233 αφελειν] αφαιρειν 86 95 153 185 228^{ms} οπως μη λαβητε αδικιαν]
 πασαν αρατε ανομιαν Αq ιλασθηναι αδικια Θ λαβητε 1^o] λασητε (sic) A αναλαβητε
 153 ινα] om BA Q 48 153 233 και 2^o] sed OL^w λαβητε 2^o] λαβετε A
 ημων] υμων Q^a (ημων Q^a) + και εντρυφησει εν αγαθοις η ψυχη ημων 62 + και εντρυφηση
 εν αγαθοις η ψυχη ημων 86 + και εντρυφηση εν αγαθοις η ψυχη υμων 147 + et aepulabitur
 in bonis cor vestrum OL^w 4. σωση] σωσει A ημας] υμας 95 185 147 ιπων]
 ιπων BA 48 51 153 233 αναβησόμεθα] -σωμεθα 147 μη 2^o] pr ου Q 95 153 185
 228 ειπωμεν] ειπομεν L (εκε 62 95 147 185 233) ημων] + estis OL^w οτι] om
 BA Q ο εν σοι] pr ο θεος 22^a (om 22^a) pr και 51 οτι εν σοι 95 185 ο εν σοι ελεήσει
 ορφανόν] οτι εν σοι ελεηθησεται ορφανος Θ 5. τας κατοικιας αυτων] τας επιστροφας
 αυτων Αq Σ Θ Quint Sext ομολογως] ομολογησω 62 86 147 οτι] διоти A 228
 233 απεστρεψεν] αποστρεψω A αποστρεψω Q^a (απεστρεψεν Q^a) -ψε 228 233 η οργη]
 την οργην BA Q^a (εν τη οργη Q^a) 48 233 απ αυτων] απ αυτου B 22 48 153 εf
 αυτων Q^a (απ αυτων Q^a) 6. εσομαι] pr και A 36 228 ο] om A 62 86 147 228

7 ⁷ πορεύονται οἱ κλάδοι αὐτοῦ· καὶ ἔσται ὡς ἐλαία κατάκαρπος· καὶ ἡ
8 ὀσφρασία αὐτοῦ ὡς λιβάνου· ⁸ ἐπιστρέψουσιν καὶ καθιοῦνται ὑπὸ τὴν
σκέπην αὐτοῦ καὶ ζήσονται . . . χθήσονται σίτῳ· καὶ ἔξαν . . . τὸ μνημό-
9 σον αὐτῶν ὡς . . . ⁹ ἐφραίμ· τί αὐτῷ ἔτι καὶ εἰ . . . σα αὐτόν· καὶ ἐγὼ
10 κατισχύς . . . πυκάζουσα αὐτὸν ἐξ . . . ται· ¹⁰ τίς σοφὸς καὶ συνή . . .
γνώσεται αὐτά; ὅτι εὐθ . . . οἱ πορεύονται ἐν αὐταῖς· οἱ δὲ ἀσεβεῖς
ἀσθενήσουσιν ἐν αὐταῖς:—

W. O. E. OESTERLEY.

7. εἶσται] εἰσονται 62 86 147 ὀσφρασία] ὀσφρησία Q* ὀσφρησις Q* ὀσφρασις 153 λι-
βανου] ῥη οἶνος 62 147 8. ἐπιστρέψουσιν] -σι 22 καθιοῦνται] καθαριούνται 95 185
υπο] ἐπὶ 233 τὴν σκέπην] in τὴν forte ras aliq B¹ καὶ 2^o] οἱ B A Q 48 153 228
233 . . . χθήσονται] μεθυθήσονται B A Q* 48 233 στηριχθήσονται Q* L (exc 48 233)
καὶ ἔξαν . . .] καὶ βλαστήσουσιν Aq X το] οἱ B 22 48 233 μνημονύοντων αὐτῶν]
μνη. αὐτῶν B A Q 9. τι] ῥη καὶ 36 228* αὐτῶν ἐπὶ] tr A ἐγὼ] οἱ B Q*
(hab Q* εἰς) 48 233 . . . πυκάζουσα] ἐγὼ ὡς ἐλατὴ εὐθαλὴς Aq αὐτόν 2^o] οἱ
B A Q L (exc 36 51 97 228*) 10. καὶ] + η L (exc 228) συνή . . .] συνετός 153
γνώσεται] ἐπιγνώσεται B A Q* (γνώσεται Q*) 48 233 σι] ἵσоти B A Q 233
ἀσθενήσουσιν] σκανδαλισθήσονται Aq προσκοφύουσιν X
Subscr Πιστε α B A Q (+ ληπουμένος καὶ παρ Εβραίοις α' Q*)
Subscr + ὥσπερ στιχῶν 11 B
ὥσπερ ἐρμηνεύεται σωζόμενος:—ἡν εκ φυλῆς ισραηλ 22

LE TÉMOIGNAGE PERDU DE JEAN ÉVÊQUE DE TOMI SUR LES HÉRÉSIES DE NESTORIUS ET D'EUTYCHÈS.

Le dernier fragment de Marius Mercator contre le nestorianisme et l'eutychianisme, fragment dont nous sommes redevables à Baluze, se termine par ces mots¹:

Necessarium profecto credidimus utramque prau-
tatem sua per plurimos ignorantia serpentem bea-
tissimi patris Iohannis Tomitanæ urbis episcopi
provinciae Scythiae sermonibus prodere.

Baluzé fait remarquer que les passages de Jean de Tomi annoncés ici sont perdus. Et P. Batiffol²: 'Ces sermons ne nous sont point parvenus.' Tout ce qu'on a pu faire jusqu'ici a été de déterminer approximativement la date de l'évêque en question: après Timothée, qui survécut au concile d'Éphèse de 431; avant Alexandre, qui souscrivit au synode de Constantinople en 449³.

¹ Migne P. L. 48, 1068.

² La Littérature grecque (Paris, 1897), p. 316.

³ Le Quien Oriens christianus I 1215.

J'ai eu la curiosité d'examiner naguère à la Bodléienne le cod. Laud. Misc. 92, un 'Liber sancti Kyliani' du ix^e-x^e siècle, lequel ne formait à l'origine qu'un seul volume avec le cod. Laud. Misc. 580. La table sommaire que voici, écrite tout à la fin de ce dernier (fol. 67), le démontre à l'évidence, non moins que l'écriture et toutes les autres particularités extrinsèques :

In hoc codicæ continentur libri s̄ci Fulgentii ēpsi
ad monimū obiectionis regis affricæ drasamundi.

Itē contra ipsū s̄ci Fulgentii ēpsi libri . iii .

Eiusdem s̄ci Fulgentii ēpi ad diuersos . maxentii . ioh̄n :
seruorū di dialogi . contra Nestorianos.

Les opuscules du moine scythe Maxence remplissent le Laud. 580, tandis que le Laud. 92 (175 foll., 25 lignes par page) contient les traités et lettres de saint Fulgence (Migne, *P. L.*, t. 65, depuis col. 151 jusqu'à la fin de l'épître vii, col. 360).

La dernière lettre de Fulgence, fol. 174, est suivie de la rubrique :
EXPLICIT EPISTOLA S̄CI FULGENTI ĒPI AD UENANTIAM CONSULIMUS (*sic*).

Immédiatement après, et pour terminer cette première portion du volume, vient un court opuscule que je crois inédit, et dont les premiers mots sont écrits en onciale. Je le transcris ici ligne par ligne, en me conformant à la ponctuation et à l'orthographe du manuscrit, à part quelques rares exceptions dont je rendrai compte en note.

INCIPIT SANCTI IOHANNIS TOMITANÆ CIVITATIS EPISCOPI .

prouincia Scythiæ . de duabus heresibus Nestorianorum & Eutychianistarum nuper exortis post obitum beatae memoriae Augustini episcopi breuissima utilissimaque instructio .

5 Nestoriani . a Nestorio quondam Constantinopolitanae urbis episcopo dicti sunt . qui adserebat sanctam uirginem Mariam theodochon . non theotocon . hoc est susceptricem dei esse . non

[fol. 174^v]

genitricem . Non enim unum atque eundem deum & hominem
x̄pm dei filium credit . sed alterum ex deo patre adserit natum,
10 alterum ex matre uirgine separat procreatum ; Indignum namque
existimat confiteri . quod ipse dei filius in utero beatae uirginis
conceptus et incarnatus sit, sed hominem tantum modo formatum

1. TOMITANÆ] *cod.* COMITANÆ 2. prouincia] *cod.* prouintiae 3. exortis]
cod. exhortis 7. theodochon . non theotocon] Cette formule est moins connue
que l'autre, Χριστοτόκον non Θεοτόκον. On la trouve cependant dans le VII^e sermon
de Nestorius, n. 48 (Migne *P. L.* 48, 800) : Θεοδόχον dico, non Θεοτόκον. Cyrille
d'Alexandrie la réfute dans sa lettre à ses clercs qui se trouvaient à Constantinople
(Migne *ibid.* 815 sq.) 9. x̄pm dei filium] Un habile critique me suggère qu'il
faut probablement suppléer la conjonction et devant dei filium ; je pense pourtant que

in utero . & postmodum deo coniunctum xpm editum esse pronuntiat ;
 Quem Nestorium . sancta synodus Epheso congregata . ab episcopatus
 15 honore deposuit . atque in exilio relegauit . ibi suae perfidiae poenas
 meritas luiturum . Eutychnistae . ab Eutychete sunt appellati .
 quae heresis licet sit posterior ceteris . sed ad decipiendas
 fidelium mentes nebulisque suae perfidiae obuoluendas . longe cun-
 tas exsuperat . nulla namque pestis sic aduersus ecclesiam xpi .
 20 praeualuit ut ista nunc usque superstitio execrabilis inuales-
 cit . Nam Apollinaris obstinatissimi heretici tertium dogma
 consecrans ita interpretatur illud euangelistae quod ait .
 Uerbum caro factum est & habitauit in nobis ; quasi uerbi essentia
 sit in carne conuersa . dum enim timet ne si duas in xpo con-
 25 fitetur naturas quartam introducat in trinitate
 personam . inopia confusione ipsum dei filium a deitatis suae
 natura pronuntiat demutatum ita ut inconuertibilem
 dicat & passionibus subdat immortalemque morti subiciat
 & eum qui non cecidit (nec enim fas erat deum in sua diuinitate posse
 30 occidi) resurrexisse contendat . Alii autem eiusdem perfidiae secta-
 tores dicunt . quod filius dei non de Mariae uirginis carne hoc est
 nostrae naturae sed passibilem unde uoluit sibi adsumpsit . alii

[fol. 175^r]

de caelestibus eum & spiritualibus coaeternam habuisse existimant .
 ac per uterum Mariae uirginis ueluti aquam per fistulam nihil ex ea
 35 carnis adsumens transisse contendunt . omnes tamen hi
 uerbum & carnem unius esse naturae impia permixtione con-
 fusioneque confirmant.

cette addition n'est pas indispensable. 14. Epheso] sic 15. relegauit] *cod.*
 relegauit 21. Apollinaris] *cod.* Apollinaris tertium dogma] *S. Augustin*
 (De dono perseuer. n. 67) à la suite d'Épiphanes (Haeres. lxxvii, n. 2) attribue trois
 erreurs aux Apollinaristes ; la troisième est ainsi formulée : 'carnem non de femina
 sumptam, sed factam de Verbo in carnem conuerso atque mutato'. 29. cecidit]
cod. caecidit ; les signes de parenthèse ont été ajoutés ici pour l'intelligence du texte.
 30. perfidiae] *cod.* perfidia 31. hoc est nostrae naturae] *Il semble qu'il manque*
quelque chose à cet endroit ; à la rigueur, néanmoins, il peut se comprendre tel qu'il est.
Vis-à-vis de tout le passage, annotation de première main, en marge : manicheus
eutrohes (pour Eutyches !) & ceteri 35. omnes] *Le point manque dans le*
manuscrit, je n'ai cru pouvoir me dispenser de l'insérer. 37. confusionem] *cod.*
 confusionem

Il est au moins très probable que ce fragment représente les citations
 annoncées à la fin de ce que nous possédons de Marius Mercator ; la
 frappante similitude des expressions employées par celui-ci avec le titre
 que porte la pièce dans notre manuscrit ôte presque tout doute à ce
 sujet. Le mot *sermonibus* de Mercator doit ainsi s'entendre, comme
 souvent, simplement des 'paroles,' et non de 'sermons' proprement

dit. Rien n'empêche, évidemment, que Jean de Tomi n'ait aussi composé des sermons ; mais le fragment donné plus haut paraît plutôt détaché d'un écrit d'un autre genre. Malgré sa brièveté, il ne manque pas d'un certain intérêt, ne fût-ce qu'en raison de la date à laquelle il fut composé, du vivant même d'Eutychès, et antérieurement à sa déposition. Le langage en est nerveux, et digne des meilleurs théologiens de l'époque : on pourra le comparer utilement avec les notices sur les deux mêmes hérésies ajoutées très anciennement au *De haeresibus* de saint Augustin, ainsi qu'avec celles qui figurent, soit dans l'*Indiculus de haeresibus* publié sous le nom de S. Jérôme (Paris 1617), soit dans le célèbre et énigmatique 'Praedestinatus'. Il n'ajoute rien, sans doute, aux sources d'information que F. Loofs vient de réunir avec tant de soin dans ses *Nestoriana* ; et toutefois, il est de nature à nous faire regretter que nous ne possédions rien de plus de ce vénérable témoin de la foi orthodoxe, situé à la limite du monde occidental, tout près du foyer des grandes hérésies christologiques. Ce court extrait aura du moins l'avantage d'attirer sur lui l'attention ; peut-être même permettra-t-il sous peu de grossir de quelque nouvel inédit plus considérable le bagage littéraire de l'évêque de Tomi.

G. MORIN.

NOTES AND STUDIES

THE *LIBER ECCLESIASTICORUM DOGMATUM*
ATTRIBUTED TO GENNADIUS.

My attention was first called to the tract of which a revised (although still quite tentative) text is here given, by the title 'dogma Nicenum' under which it is cited in a MS of Canons (Paris lat. 12444, saec. ix ineunt.). I hope to publish some day a more final form of it—together with other documents, genuine and spurious, that connect themselves with the Nicene council—in the third part of *Ecclesiae Occidentalis Monumenta Iuris Antiquissima*. Meanwhile I want, by printing it in the JOURNAL, to invite the expression of the views of other scholars upon its date and authorship, as well as their assistance in supplementing and rectifying the present rough account of the MS material.

I. EDITIONS OF THE TREATISE.

The following editions of the treatise are known to me. The gaps in the list will, I believe, be found mainly in regard to the sixteenth and perhaps the seventeenth century: and if so, it is not a little singular that (reckoning Arevalo to belong to the eighteenth century) the nineteenth century produced nothing more than reprints of earlier editions of a tract which during many generations was one of the most popular handbooks of Christian doctrine in the Western Church.

i. *Under the name of St Augustine.*

In the Louvain edition of St Augustine—vol. iii pp. 380, 465 of the Paris reprint of A. D. 1614—the tract is edited from five Flemish MSS, Camb[ronensis], Carth[usianus], Am[andinus], Mart[inensis] (St Martin of Tournay?), Theolog[orum Collegii Lovaniensis]. As there printed it consists of eighty-eight chapters, instead of the fifty-five or thereabouts of all the early MSS: but the editors note that the additional chapters are not found in their MSS, and print them in different type¹. They note further that the treatise has nothing whatever to do with Augustine,

¹ These additional chapters, which are meant to balance the teaching of our tract on Grace and Freewill, are derived from (i) Pope Celestine's decretal letter to the bishops of Gaul, (ii) the Council of Carthage of A. D. 418, and (iii) the second Council of Orange.

and accept the attribution to the Semi-Pelagian writer Gennadius of Marseilles, circa 500 A.D.

The Benedictine edition includes our document among the *spuria* of vol. viii—in the Antwerp reprint, viii, appendix 71—and removes the additional chapters altogether. With regard to the authorship, three attributions to writers other than St Augustine are cited from MSS: (a) from a Colbertinus 'optimae notae' *Incipit liber ecclesiasticorum dogmatum Gennadii . . . explicit definitio ecclesiasticorum dogmatum Gennadii*: (b) from a codex Padolironensis (mentioned in the Benedictine *Iter Italicum*¹ p. 208) *Incipiunt definitiones dogmatum ecclesiasticorum Fausti episcopi ecclesiae Maxiliensis*: (c) from a Colbertinus 'about 900 years old' [i.e. circa 800 A.D.] *Incipit dogma sanctorum patrum trecentorum et octo episcoporum congregatis apud Niceam*.

Migne *Patrologia Latina* xlii 1211 is a reprint of the Benedictine edition.

ii. *Under the name of St Isidore of Seville.*

S. Isidori Hispalensis episcopi opera omnia quae exstant partim aliquando virorum doctissimorum laboribus edita partim nunc primum exscripta et castigata per Margarinum de la Bigne, theologum doctorem Parisiensem. Parisiis, apud Michaellem Sonnum via Iacobaea sub scuto Basiliensi, A.D. 1580. The editor's justification for including our tract in this edition (of which the Bodleian possesses no copy, nor have I myself seen one) was that he found it under the name of Isidore in a MS belonging to Peter Daniel.

S. Isidori Hispalensis episcopi Hispaniarum doctoris opera omnia (7 volumes, Rome, A.D. 1797-1803), the well-known edition of Faustinus Arevalo: the introduction to our tract is contained in vol. ii pp. 31-43, the text in vol. vii (appendix 13) pp. 320-336. The spurious chapters are included, but Arevalo notes that they are absent both from the MSS used by the Benedictine editors of St Augustine and from 'very many other MSS'. He enumerates a dozen MSS or more (mostly from the Vatican library) containing the treatise, but it does not appear to what extent he collated any of them.

Migne *P. L.* lxxxiii 1227 is a reprint of Arevalo.

iii. *Under the name of Gennadius of Marseilles.*

Gennadii Massiliensis Presbyteri Liber de Ecclesiasticis Dogmatibus . . . Geuerhartus Elmenhorstius ex MS. prouulgavit et notas addidit, Hamburg, A.D. 1614. Elmenhorst too prints the spurious chapters, and he too does so without manuscript authority, 'in MS non extant'.

Franz Oehler includes our treatise in his *Corpus Haereseologicum*

¹ The *Iter Italicum* is vol. i of the *Museum Italicum*, Paris, A.D. 1687. The 'Monasterium Padolironense' was near Mantua.

(Berlin, A.D. 1856) pp. 335 sqq., under the title *Gennadii Massiliensis Liber de Ecclesiasticis Dogmatibus*—distinguishing the spurious chapters from the rest by the use of smaller type—and repeats after the text the full and erudite notes of Elmenhorst.

Of the labours of all these editors the only assured results are that the tract is not Augustine's, and that the long insertion of additional chapters on Grace and Freewill is no part of the original work. But the Benedictine Augustine is the only edition among those enumerated which has had the courage to act on this conclusion and entirely to eject these chapters from a place in the text. To the same edition are due the three references numbered 4-6 in the list which now follows.

II. SOME ANCIENT CITATIONS OF THE TREATISE.

1. St. Isidore of Seville *de officiis ecclesiasticis* ii 24 'de regula fidei' (Arevalo vi 461) has striking points of contact with our tract: the chapter in fact looks like a free running commentary on it, just as the preceding chapter contains a sort of commentary or paraphrase of the Apostles' Creed; the chapter before that, too, appears to have borne a similar relation to the lost books of Niceta of Remesiana *ad competentes*.

2. A Gallican collection of Canons represented by two extant MSS—Paris lat. 1451 (saec. viii exeunt.: fol. 10 a) and Vat. Reg. 1127 (saec. ix ineunt.: fol. 14 b)—and by an apparently lost one of about the same age, no. 562 of the Jesuit College of Clermont¹, cites a long passage (chapters x-xviii of the printed text below, omitting c. xvii b) under the title *De concilio Aurilianensi de libro ecclesiasticorum dogmatum*², and immediately afterwards a second passage, cc. xliii-xlv, under the title *Sententia de can.*: in neither passage are the chapters quoted by their numbers.

3. Another Gallican collection of Canons preserved in a ninth-century MS, Paris lat. 1564 ('collection of Pithou'), fol. 23 a, cites a passage of our treatise with the words *Adnotatio excepta de libro ecclesiasticorum dogmatum quem sanctus Patiens episcopus protulit*, = c. xxi of my printed text.

4. The Council of Frankfort in A.D. 794 in its encyclical letter to

¹ When writing in the JOURNAL (i 437) about the MSS of Canons in the Clermont library, I was unable to identify the collection contained in this MS: but it is now quite clear to me, from the data given in the Benedictine catalogue, that it was the Gallican collection called 'St Maur'. The greater part of the MS (191 leaves out of 227) was still in the Meerman collection at the sale of 1824, being numbered 583 in the sale catalogue.

² Perhaps one should connect with this the fact that in Brussels 2493 (saec. viii), fol. 13 b, sections xli, xxii, xxiii of our treatise are cited anonymously in the middle of similar citations from Gallic councils of the second half of the sixth century.

the bishops of Spain (Labbe-Coleti *Concilia* ix 83, Mansi *Concilia* xiii 891), quotes 'sanctus Augustinus in libro Enchiridion . . . item in *expositione catholicae fidei*' [part of c. 2 of our text follows]. It may be presumed that the '*expositio catholicae fidei*' is meant also to be attributed to St Augustine, and it is clear from the evidence of the MSS of the treatise (see below III. iii) that this attribution is as old as the eighth century.

5. Ratram of Corbie, in the ninth century, *contra opposita Graecorum* (printed in vol. ii of d'Achéry's *Spicilegium* [ed. 2, Paris A.D. 1681, p. 127] from a contemporary or possibly even autograph MS in the library of de Thou) iii 5, 'Gennadius Constantinopolitanus episcopus uir multa lectione antiquorum¹ peritus in libro ecclesiasticorum dogmatum de Spiritus sancti processione sic loquitur' [what follows is from c. 1 of our treatise].

6. Walafrid Strabo, in the same century, *de rebus ecclesiasticis* § 20, refers to 'Gennadius Massiliensis presbyter in dogmate ecclesiastico'. Walafrid was a monk of Reichenau, and we know that the library of Reichenau possessed at a rather earlier date two copies at least of our treatise under a title similar to that given by him: no. 364 in the catalogue of A. D. 822 'Canon et dogmata ecclesiastica Gennadii episcopi et aenigmata Symphorosi in codice 1', and no. 7 in the catalogue of Reginbert's MSS '... et dogma sancti Gennadii ecclesiastica' (see Becker *Catalogi bibliothecarum antiqui* 6. 364 and 10. 7). Compare also nos. 4 and 5 under III. ii below.

III. EXTANT MSS OF THE TREATISE².

i. With mention of the Nicene Council in the title.

1. A MS cited by the Benedictine editors of St Augustine, as mentioned on p. 79 *supra*: 'in antiquissimo omnium codice Colbertino ante annos fere nongentos scripto . . . Incipit dogma sanctorum patrum trecentorum et octo episcoporum congregatis apud Niceam. In Patre unitas, in Filio aequalitas, in Spiritu sancto unitas aequalitasque substantiae: et haec tria unum propter Patrem, aequalia propter Filium, connexa propter Spiritum sanctum. Credimus unum esse . . .' If we compare the Benedictine editors' account of the MS with the information given in the catalogue of the Royal Library at Paris A. D. 1740, we find that the only MSS there described which fulfil the three conditions, (a) of containing our treatise, (b) of having belonged to Colbert, (c) of being as old as the

¹ These words are drawn from the account of Gennadius of Constantinople in the *de Viris Illustribus* of Gennadius of Marseilles.

² In making out this list I have practically confined myself to those MSS which are of the eleventh century or earlier.

ninth or tenth century, appear to be Paris latt. 1458, 2076 and 21. Investigation of these three MSS shewed at once that lat. 2076 is the MS referred to by the Benedictines. It is of the tenth century and contains on foll. 55 a-61 b our treatise in 49 chapters, of which the last two ('Duodecimo kal . . .' and 'Homo ex duabus . . .') are additional to the printed text.

2. Paris lat. 12444 [see at the commencement of this paper: = G in my edition of the Canons], saec. ix ineunt.: quotes under the title *Incipit dogma Niceno* the following passages: §§ vi, viii (fol. 67 b), xxi (fol. 40 a), xxii (fol. 44 b), xxviii (fol. 69 a: quoted as xxviii), xxxviii (fol. 21 b: quoted as xxvii?), xxxviii (fol. 52 a: quoted as xxxviii), xli (fol. 44 b: quoted as xli), xlii (fol. 63 b: quoted as xlv), lii (fol. 48 a: quoted as lii [*sic*]).

3. Albi 39, saec. viii-ix: *Doctrina ecclesiastica secundum Nicaenum concilium*.

4. Paris lat. 10612, saec. viii (I should say late eighth), fol. 5 a: *Incipit doctrina dogma ecclesiastica secundum Nicenum concilium*. Contains our tract in 53 chapters, c. 53 being equivalent to 53 and 54 of the printed text.

5. Paris lat. 2175, saec. ix (perhaps ix ineunt.), from the library of SS Peter and Paul at Weissenburg, fol. 1 a: *Incipit doctrina dogma ecclesiastica secundum Nicenum concilium*. A sister MS to the last preceding, but much less carefully written, and in our tract largely corrected by a second hand from a text of another family.

6. Köln 1xxxv, saec. ix, fol. 2 a: *Incipit doctrina dogma ecclesiastica secundum Nicenum concilium*. A sister MS to nos. 4 and 5.

7. Brussels 1324 (from the Abbey of St Bertin), saec. x ineunt., fol. 111 a: *Incipit doctrina ecclesiastica secundum Nicenum concilium*. The number and the arrangement of the chapters are the same (I think) as in nos. 4-6 above.

8. Orléans 313 (from Fleury), saec. xi, fol. 243 a: *Incipit doctrina dogmat ecclesiasticorum secundum Nicaenum concilium*.

9. Vatic. 4162, saec. xii exeunt., fol. 1: *Incipit dogmatum ecclesiasticorum diffinitio Niceni concilii de Trinitate quia non est confusa in una persona*.

10. A manuscript with a compound title, in which mention of the Nicene council is combined with mention of both Augustine and Gennadius, is Milan Ambros. G 58 sup. (from Bobbio), saec. ix-x, fol. 52 a: *Incipit liber beati Aug[ustini], siue ut alii uolunt Gennadii pr[es]b[yte]ri Massiliensis, uel certe diffinitio dogmatum ecclesiasticorum Niceni concilii in regulis tui ad aedificationem catholicae fidei . . . Explicit expositio fidei catholicae*.

ii. *With the name of Gennadius [of Marseilles] in the title.*

1. Verona lx (58) ['collection of Theodosius the deacon': = Θ of my edition of the Canons], saec. viii ineunt., fol. 116 b: *Incipit definitio dogmatum ecclesiasticorum domini Gennadi pr[es]b[yteri] Massiliensis*. Text consists of 55 chapters, the last equivalent to c. 52 of my printed text.

2. Lucca 490 [so-called 'codex Carolinus': = Z of my Canons], saec. viii-ix: *De dogmatibus ecclesiasticis sedis Gennadii episcopi Maxiliensis*.

3. Vienna lat. 16, saec. viii-ix (from Bobbio: palimpsest), fol. 38 a: *Gennadius de dogmatibus ecclesiasticis . . . Explicit expositio fidei catholicae*.

4. Carlsruhe Augiensis XVIII, saec. ix ineunt., fol. 58 a: *Incipit des uel dogma ecclesiastica Gennadii episcopi Masiliensis*.

5. Carlsruhe Augiensis CLX, saec. ix ineunt., fol. 43 b: *Incipit dogma ecclesiastica Gennadii episcopi Massiliensis contra hereticos*.

6. Paris lat. 2796 [Bigotianus: = bi of my Canons], saec. ix: *Incipit dogma eccl[esiasticum] Gennadi episcopi Massiliens[is]*.

7. Troyes 1064, saec. ix: *Gennadii dogmata ecclesiastica*.

8. Monte Cassino 30, saec. xi, fol. 165 b: *liber Gennadii*.

9. Avranches 105, saec. xi, fol. 142 a: *Incipit dogma ecclesiasticum Gennadii ep[iscop]i Massiliensis*.

Possibly our treatise is also the document indicated by the following references in two Munich MSS.

[10]. Munich lat. 14468, saec. ix ineunt., fol. 1: *Gennadii Massiliensis de fide*.

[11]. Munich lat. 14461, saec. ix, fol. 124: *Confessio fidei in codice Gennadio Massiliensi tributa*.

12. A composite title occurs once more in Vatic. 514, saec. xiii, fol. 64 b: *Incipit liber de diffinitionibus ecclesiasticorum dogmatum Augustini uel Gennadii*. See also no. 10 in the preceding list.

iii. *With the name of Augustine in the title.*

This attribution is of all the most common (though the most certainly erroneous), and in the later Middle Ages any other form of title is quite exceptional. It is not indeed always quite easy to decide, upon the information given in catalogues, in what cases the assignment is definitely made: but in the absence of evidence to the contrary, it seems safe to assume that the occurrence of our treatise in a series of Augustinian writings is intended as an indication of St Augustine's authorship.

1-8. A group of manuscripts of Canons contain our treatise, among a series of additions to the collection of Dionysius Exiguus, under some such title as *Liber sancti Augustini episcopi de ecclesiasticis regulis capitula lv*. Apparently they omit (with other MSS) the last two chapters

of the text as printed below, but add a new one of their own 'lv contra Pelagium'.

1. Vatic. 5845 [= I of my Canons], saec. viii exeunt.¹, fol. 291 b.
2. Rome, biblioteca Vittorio Emanuele 2102 [Sessorianus lxiii: = 5 of my Canons], saec. viii exeunt.
3. Rome, biblioteca Vallicelliana A 5, saec. ix.
4. Vercelli lxxvi, saec. ix, fol. 286 b.
5. Oxford Bodl. Laud. misc. 421 (from Würzburg), saec. ix exeunt., fol. 147 a.
6. Munich lat. 14008, saec. ix-x, fol. 253.
7. Munich lat. 3860 A, saec. x-xi, fol. 194.
8. Chartres 193, saec. xi, fol. 155 b.

Besides these, the 'Augustinian' group embraces the following MSS of dates from the eighth to the eleventh century (I do not repeat the name Augustine with each MS).

9. Vatic. Barberini lat. 671 (xiv 44), saec. viii-ix, fol. 150 b: the title at the head of the treatise is modern, but the colophon is original *Expl[icit] dogmatum s[an]c[t]i Agustini*.

10. Munich lat. 15818, saec. ix: *Definitio ecclesiasticorum dogmatum*.
11. Bamberg B III 30, saec. ix, fol. 1 a: *De difinitionibus ecclesiasticorum dogmatum*.

12. Bamberg B III 31, saec. ix-x, fol. 49 a: *De definitione dogmatum ecclesiarum*.

13. Laon 265, saec. ix: *De definitionibus ecclesiasticorum dogmatum*.
14. St Gall 677, saec. x, p. 86: " "
15. Vatic. Palat. 213, saec. x-xi, fol. 65: " "
16. Dijon 148, saec. xi, fol. 1: " "
17. Cambrai 485, saec. ix, fol. 2: *De ecclesiasticis dogmatibus*.

18. Paris lat. 3848 A [following the collection of Canons called after Quesnel: = II of my Canons], saec. ix, fol. 235 a: *Incipit liber sancti Augustini de difinitionibus ecclesiasticorum dogmatum*. Text in 54 chapters, the last equivalent to c. 52 of my printed text.

19. Wolfenbüttel 4152 (Weissenburg 68), saec. x, fol. 190 b: *De fide et doctrina ecclesiastica*.

Special mention must be made also of the following peculiar title:

20. St Mihiel 29, saec. x: *Incipit definitio dogmatum ecclesiasticorum grecorum*.

See also the composite titles of MSS i 10 and ii 12 above².

¹ I have attributed this MS, in my edition of the Canons, to 'saec. viii': but I am not sure whether that is not somewhat too early.

² In the absence of printed catalogues of most of the Vatican collections, the following supplementary list of some later Vatican MSS of our treatise (in all of which it bears the name of St Augustine) may perhaps be usefully added: Vatic. 458, saec. xiii-xiv, fol. 115 a; Vatic. 466, saec. xii, fol. 1 a; Vatic. 473, saec. xv

Originally no doubt the insertion of the name of St Augustine as author meant that the treatise was circulating anonymously up to the time, or at any rate in the district, of the scribe or scholar to whom the new conjecture was due: but once made, the influence of the name now chosen was so powerful that it began, even as early as the ninth century, to suppress the rival and doubtless earlier ascription to Gennadius. Two of our Gennadius MSS, nos. 1 and 6, bear curious witness to this process: in the former, Verona lx (58), the second hand has written BEATISSIMI AVGVSTINI EPISCOPI over the original Gennadius title: in the latter, Paris lat. 2796, the scribe has faithfully reproduced from his exemplar the name of Gennadius in the heading of the treatise itself, but in the list of contents at the beginning of the MS our treatise appears as DOGMA AECCLESIASTICA SANCTI AVGVSTINI HIPONIRIENSIS.

iv. *Anonymous.*

1. Köln ccxii [= K of my Canons], saec. vii, fol. 62 b: *In Christi nomine definitio ecclesiastici ordinis dogmatum.*

2. Berlin lat. 84 [from Rheims: = R of my Canons], saec. viii, fol. 165 a: *Incip definitio ecclesiasticorum dogmatum.*

3. Albi 2 [= A of my Canons], saec. ix-x: *Incipit definitio aeclesiasticorum dogmatum.*

4. Albi 29, saec. viii: *Incipit definitio ecclesiasticorum dogmatum.*

It is likely enough that not only no. 3 but no. 4 was copied from the seventh-century MS of Canons written for Albi but now preserved at Toulouse (MS 364 of the public library), which, though now unfortunately defective at the commencement, seems to have originally contained our treatise.

5. Paris lat. 1451 [from St Maur: = F of my Canons], saec. viii exeunt., fol. 33 a: *Definitio ecclesiasticorum dogmatum.* In 50 chapters, the last being the last of the printed text.

6. Vat. Reg. 1127 [from Angoulême: = f of my Canons], saec. ix ineunt., fol. 41 a: a sister MS to the preceding, and with the same title for our tract.

7. Bern lat. 89 [= δ of my Canons], saec. viii-ix, fol. 5 a: same title as nos. 5 and 6. The MS breaks off after chapter 51 of my printed text; but the list of capitula prefixed to the tract shews that the MS when complete ended as our text ends.

8. Paris lat. 1454 and 3842 A [sister MSS of the Quesnel collection of Canons: = Σ of my edition], both of saec. ix-x: same title as nos. 5-7.

ineunt., fol. 118 a; Vat. Reg. 83, saec. xv, fol. 83 b; Vat. Ottob. 459, saec. xiii, fol. 1 a; these five MSS all give the title *De ecclesiasticis dogmatibus.* Vat. Ottob. 612, saec. xiv, fol. 240 a: *Incipit exemplar regule vere fidei sci Augustini.* Vat. Pal. 191, saec. xv, fol. 180 b: *De diffinitione dogmatum ecclesiasticorum.* These references are based on Arevalo's edition of St Isidore, but have been revised and added to by Dr Mercati.

9. Paris lat. 1458, fol. 72 b, saec. x: *Definitio ecclesiasticorum dogmatum*. In 52 chapters, the last being the last of the printed text.

It is noticeable that the title of our treatise is identical in nos. 5-8, and with the prefix *Incipit* in nos. 2-4 as well. All these MSS, with the possible exception of no. 7, are French: and all of them, with at most a single exception in no. 4, contain collections of Canons. It may therefore turn out that their texts are not independent of one another: though it must be remembered that as regards their canonical matter nos. 1-3 are widely different from nos. 5 and 6, and these again from no. 7 or no. 8.

10. Milan Ambros. O 212 sup. (from Bobbio), saec. viii ineunt. ?¹, fol. 1 b: *In nomine Trinitatis s[an]c[t]ae dogmatis liber incipit*. And in the list of contents on fol. 1 a: *Dogmatis liber fidei*. On the chapters in this MS see below, p. 87.

11. St Gall 238, saec. viii, p. 415: *Incip capitula docomae* (corrected into *docma*): then follow 37 capitula, and then *expliciunt capitula et incip docoma*: and the running headline is *docoma* throughout.

12. St Gall 911, saec. viii, p. 292: *Incipit doctrinae fides aeclesie definē tū ecclesiasticorum dogma*².

13. St Gall 230, saec. ix, p. 498: *Incip doctrinae fides ecclesie* [then follow capitula] *ecclesiasticorum dogma*. . . *Explic dogma*. This and the previous MS are descended from the same exemplar: but whereas no. 13 is incomplete, no. 14 is complete.

14. Bern 224, saec. x, fol. 186 b: *Incipit doctrina et fides ecclesiastici definitio ecclesiasticorum dogmatum*. . . *Explicit liber dogmatum hoc est sentent. lv*.

15. Laon 113, saec. ix: *Incipit dogma fidei catholicae*.

16. Köln ccxi, saec. ix, fol. 77 a: *Incipit expositio fidei*. A bad text.

17. Paris lat. 3848 B, saec. ix, fol. 24 b: *Incipiunt capitula libri dogmatum*. . . *Incip dogma id est doctrina uel definitio de fide*. In 51 chapters, the last being the last of the printed text.

18. Paris lat. 4281 (from Limoges), saec. ix, fol. 106 a: *Incipiunt capitula libri dogma*. . . *Incip dogma id est doctrina uel definitio de fide*. The text breaks off in the middle of c. 51, which is c. 54 (and last) of my printed text.

19. Paris lat. 2123, saec. ix-x, fol. 6 a: *Incipit dogma id est doctrina uel definitio de fide*. In 51 chapters, the last being the last of the printed text.

Nos. 17-19, owing to their agreement in the title and in the numeration of the chapters, obviously form a single family.

20. Troyes 1165, saec. ix-x: *De dogmatibus ecclesiasticis liber*.

¹ It is extraordinarily difficult to date Irish handwriting: but I do not think the MS can be later than this.

² This MS contains only the first seventeen chapters.

- ¹ I have arranged the text not as the editions do in 55 chapters, but in 54, because chapter 18 of the editions is absent from the best MSS and appears to be an early insertion: I have therefore numbered it 17 *b*.

Augustine MS Paris lat. 3848 A, are all found to omit the two final chapters. Other MSS make additions of their own at the close of the treatise: one such has been noted already in the case of nos. 1-8 of the Augustine group, and another in the case of no. 1 of the Nicene group: while yet another is printed by Oehler (p. 355) from the Vienna MS (ii, no. 3 above).

IV. THE TEXT OF THE TREATISE AS HERE PRINTED.

The text printed below is taken mainly from no. 10 of the anonymous group, Milan Ambros. O 212 sup.: but I have consulted also no. 7 of the same group (Bern 89), nos. 1 and 5 of the Gennadius group (Verona lx [58] and Carlsruhe Augiensis CIX), nos. 4 and 7 and the first part of no. 5 of the Nicene group (Paris lat. 10612: Brussels 1324: Paris lat. 2175)¹. My justification for offering a new text, admittedly tentative and based on so small a proportion of the extant material, must rest on the claim that the Milan and Berne MSS (and for the most part the Nicene group also) present in comparison with the printed editions what is really a quite distinct and as it seems more primitive recension. Several of the proper names disappear from the text, and, most remarkable of all, the assertion of the Double Procession of the Holy Spirit in ch. i is replaced by the statement of the Single Procession from the Father. It has been seen above (p. 81) that Ratram of Corbie, attributing our treatise to Gennadius (not of Marseilles but) of Constantinople, and familiar only with what we may call the vulgate text of it, quoted its testimony to the Double Procession as convicting the Greeks out of the mouth of a Greek. I have not so far found any evidence in the MSS for this attribution (though attention was called above, p. 84, to the title of the St Mihiel MS, *Incipit definitio dogmatum ecclesiasticorum grecorum*), but the Benedictine editors of St Augustine remark with truth that there are features in the tract which would suit well enough with a Greek origin²; nor is the chronological evidence unfavourable to Gennadius, since he was patriarch from 458 to 471 A.D., and the most recent heretics of whom mention is made in the text as now recovered are Eutyches and the Timothians—presumably the partisans of the monophysite Timothy Aelurus of Alexandria. But an alternative explanation of the name of Gennadius is perhaps rather suggested by the evidence of the MSS—namely that to Gennadius of Marseilles is due a recension of the tract which gave it

¹ Since the above was in type, I have collated the three St Gall MSS, nos. 11-13, of the anonymous group. All of them definitely support the new type of text: and St Gall 238, ascribed to the hand of Winithar, has some remarkable points of contact with the Milan MS, together with countless minor errors and alterations of its own.

² A comparison of c. xxiii with line 2 of c. vi 'fabulat somniator' (the reading of the Bobbio MS) seems to make it probable that our author rejected the Apocalypse, in which case he must certainly have been an Eastern.

the form it bears (apart from the spurious chapters) in all previous editions, while the original (but on this hypothesis only slightly earlier) recension was anonymous. For the introduction of the name of the Nicene council in the title I have at present no special explanation to offer, nor am I prepared to say at what stage of the textual tradition (though I am sure it was at an early one) it first appeared. But for further answer to this and other questions we must wait until the evidence of the MSS has been more fully examined: the present undertaking aims only at recalling attention to a primitive and interesting, as well as wide-spread, summary of Christian doctrine.

LIBER SIVE DEFINITIO ECCLESIASTICORVM DOGMATVM.

I CREDIMVS unum esse Deum, patrem et filium et spiritum sanctum: patrem eo quod habeat filium, filium eo quod habeat patrem, spiritum sanctum eo quod sit ex patre procedens, patri et filio coaeternus. pater ergo principium deitatis, qui sicut numquam fuit non deus ita numquam fuit non pater; a quo filius natus; a quo spiritus sanctus, non natus 5 (quia non est filius) neque ingenitus (quia non est pater) nec factus, sed ex deo patre deus procedens. pater aeternus, eo quod aeternum habeat filium cuius aeternus sit pater: filius aeternus, eo quod sit patri coaeternus: spiritus sanctus aeternus, eo quod sit patri et filio coaeternus: non confusa in unam personam trinitas, ut Sabellius dicit, neque 10 separata aut diuersa in natura diuinitas, ut Arrius blasphematur, sed alter in persona pater, alter in persona filius, alter in persona spiritus sanctus, unus natura in sancta trinitate deus pater et filius et spiritus sanctus.

II Non pater carnem adsumpsit, neque spiritus sanctus, sed filius tantum; ut qui erat in diuinitate dei filius ipse fieret in homine hominis filius, ne filii nomen ad alterum transiret qui non erat natiuitate filius. dei ergo filius hominis factus est filius, natus secundum ueritatem naturae ex deo dei filius et secundum ueritatem naturae ex homine 5 hominis filius; ut ueritas geniti non adoptione, non appellatione, sed in utraque natiuitate filii nomen nascendo haberet, et esset uerus deus et uerus homo unus filius. non ergo duos Christos neque duos filios, sed deum et hominem unum filium, quem propterea [et] unigenitum dicimus, manentem in duabus substantiis, sicut ei naturae ueritas contulit, non 10 confusis naturis neque inmixtis, sicut Timothiani uolunt, sed societate unitis. deus ergo hominem adsumpsit, homo in deum transiuit, non naturae uersibilitate sed dei dignatione; ut nec deus mutaretur in humanam substantiam adsumendo hominem, nec homo in diuinam glorificatus in deum; quia mutatio uel uersibilitas naturae et deminu- 15

I 4. principium: *alias* principale nomen 11. diuersa: *alias* diuisa 13. unus
... sanctus: *alias* pater et filius et spiritus sanctus unus natura in sancta trinitate

tionem et abolitionem substantiae facit. natus ergo dei filius ex homine, non per hominem, id est non ex uiri coitu, sicut Ebion dicit, sed ex uirgine; carnem ex uirginis corpore trahens, et non de caelo secum adferens, sicut Marcion et Eutyches adfirmant; neque in fantasia, id est absque carne, sicut Valentinus dicit, neque $\delta\omicron\kappa\eta\varsigma$ [e], id est putatiue imaginatum, sed corpus uerum; non tamen carnem ex carne, sicut Marcianus; sed uerus deus ex diuinitate et uerus homo ex carne. unus filius, in diuinitate uerbum patris et deus, in homine anima et caro: anima non absque sensu et ratione, ut Apollinaris, neque caro absque
 25 anima, ut Anomaeus, sed anima cum ratione sua et corpus cum sensibus suis, per quos sensus ueros in passione et ante passionem carnis suae dolores sustenuit.

III Neque sic est natus ex uirgine ut deitatis initium nascendo homo acceperit, quasi antequam ex uirgine nasceretur deus non fuerit, sicut Artemon et Berillus et Marcellus docuerunt, sed aeternus deus homo ex uirgine natus.

IIII Nihil creatum aut seruiens in trinitate credendum, ut uult Dionisius fons Arrii; nihil inaequale, ut Eunomius; nihil gratiae inaequale, ut Aetius; nihil anterius posteriusue aut minus, ut Arrius; nihil extraneum aut officiale alteri, ut Macedonius; nihil persuasione
 5 aut subreptione insertum, ut Manicheus; nihil corporeum, ut Melito et Tertullianus; nihil corporaliter effigiatum, ut Anthropomorfus; nihil sibi inuisibile, ut Origenes; nihil creaturis uisibile, ut Fortunatus; nihil moribus uel uoluntate diuersum, ut Marcion; nihil ex trinitatis essentia ad creaturarum naturam deductum, ut Plato et Tertullianus; nihil
 10 officio singulare nec alteri communicabile, ut Origenes; nihil confusum, ut Sabellius: sed totum perfectum, quia totum ex uno et unum; non tamen solitarium, ut praesumit Siluanus et Praxeas, Pentapolitana damnabilis illa doctrina.

V Omousius ergo (id est coessentialis) in diuinitate patri filius: omousius patri et filio spiritus sanctus: omousius deo et homini unus filius, manens deus in homine suo in gloria patris, desiderabilis uideri ab angelis; sicut pater et spiritus sanctus adoratur ab angelis et ab omni
 5 creatura non homo propter deum, uel Christus cum deo, sicut Nestorius blasfemat, sed homo in deo et in homine deus.

VI Erit resurrectio mortuorum hominum, sed una et insemel; non prima iustorum et secunda peccatorum, ut fabulat somniator, sed una omnium. et si id resurgere dicitur quod cadit, caro ergo nostra in

II Initium huius capituli ad l 16 Natus ergo transferunt codices alii 20.

$\delta\omicron\kappa\eta\varsigma$ id est: optimi codices habent uel $\delta\omicron\kappa\eta\varsigma$ id est uel aufinici id est: alii om

25. Anomaeus scripsi: Anomoca uel Anomocus uel Anomacus codices optimi IIII 2.

gratiae inaequale codices optimi: gratia aequale alii V 1. Omousius ter: alias

Omousion ter VI 2. fabulat somniator: alias fabula somniatur alias fabula

somniatorum alias fabulas somniantur

ueritate resurgit sicut in ueritate cadit; et non secundum Origenem inmutatio corporum erit, id est non aliud nouum corpus pro carne sed 5 eadem caro corruptibilis quae cadit resurgit incorruptibilis: tam iustorum quam iniustorum caro incorruptibilis resurget, ut uel poenam sufferre possit pro peccatis uel in gloria aeterna manere pro meritis.

VII Omnium hominum erit resurrectio. si omnium erit, ergo omnes moriuntur, ut mors in Adam data omnibus filiis [eius] dominetur, et maneat illud priuilegium in Domino quod de eo specialiter dicitur NON DABIS SANCTVM TVVM VIDERE CORRPTIONEM et CARO EIVS NON VIDIT CORRPTIONEM. hanc rationem maxima patrum turba tradente sus- 5 cepimus: uerum quia sunt et alii aequae catholici et eruditi uiri qui credunt anima in corpore manente INMVTANDOS ad incorruptionem et immortalitatem eos qui in aduentum Domini uiui inueniendi sunt, et hoc eis reputari pro resurrectione ex mortuis quod mortalitatem in- mutatione deponant non morte, quolibet quis adquiescat modo; non 10 est hereticus, nisi ex contentione hereticus fiat. sufficit enim in ecclesiae lege CARNIS RESVRRECTIONEM credere futuram de morte.

VIII Quod autem dicimus in Symbolo, in aduentum Domini VIVOS AC MORTVOS IVDICANDOS, non 'iustos ac peccatores iudicari,' sicut Diodorus significari putat, sed VIVOS eos qui in carne inueniendi sunt dicit, qui ad hoc morituri creduntur (uel inmutandi, sicut alii uolunt) ut suscitati continuo (uel reformati) cum ante mortuis iudicentur. 5

VIII Post resurrectionem et iudicium non credamus restitutionem futuram quam Origenes delirat, ut demones uel impii homines post tormenta quasi suppliciis expurgati uel illi in angelicam qua creati sunt redeant dignitatem uel isti iustorum societate donentur, quod hoc diuinae conueniat pietati ne quid ex rationabilibus pereat creaturis sed 5 quolibet modo saluentur. sed nos credamus ipsi iudici omnium et retributori iusto qui dixit IBVNT IMPII IN SVPPPLICIVM AETERNVM IVSTI AVTEM IN VITAM AETERNAM, ut percipiant fructum operum suorum.

X IN PRINCIPIO CREAVIT DEVS CAELVM ET TERRAM et aquam ex nihilo. et cum adhuc tenebrae ipsam aquam occultarent et aqua terram absconderet, facti sunt angeli et omnes caelestes uirtutes, ut non esset otiosa Dei bonitas sed haberet in quibus per multa ante spatia bonitatem ostenderet; et ita hic uisibilis mundus ex his quae [tunc] creata fuerant 5 factus est et ornatus.

XI Nihil incorporeum et inuisibile natura credendum nisi solum Deum, id est patrem et filium et spiritum sanctum; qui ideo incor-

VII 4. Ps. xv (xvi) 10; ACT ii 27; ACT ii 31 7. I COR. xv 51 12. SYMBO-
LVN APOSTOLORVM VIII 7. MATT. xxv 46 X 1. GEN. i 1

VII 3. dicitur: *alias* dictum est 5. suscepimus: *alias* suscipimus VIII 4.
ad hoc: *alias* adhuc VIII 5. ex: *alias* de X 5. tunc: *alias* non; *alias* om
XI 2. ideo: *alias* eo uel ex eo

poreus creditur quia ubique est et omnia inplet adque constringit, ideo inuisibilis omnibus creaturis quia incorporeus est.

XII Creatura omnis corporea: angeli et omnes caelestes uirtutes corpore, licet non carne, subsistunt. ex eo autem corporeas esse credimus intellectuales naturas, quod localitate circumscribuntur, sicut et anima humana quae carne clauditur, et demones qui per substantiam angelicae
5 naturae sunt.

XIII Inmortales esse credimus intellectuales naturas, quae carne carent nec habent quod cadat, ut resurrectione egeat post ruinam necessaria.

XIII Animas hominum non esse ab initio inter ceteras intellectuales naturas nec insemel creatas, sicut Origenes fingit; neque cum corporibus per coitum seminantur, sicut Luciferiani et Cirillus et aliqui latinorum praesumentes adfirmant, quasi naturae consequentia seruiente. sed
5 dicimus corpus tantum per coniugii copulam seminari, creationem uero animae solum creatorem omnium nosse.

XV Neque duas animas esse dicimus in [uno] homine, sicut quidam Syrorum scribunt, unam animalem, qua animetur corpus et inmixta sit sanguini, et alteram spiritalem, quae rationem ministret: sed dicimus unam esse eandemque animam in homine, quae et corpus sua societate
5 uiuificet et semetipsam sua ratione disponat, habens in se libertatem arbitrii ut in sua substantia elegat cogitatione quod uult.

XVI Solum hominem credimus habere animam substantiuam, quae exuta corpore uiuit et sensus suos adque ingenia uiuaciter tenet; neque cum corpore moritur, sicut Arabs adserit, neque post modicum interuallum, sicut Zeno, quia substantialiter uiuit.

XVII Animalium uero animae non sunt substantiuae, sed cum carne ipsa carnis uiuacitate nascuntur et cum carnis morte finiuntur; et ideo nec ratione reguntur, sicut Plato et Alexander putant, sed ad omnia naturae incitamento ducuntur.

[XVII b Anima humana non cum carne moritur, quia nec cum carne (ut superius diximus) seminatur, sed formato in uentre matris corpore Dei iudicio creari et infundi, ut uiuat homo intus in utero et sic procedat natiuitate in mundo.]

XVIII Duabus substantiis constat homo, anima tantum et corpore, anima cum ratione sua et corpus cum sensibus suis; quos tamen sensus absque animae societate non mouet corpus, anima uero et sine corpore rationale suum tenet.

XIII 5. seminari: *addunt alii* Dei uero iudicio coagulari [*uel* animari] in uulua et conpingi adque formari, ac formato iam corpore animam creari et infundi, ut uiuat in utero homo ex anima constans et corpore et [*uel* ut] egrediatur uiuus ex utero plenus humana substantia XV 2. animetur: *alias* animatur XVII 4. incitamento: *alias* incitamenta XVII b *Capitulum hoc omittunt codices Bobiensis (= Mediol. Amb. O 212 sup.) Paris. 1451, Bern. 89, Sangall. 238, colon. cccii: illum (ut puto) capit auctorem cui comma capitulo XIII supra insertum tribuendum est*

XVIII Non est tertius in substantia hominis spiritus, ut Didymus contendit, sed spiritus ipse est anima, pro spiritali natura uel pro eo quod anima spiret in corpore 'spiritus' appellata; 'animam' uero ex eo uocari quod ad uiuendum uel ad uiuificandum animet corpus. tertium uero quod ab apostolo cum anima et corpore introducit, 'spiritum,' gratiam sancti spiritus esse intellegamus, quam orat apostolus ut INTEGRA PERSEVERET in nobis nec nostro uitio aut minuatur aut fugetur a nobis, quia SPIRITVS SANCTVS EFFVGIET FICTVM.

XX Libertati arbitrii sui commissus est homo statim prima conditione, ut sola uigilantia mentis adnitente etiam praecepti custodia perseueraret, si uellet, in id quod creatus fuerat. postquam uero seductione serpentis per Euam cecidit a naturae bono, perdidit pariter [et] uigorem arbitrii, non tamen electionem; ne non esset suum quod emendaret peccatum, nec merito indulgeretur quod non arbitrio diluisset. manet [ergo] ad salutem arbitrii libertas, id est rationabilis uoluntas, sed admonente prius Deo et inuitante ad salutem, ut uel elegat uel sequatur uel agat occasione[m] salutis, hoc est inspiratione Dei: ut autem consequatur quod elegit uel quod occasione[m] agit, Dei esse libere confitemur. initium ergo salutis nostrae habemus Deo largiente: ut adquiescamus salutiferae inspirationi, nostrae potestatis est: ut adipiscamur quod adquiescendo admonitioni cupimus, diuini muneris est: ut non labamur ab adepto salutis munere, sollicitudinis nostrae est et caelestis pariter adiutorii: ut labamur, potestatis nostrae est et ignauiae. 15

XXI BAPTISMA VNVM est, sed in ecclesia, ubi VNA est FIDES, ubi IN NOMINE PATRIS ET FILII ET SPIRITVS SANCTI datur. et ideo si qui apud illos hereticos baptizati sunt qui in sanctae trinitatis confessione baptizant, et ueniunt ad nos, recipiantur quidem quasi baptizati, ne sanctae trinitatis inuocatio uel confessio adnulletur, sed doceantur ante et instruantur quo sensu sanctae trinitatis mysterium in ecclesia teneatur; et si consentiunt credere uel adquiescunt confiteri, purgati iam fidei integritate confirmantur manus inpositione: si uero paruuli sunt uel hebetes qui doctrinam non capiunt, respondeant pro illis qui eos offerunt iuxta

XVIII 6, 7. 1 THESS. v 23
xviii 19

8. SAP. i 5

XXI 1. EPH. iv 5; MATT.

XVIII 3. animam: *alias* anima 7. minuatur aut fugetur: *alias* minuetur aut fugatur XX 7. manet [ergo] ad salutem *usque* ad salutis munere (l. 14): *alias* manet itaque ad quaerendam salutem arbitrii libertas, non tamen ad obtinendam sine illo qui quaerentes facit inuenire, qui pulsantibus aperit, qui petentibus donat. sicut ergo initium salutis nostrae Deo miserante et inspirante habere nos credimus, ita arbitrium naturae nostrae sequax esse diuinae inspirationis libere confitemur. igitur ut non labamur a bono uel naturae uel muneris (*quae omnia non nostrum sapiunt auctorem, neque apud ullos adhuc codices inueni nisi apud eos qui nomen Gennadii prae se ferunt*) XXI 9. capiunt: *alias* capiunt

morem baptizandi, et sic manus inpositione et chrismate communiti
 eucharistiae mysteriis admittantur. illos autem qui non in sanctae
 trinitatis inuocatione apud hereticos baptizati sunt, et ueniunt ad nos,
 baptizari debere pronuntiamus—non rebaptizari, neque enim credendum
 est eos fuisse baptizatos qui non in nomine patris et filii et spiritus
 sancti iuxta regulam a Domino positam tincti sunt : ut sunt Paulianitae
 Procliani Borboritae Sipuri Fotiniaci (qui nunc uocantur Bonosiani)
 Montani et Manichei, uariata impietatis germina, uel ceterae istorum
 originis siue ordinis pestes, quae duo principia sibi ignota introducunt, ut
 Cerdo et Marcion; uel contraria, ut Manicheus; uel tria, ut Theudotus;
 uel multa, ut Valentinus; uel Christum hominem fuisse absque deo, ut
 Cerinthus Ebion Artemon et Fotinus—ex istis, inquam, si qui ad nos
 uenerint, non requirendum ab eis utrum baptizati sint an non, sed hoc
 tantum, si credant ecclesiae fidem, et baptizentur ecclesiastico baptismo.

XXII Cotidie eucharistiae communionem percipere nec laudo nec
 uitupero : omnibus tamen dominicis diebus communicandum hortor, si
 tamen mens in affectu peccandi non sit, nam habentem adhuc uolunta-
 tem peccandi grauari magis dico eucharistiae perceptione quam puri-
 ficari. et ideo quamuis quis peccato mordeatur, peccandi non habeat
 de cetero uoluntatem et communicaturus satisfaciat lacrimis et orationi-
 bus et confidens de Domini miseratione, qui peccata pieae confessioni
 donare consuevit, accedat ad eucharistiam intrepidus et securus. sed
 hoc de illo dico quem capitalia et mortalia peccata non grauunt : nam
 quem mortalia post baptismum crimina commissa premunt, hortor prius
 publica paenitentia satisfacere et ita sacerdotis iudicio reconciliatum
 communioni sociari, si uult NON AD IUDICIUM et condemnationem sui
 eucharistiam percipere. sed [et] secreta satisfactione solui mortalia
 crimina non negamus, sed mutato prius saeculari habitu et confesso
 religionis studio per uitae correctionem et iugi, immo perpetuo, luctu,
 miserante Deo : ita dumtaxat ut contraria pro his quae paenitet agat et
 eucharistiam omnibus dominicis [diebus] supplex et submissus usque
 ad mortem percipiat.

XXIII Paenitentia uera est paenitenda non admittere sed admissa
 deflere. satisfactio paenitentiae est causas peccatorum excidere nec
 earum suggestionibus aditum indulgere.

XXIII In diuinis repromissionibus nihil terrenum uel transitorium
 expectemus, sicut Meletiani sperant; non nuptiarum copulam, sicut
 Cerinthus et Marcus delectantur; non quod ad cibum uel potum

XXII 12. 1 COR. xi 34

XXI 10. communiti : *alias* commoniti 11. admittantur : *alias* adinstruantur
 13. non rebaptizari : *alias* non baptizatos 15. Paulianitae : *alias* Paulionitae
alias Paulianistae XXII 4. perceptione : *alias* participatione 7. misericordia :
alias miseratione

pertinet, sicut Papia auctore Ireneus et Tertulianus et Lactantius adquiescunt. neque per MILLE ANNOS post resurrectionem regnum 5 Christi in terra futurum et sanctos cum illo in deliciis regnatos speremus, sicut Nepus docuit, qui primam iustorum et secundam impiorum confinxit et inter has duas mortuorum resurrectiones gentes ignorantes Deum IN ANGLIS TERRARVM in carne reseruandas, quae post mille annos regni in terra iustorum instigante diabolo mouendae sunt 10 ad pugnam contra iustos regnantes, et Domino pro iustis pugnante imbre igneo conpescendas, adque ita mortuas cum ceteris in impietate mortuis ad aeterna supplicia [in] incorruptibili carne resuscitandas.

XXV Nullum credimus ad salutem nisi Deo inuitante uenire, nullum inuitatum salutem suam nisi Deo auxiliante operari, nullum nisi orantem auxilium promereri, nullum Dei uoluntate perire, sed permissum pro electione arbitrii, ne ingenuitas potestatis semel homini adtributa ad seruilem cogatur necessitatem. 5

XXVI Malum uel malitiam non esse a Deo creatam sed a diabolo inuentam; qui et ipse bonus a Deo creatus est, sed quia libero arbitrio, utpote rationabilis creatura, commissus est et cogitandi acceperat facultatem, scientiam boni uertit ad malum et multa cogitando factus est inuentor mali. quod in se perdiderat inuidit in aliis, nec 5 contentus solus perire suasit aliis, ut qui esset suae malitiae inuentor fieret et aliorum auctor; ex eo malum uel malitia percurrit in ceteras rationabiles creaturas.

XXVII Vnde cognoscimus nihil esse natura inmutabile nisi solum Deum, patrem et filium et spiritum sanctum; qui mutari non potest a bono, quia natura possidet bonum nec potest aliud quid esse quam bonus.

XXVIII Angeli uero qui in illa qua creati sunt beatitudine perseuerant non natura possident bonum (ut non mutarentur cum ceteris) sed arbitrio, seruantes bona uoluntate bonum conditionis et fidem domino suo: unde et merito ab ipso Domino SANCTI ANGELI uocantur, quod tenuerint arbitrio sanctitatem nec sociorum exemplo deuiauerint 5 a bono.

XXVIII Bonae sunt nuptiae, sed causa filiorum et conpescendae fornicationis obtentu.

XXX Melior est continentia; sed non sibi sufficit ad beatitudinem, si pro solo amore pudicitiae retinetur, sed et si cum hoc affectu causa uacandi Domino elegatur [alioquin diuortium magis coniugii uidebitur esse quam castitas].

XXIII 5-13. APOC. XX 4-10
XXV 31]

XXVIII 4. MARC VIII 38; LUC. IX 26 [MATT.

XXIII 6. Christi: *alias* Dei

XXV 1. inuitante: *alias* adiuuante

XXXI Virginitas utroque bono praecelsior est, quia et naturam vincit et pugnam, naturam corporis integritate, pugnam castimoniae pace.

XXXII Bonum est in cibum CVM GRATIARVM ACTIONE sumere quidquid Deus edendum praecepit. abstinere autem ab aliquibus, non quasi a malis sed quasi [a] non necessariis, non est malum. moderari uero earum usum pro necessitate et tempore proprie christianorum est.

XXXIII Malas dicere nuptias uel fornicationi comparandas aut stupro, cibos quoque credere malos uel mali causam creare percipientibus, non est christianorum sed proprie Encratarum et Manicheorum est.

XXXIII Sacrae Deo uirginitati nuptias coaequare, aut pro amore castigandi corporis abstinentibus uino uel carnibus nihil credere meriti ad crescere, nec hoc christiani sed Ioviniani est.

XXXV Integra fide credendum beatam Mariam dei Christi matrem et uirginem genuisse et post partum uirginem permansisse, nec blasphemiae Heluidii ad quiescendum qui dixit 'Virgo ante partum, non uirgo post partum'.

XXXVI Elementa, id est caelum et terram, non credamus abolenda per ignem sed in melius commutanda, FIGVRAM autem MVNDI id est imaginem, non substantiam, TRANSITVRAM.

XXXVII Bonum est facultates cum dispensatione pauperibus erogare: melius est pro intentione sequendi Dominum in semel donare et absolutum sollicitudine cum Christo egere.

XXXVIII Maritum duarum post baptismum matronarum clericum non ordinandum, neque eum qui unam quidem sed concubinam non matronam habuit, nec illum qui uiduam aut repudiatam aut meretricem in matrimonium sumpsit, neque eum qui semetipsum quolibet corporis
5 sui membro indignatione aliqua uel iusto uel iniusto timore superatus truncauerit, neque illum qui usuras accepisse conuincitur aut in scena lusisse noscitur, neque eum qui publica poenitentia mortalia crimina deflet, nec illum qui per ambitionem ad imitationem Simonis magi PECVNIAM OFFERT.

XXXVIII Sanctorum corpora, et praecipue beatorum martyrum reliquias, ac si Christi membra sincerissima honoranda; et basilicas eorum nomine appellatas, uelut loca sancta diuino cultui mancipata, affectu piissimo et deuotione fidelissima adeundas [esse]. si quis contra hanc
5 sententiam uenit, non christianus sed Vigilantianus credatur.

XL Baptizatis tantum iter esse salutis, nullum catechumenum (quauis in bonis operibus defunctum) uitam aeternam habere, credamus;

XXXII 1. 1 TIM. iv 3 XXXVI 2. 1 COR. vii 31 XXXVIII 9. ACT viii 18

XXXVIII 8. nec illum qui: addunt alii (sed non optimi) testes aliquando in furiam uersus insaniuit uel afflictione diaboli uexatus est neque eum qui 9. offert: alias defert

excepto martyrio, ubi tota baptismi sacramenta conplentur. baptizatus confitetur fidem suam coram sacerdote et interrogatus respondet: hoc et martyr coram persecutore facit, qui et confitetur fidem et interrogatus respondet. ille post confessionem uel aspargitur aqua uel intinguitur: et hic uel aspargitur sanguine uel tinguitur igne. ille manus inpositione [pontificis] accipit spiritum sanctum: hic locutorium efficitur spiritus sancti, dum NON EST ipse QVI LOQVITVR SED SPIRITVS PATRIS QVI LOQVITVR IN ipso. ille communicat eucharistiae in commemoratione[m] 10 mortis Domini: hic ipsi Christo commoritur. ille confitetur se mundi actibus renuntiaturum: hic ipsi renuntiat uitae. illi peccata omnia dimittuntur: in isto extinguntur.

XLI In eucharistia[m] non debet aqua pura offerri, ut quidam sobrietatis causa falluntur, sed uinum cum aqua mixtum: quia et uinum fuit in redemptionis nostrae mysterio, cum dicit NON BIBAM AMODO DE HOC GENIMINE VITIS, et aqua mixtum, quod post caenam dabatur. sed et de latere eius quod lancea perfossum est aqua cum sanguine egressa 5 uinum de VERA carnis eius VITE cum aqua expressum ostendit.

XLII Bona est caro nostra, et ualde bona [est], utpote a bono Deo et solo condita: et non est mala, ut uult Sethianus et Offianus, nec mala causa, ut docuit Florinus, nec ex malo et bono compacta, ut Manicheus blasfemat: sed cum sit creatione bona, arbitrio animae efficitur nobis uel bona uel mala, non mutatione substantiae sed executionis mercede. 5 ipsa enim est quae stabit ANTE TRIBVNAL CHRISTI, in qua REFERET Propria corporis anima PROVT GESSIT, SIVE BONVM SIVE MALVM.

XLIII In resurrectione ex mortuis sexus forma non mutabitur: sed uir mortuus resurget in forma uiri et femina in forma feminae, carens sexu tantum in hac uitae conditione, non specie naturali; ne non sit uera resurrectio, si non id resurget quod cadit.

XLIIII Ante passionem Domini omnes sanctorum animae in inferno sub debito praeuaricationis Adae tenebantur, donec auctoritate Domini per indebitam eius mortem de seruili conditione liberarentur.

XLV Post ascensionem Domini ad caelos omnes sanctorum animae cum Christo sunt, et exeuntes de corpore ad Christum uadunt, EXSPERCTANTES REDEMPTIONEM CORPORIS sui, ut ad integram et perpetuam beatitudinem cum ipso pariter inmutentur: sicut [et] peccatorum animae in inferno sub timore positae expectant resurrectionem corporis [sui], 5 ut cum ipso ad poenam conuertantur aeternam.

XL 9. MATT. x 20 XLI 3. MATT. xxvi 29 6. Io. xv 1 XLII 6, 7.
2 COR. v 10 XLV 2. ROM. viii 23

XL 4. respondet: *alias* respondit 6. aspargitur . . . intinguitur: *alias* intinguitur . . . aspargitur 7. tinguitur: *alias* intinguitur 10. ipso: *alias* illo
XLI 6. expressum: *alias* inpressum XLII 2. Offianus: *scilicet* Ophianus
6. referet: *alias* refert uel referat

XLVI Paenitentia aboleri peccata indubitanter credimus, etiam in ultimo uitae spiritu admissorum paeniteat et publica lamentatio peccata prodantur: quia propositum Dei, qui decreuit SALVARE QUAE PERIERAT, stat immobile; et ideo, quia uoluntas eius non mutatur, si emendatione uitae (si tempus conceditur) siue supplici confessione continuo uita exceditur) uenia peccatorum fideliter praesumatur illo qui NON VULT MORTEM PECCATORIS SED UT CONVERTATUR A peccatione paenitendo ET saluatus miseratione Domini VIVAT. si quis aliunde iustissima Dei pietate sentit, non christianus sed Nouatianus est.

XLVII Internas animae cogitationes diabolus non uidere censemus, sed motibus eas corporis ab illo et affectionum indicibus colla experimento didicimus: secreta autem cordis solus ille nouit ad quod dicitur TV SOLVS NOSTI CORDA FILIORVM HOMINVM.

XLVIII Non omnes malae cogitationes nostrae [semper] diaboli instinctu excitantur, sed aliquoties [ex] nostri arbitrii motu emergunt bonae autem cogitationes semper a Deo sunt.

XLVIII Demones per energiam non credimus substantialiter inlabi animae, sed adplicatione et oppressione uniri. inlabi autem me illi tantum possibile est qui creauit, qui natura subsistens incorporeus capabilis est suae facturae.

L Signa et prodigia et sanitates etiam peccatores in nomine Domini facere et ab ipso Deo discimus: et cum alios hac praesumptione iuuemus sibi per ambitionem humanae gloriae nocent, qui gloriantur in dano falso, id est non meritis debito.

LI Signis et prodigiis clarum posse fieri christianum, non tam sanctum si intemperatis et asperis moribus agat; temperatis autem placidis moribus, etiam absque signorum efficacia, et sanctum et perfectum et hominem Dei fieri recte credimus.

LII Nullus sanctus et iustus caret peccato: nec tamen ex hoc desinet esse iustus uel sanctus, cum affectu teneat sanctitatem; non enim naturae humanae uiribus sed propositi adiumento per Dei gratiam adquirimus sanctitatem. et ideo ueraciter se omnes sancti pronuntiant peccatores, quia in ueritate habent quod plangent, [et] si non reprehensione conscientiae, certe mobilitate conditionis [humanae].

LIII Pascha, id est Dominicae resurrectionis sollemnitas, an-

XLVI 3. MATT. XVIII 11 7. EZECH. XVIII 23, XXXIII 11 XLVII 3. 3 R. VIII 39.

XLVI 3. Dei: alias Domini 9. Dei: alias Domini XLVIII 3. De
alias Domino XLVIII 1. energiam: alias energiam operationem, ubi uidet
operationem glossa esse; alias energiae operationem 2. adplicatione: ali
compellatione uel adligatione L. 4. id est: alias et LI 3. placidis: ali
placitis LII 2. uel: alias et 6. mobilitate: alias auid et mutabilita
LIII, LIIII Haec duo capitula omittunt nonnulli (non tamen optimi) codices.

transgressum uernalis aequinoctii et sextaedecimae lunae initium non potest celebrari, eo tamen [in] mense natae.

LIIII Propter nouellos legislatores, qui ideo animam tantum ad imaginem Dei creatam dicunt ut quia Deus incorporeus recte creditur etiam anima incorporea esse credatur, libere confitemur imaginem in aeternitate similitudinem in moribus inueniri.

C. H. TURNER.

THE CODEX CORBEIENSIS.

THE following pages were written as an Introduction to the writer's transcript of the Codex Corbeiensis. The Delegates of the Clarendon Press will include this Transcript in their series of *Old Latin Biblical texts*; and it is already in the course of publication.

It has been thought well to publish the Introduction separately, and before the appearance of the whole work. In preparing this Essay I have been more anxious to collect and tabulate facts than to propound or defend any theory. Much remains yet to be done in the way of making exact transcripts of the ancient MSS. Editors in the past have silently corrected what they considered as faults in the codex before them. In this way many valuable clues have been lost.

'It is unadvisable', to quote the words of the Rev. H. J. White, 'to dismiss the problem of a peculiarly-spelt word on the ground of carelessness, until other means of solving it have failed. A fuller *comparative* examination of early Latin MSS may strengthen the supposition that cases of apparent careless spelling may be really due, not to accident, but to *different modes of pronunciation* current in the regions to which the MS or its ancestors belonged: and thus the orthography of a MS may throw great light on the origin of the text which it presents.'—*O. L. Texts*, iii p. xv.

It is much to be wished that the Old Latin MSS *a* and *b* were published with the same exactitude as *e*, *k* and *q*. An exact edition of the two famous North Italian codices would be an important contribution to the solution of the vexed problem of the relationship *inter se* of extant Latin MSS.

Authorities.

A brief description of the Codex, together with an imperfect collation (in St John, St Luke, and St Mark only), is given by Bianchini in his *Evangeliarium Quadruplex*, which appeared in 1749.

I quote from Migne's reprint (*Patrol. Lat.* xii p. 354). 'Exhibemus hic codicem vetustissimum Corbeiensis Monasterii n. 195 sexto

saeculo descriptum Romanis litteris, in quo vocabula persaepe nulli discrimine sejunguntur, et recta scribendi regula parum servatur. Continet hic codex Quatuor Evangelia, qualia olim legebantur, antequam a S. Hieronymo corrigerentur seu verterentur. Cum autem eo codice uterentur in Ecclesia¹ ut ex eo Evangelium in Missa canerent, hinc persaepe fit, praesertim in Matthaeo, ut interpolationes occurrant, quibus codex simillimus efficeretur Vulgatae. Eae tamen correctiones nulli negotio dignoscuntur, tum ex atramento tum ex litterarum forma. Quatuor Evangelia alium plane ordinem in eo servant atque in nostri Exemplaribus: I. Matthaeus, ex quo priora undecim capita perierunt; II. Ioannes; III. Lucas, sive *Lucanus* quemadmodum in eo nominatur; IV. Marcus. Praecipua lectionum discrimina ex eo codice collegimus. Si quis omnia describere voluerit, codicem totum exscribat necesse est; singulis enim prope versiculis occurrunt, *si verborum ordinem et vim spectes.* The readings given by Bianchini are far from accurate.

Sabatier also gave variant readings (rather less accurately than Bianchini) in the third volume of his great work *Bibliorum Sacrae Latinae Versiones Antiquae seu Vetus Italica*, completed in 1749. How inaccurate the quotations of Bianchini and Sabatier are may be gathered from the fact that Tischendorf's citations in his *Ed. viii maior*, which are taken from their work, contain in St John's Gospel alone not fewer than 153 false readings.

In more recent times the Norwegian scholar Belsheim has published an edition of the text (without the Capitula or the Prologue to St Luke), Christiania, 1887. In Belsheim's work there is no attempt to render the Codex line for line and page for page. The editor tells us that he noted in a copy of the Vulgate the variant readings he saw in the MS, and printed his edition from this annotated copy. The result has been to give the Codex the appearance of having a Vulgate base in many passages where no such Vulgate base exists.

Finally, the learned English editors of the Vulgate give a very full collation of the MSS in St Luke and St John. (In St Matthew and St Mark they seem to rely solely on Tischendorf's citations, which are not always accurate.) This collation is the outcome of the critical sagacity of the late Samuel Berger, whose work in deciphering old Latin MSS (notably *Le Palimpseste de Fleury*) entitles him to the gratitude of all students of the Latin text of the New Testament. Berger took Belsheim's edition for his base, just as Belsheim took the Vulgate edition. The result has been that, whilst the great majority of Belsheim's slips have been rectified,

¹ This is an assumption to which an examination of the Codex gives no support. I can find only a single lectionary note and one or two small crosses. There are a few devotional notes in the margin, which shew the MS was used privately; but it was not, I believe, used publicly.

a few still appear in the text of the English editors. One who has followed the work of Berger, both in *ff* and in his painful deciphering of the palimpsest *hæta*, can testify to his general accuracy—far surpassing that of all others who have been in the same field before him.

Description of the Codex.

The early history of the MS is involved in utter obscurity. The copyist left no record of his name or his environment.

The MS belonged formerly to the Benedictine Monastery of Corbey near Amiens—once the home of many precious records of the early Christian ages¹. It has now found a new home in the Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris, where it is numbered Lat. 17,225.

The Codex has lost three out of eight quires in St Matthew. The first three quires have perished down to xi 16 (not xi 6 as Belsheim says). The first leaves of ancient MSS seem most exposed to loss: it has lost its first five quires. Two leaves are missing from St John containing xvii 15–xviii 9 and xx 23–xxi 8 respectively. Three leaves are wanting in St Luke; two of these were consecutive and contained xi 45–xii 6. Happily St Mark is complete except that three leaves—the last two and the third of Quire xxvi—are mutilated. The first two extant leaves of St Matthew are also slightly mutilated².

The Codex originally consisted of twenty-seven gatherings of eight, and a gathering now consisting of five separate leaves, but which may have once been a ternion. The quires of the MS were as follows: i–iii (lost), iv–xiii, xiv (1 and 8 lost), xv–xviii, xix (4, 5, and 7 lost), xx–xxviii.

About two centuries ago (so it appears) the extant leaves were numbered throughout, but carelessly enough, inasmuch as two consecutive leaves are both numbered 55 and two other consecutive leaves are marked 88. The last leaf is numbered 190, and the Codex therefore, in its present form, contains neither 190 nor 191, as has been previously stated, but 192 leaves.

Twenty-three signatures are found at the foot of the inner margin of the verso side of leaves numbered 8, 16, 24, 32, 40, 48, 55 bis, 63, 71, 79, 92, 100, 108, 116, 121, 129, 137, 145, 153, 161, 169, 177, and 185. The leaf that followed 85 and was signed xiiii is lost.

In addition to the mode of numbering by quaternions signed at the foot of the page there survives a trace of another method of counting by binions. On fol. 48 verso under the title is written the letter R by

¹ Some account of this ancient Benedictine House may be found in Delisle *Cab. des MSS.* ii p. 104.

² The verses lost through this mutilation are St Matt. xi 20; xii 3; St Mark ix 19, 23, 24, 28, and in part 18, 20, 29, 31, 33; xvi 17 (except three letters), and in part 16, 18, 20.

the same hand that wrote the signature uiiii below. Now this R stood originally on the seventy-second leaf of the MS, and $4 \times 18 = 72$.

Berger has found the letter G at the foot of one of the pages of the Fleury Palimpsest. Similarly the S. Germain MS uses letters as well as numerals in its signatures (*Old Latin Biblical Texts* i pp. vii, viii). The peculiarity in our MS is (1) the numbering by binions, (2) the position of the index letter.

State of Preservation.

The vellum is exceedingly fine, so much so that when photographed the letters on the other side appear through the vellum. Looking at a photo of fol. 48 verso one might easily read *adcepit* in St John iii 32 for *adcepit* owing to part of the letter *m* of *homo* being visible through the vellum.

Some pages of the MS—notably fol. 49 verso—are as clear to-day as when they left the hand of the copyist fifteen centuries ago; but others are faded and only fully decipherable by one who has given some years of study to the MS as a whole.

Rulings and Prickings.

There are two columns of twenty-four lines on each page. Every page before being written on has been accurately ruled with twenty-four horizontal lines and four vertical lines. To guide the horizontal ruling a vertical line of twenty-four prickings was first made, extending down the page and about three inches from the right-hand edge of the vellum.

Each vellum leaf measures 28.5 cm. by 24.5 cm., or $11\frac{1}{4}$ in. by $9\frac{5}{8}$ in. (approximately the measurement of *e*); but originally was somewhat larger, having been clipped in the process of binding.

The leaves are now bound in a binding not more than 200 years old, and uniform with that of other MS books in the Library.

The composition and colour of the ink is a valuable clue in determining the age and history of a MS. The ink used by the original scribe had a yellowish infusion in it, and the process of centuries has now given to it a beautiful sheen. The uncial correctors also employed ink of the same yellowish shade. The ink employed by the older of the two Vulgate correctors had a violet tint. There is a close resemblance between the ink of *h^{acta}* and that of the Uncial correctors of *ff*, and both seem to belong to the fifth century.

Orthography of the MS.

The Compendia are only those found in the most ancient MSS, and some are peculiar to *ff*:

\overline{ds} , \overline{dm} , \overline{di} , \overline{do} (the full form *dii* is used in the nom. plur.; *deus* in full is found once).

\overline{dns} , \overline{dms} , \overline{doms} (once), \overline{dom} (*dominus* in full is found twice; \overline{dmn} is not found).

$\overline{ih̄s}$, $\overline{ih̄m}$, $\overline{ih̄um}$, $\overline{ih̄u}$, $\overline{ih̄o}$ (the voc. is $\overline{ih̄s}$ 4/7).

\overline{xps} , \overline{xpm} , \overline{xpi} , \overline{xpo} , \overline{xpe} .

\overline{sps} , \overline{spm} , \overline{spui} , \overline{spo} , \overline{spu} (the full form is found fairly often in the sing., and is usual in the plural)

\overline{scs} , \overline{snc} (once), \overline{scm} , \overline{sci} , \overline{sco} (but as often as not the form is written in full, viz. \overline{spu} sancto).

The following ligatures occur, but only at the end (or near the end) of a line:

With *u*: \overline{ua} , \overline{uc} , \overline{ue} , \overline{ul} , \overline{um} , \overline{un} (in *unt* and *unc*), \overline{up} , \overline{ur} , \overline{us} , \overline{ut} , \overline{uu} (*ui* is not found).

With *n*: \overline{nc} , \overline{ne} , \overline{ns} , \overline{nt} .

With *o*: \overline{os} (frequent in *i*).

With *e* (as second letter): \overline{ae} , \overline{ne} , \overline{ue} , \overline{re} .

The ligatures *unt* and *unc* are also found.

At the end of a line the letters *m* and *n*, and the combination *nt*, are frequently expressed by a little line above the preceding letter. This line when by the original scribe is very thin and straight and is shorter when placed over the letter *e* than elsewhere. In the archetype, as in the MS, *m* and *nt* must have been expressed in the same way; for we find *verbunt* = *verbum*, and conversely *possum* = *possunt*, *sitium* = *situnt*, *eum* = *eunt*, and many other confusions of the same kind. The combinations *ue* and *us* are represented by a single point in the middle of the preceding letter: thus *quinq.*, *sedentib.*, and even *ann.* This abbreviation, however, is more rarely employed than in later MSS. We find also *ali* without a point for *alius*, which postulates the occurrence of the same abbreviation in the archetype.

The beginning of every column is marked by a rather larger letter, as is the beginning of each paragraph. At the beginning of a paragraph this initial letter projects slightly into the margin.

Punctuation by the scribe himself is exceedingly rare. He sometimes punctuates both after and before certain short words and abbreviations, such as *·va·*, *·os·*, *·o·*, and *·scm·*; and as a rule puts a point after numerals, as *xii·*; even *·x·x·x·* with four points is found. But he does not act consistently in his method of punctuation. In the whole of St Mark's Gospel (if we except the pointing of numerals) there are only five stops. In the other Gospels the stops by the first hand are almost equally rare. For I suspect that not a few of the points marked by me in these Gospels ought to be attributed to an early corrector rather than to the original scribe. Where, however, there has been any doubt I have always punctuated. On p. 130, containing St Luke xvi 4-13, there are quite twenty stops in a very ancient hand—the hand that added *N* to octogi-

in line 18 of col. 1. Six of these stops, which resemble those of the original scribe (and may conceivably have been his), are retained.

Capitula.

As regards the Capitula, found in our MS but wanting in most old Latin MSS, there is good reason to believe that they did not form part of the archetype from which the text of *ff* was copied, but were gathered from another MS which had affinities with the parent of the DPGQ *aur* group, whose Capitula are given by Wordsworth and White in their edition of the Vulgate Gospels. There occur such variations as the following:

	<i>Capitula in ff.</i>	<i>Text of ff.</i>
St John i 29	ecce agnus dī qui tollit	ecce agnus dī ecce qui tollit
ii 1	chana	chanaan (<i>and</i> canan)
iv 38	in labores	in labore (= <i>a</i>)
ix 7	siloam	silvae (<i>sic</i>) (<i>and</i> solam)
x 24	pharisei	iudei
xii 25	perdet	perdit
xiv 16	patrem meum	patrem
St Luke ii 28	deum	eum
xvi 20	eleazarus (= <i>e</i>)	lazarus
xix 3	minimissimo	pusillo
St Mark ii 11	ambula	vade
vii 5	edere	manducare
ix 35	infans	puer
xi 30	fuit	est
xii 38	iscribis	scribis
xvi 19	in celis	in celum (= Iren.)

The Capitula of St Matthew are lost.

The forms in the Capitula are nearer to the Vulgate—especially in the matter of Proper Nouns—than those in the Text.

The antiquity of the MS from which these variations were drawn is shewn by the occurrence of such forms in the Capitula as *iscribis* and *minimissimo*; and by the indiscriminate use of the accusative or the ablative after the common prepositions *a* and *de*. This MS, however, must have had affinities with the archetype of *ff*, since both have such ancient spellings as *possetsio* and *dms*, while exhibiting the same popular grammatical forms, most patently in the matter of prepositions and their cases.

In the Capitula of St Mark we find in *synagogam hominem sanavit*; *de colonos*; *de septem fratres*; *de xp̄m*; *de lapides*; *dormiens in naviculam*; *a legionem*; *de septem panes*; *cum ihm*—the classical usage being the exception and the unclassical or popular usage the rule.

Similarly in the text of *ff*, we find *decollavit eum in carcerem; cum discipulos; de montem; de iacobo et iohannem; cum moysen; docere in synagoga; ab orientem; ab orationem; and many others similar to these. But in the text the ratio of classical usage is somewhat greater.*

As regards the paragraphs in *ff*, they exhibit a curious correspondence with those in *e*. It may be roughly stated that five out of every six breaks in the narrative in *e* are also found in *ff*. A minute examination of the punctuation and paragraphs in the MSS *a* and *b* might disclose an early dividing up of the text common to all the earliest Old Latin MSS; but unfortunately the materials for such a study are not yet available.

The Argument to St Luke's Gospel.

Immediately after the Capitula of St Luke's Gospel there occurs in our MS a remarkable Prologue or Argument.

This Argument in an amended state has been printed by Bianchini in his *Evangeliarium Quadruplex*, and reprinted by Migne (*Patrol. Lat.* xii p. 499). A somewhat fuller, and (so it appears) later, form of the Argument is found in the Spanish codices C and T of the Vulgate, and may be seen in Wordsworth and White's *St Luke* p. 271. Had Bianchini been acquainted with either of these codices he would not have been obliged to have had recourse to conjecture in amending the text of *ff*¹.

The style and the matter of the Argument bear a certain resemblance to that of the Muratori Fragment, and both probably came from a Greek original. Hence in the Prologue we find the form *lucas* instead of the form *lucanus* which is found everywhere else.

With the statement: 'itaque perquam necessariam statim in principio sumpsit ab iohannis nativitate,' may be compared that of the Fragment: 'et idem prout assequi potuit ita ut (MS et) ab (MS ad) nativitate iohannis inciperet dicere.'

The reading *boeotia* of our MS is opposed by the reading *bytinia* in C T. But *boeotia* has the weighty support of Jerome (*De vir. illus.* c. 7), who states that St Luke composed his book 'in the countries of Achaia and Boeotia'. Tischendorf also quotes the subscription to St Luke's Gospel in the cursive MS 293 at Paris as *εγραφη εν τη αττικη της βοιωτιας*. And a further confirmation of the testimony of *ff* is afforded by the reading found in the Codex Amiatinus (*Prolog. in Evv.*) *boeti*, which can only point to *boeotiae* or *boeotie*.

The Prologue has every evidence of being composed in very early times. The style is as awkward and involved, and the writing almost as faulty, as that of the Muratori Fragment. That it occurs embedded

¹ For *prophetavimus* Bianchini conjectured *propheta ultimus*; but C T read *propheta unus*, which was no doubt the reading of the archetype of *ff*.

in our MS, of which it is no component part (compare the spelling of *lucas*, *mattheum*, *spo*), is an important witness to the antiquity of the strata in which it occurs. No such Argument is found before either St John or St Mark (the beginning of St Matt. is wanting). Belsheim notices the Argument and calls it 'prologus perantiquus', but quotes only five lines from it with one false reading *antiochenus* for *anthiocensis*.

Sections, Chapters, Subscriptions.

There is no notation in the margin of the Ammonian sections and Eusebian canons. In this the MS resembles *e*. Another curious point of resemblance with *e* is that although *e* has no general numbering of chapters, one number (lxxviii) is actually found embedded in that part of the text of St Luke xxiv to which the same number is affixed in *ff*. Tischendorf who edited *e* exclaims in surprise: 'In quem locum quo casu iste numerus irrepperit difficile dixeris. Neque enim capitulorum aut canonorum numeri de quibus cogitare possis, ullo modo conveniunt.' The mystery is solved if we admit that the archetype of *e* had a numbering of its chapters agreeing with that of *ff*, and the D P G Q *aur c* group to which reference has already been made. The same numeration is found in the Irish MS *r*.

The headings of the pages are of the simplest description. On the left-hand page is written *euangelium sec* or *euangelium*. On the right-hand page is written *matteum*, *iohannem* (or *ioadhem* (once) or *ioadnem* (twice)), *lucanum*, *marcum* (or *sec marcum*). Of the first four leaves of the Gospel of St John, three lack the name of the Evangelist.

The subscriptions at the end of each Gospel are thus worded:

- (1) EUANGEL | SECUNDŪ | MATHEŪ | EXP INC | EUANGELIŪ | SECUNDŪ | IOHANNEM.
- (2) EUANGELIŪ | SEC IOHANNĒ | EXPL INC | EUANGELIUM | SECUNDUM | LUCANUM | AMEN.
- (3) EXPL EUĀ | GELIUM SEC | LUCANUM | INCP CAPITULA | EUANGELII | SECUNDUM | MARCUM.
- (4) EXPLICIT | EUANGELIUM | SECUNDUM | MARCUM.

The occurrence of the form *matheum* in the subscription instead of the form *matteum*, which occurs at the head of each leaf in the Gospel, is not perhaps without its significance. It may be that these subscriptions were not found in our scribe's archetype, but were added by him from some other MS, possibly the MS from which he obtained the Capitula.

Correctors of the MS.

The MS was examined by two if not more uncial correctors who were little more than a century removed in point of time from the scribe. The first of these correctors (probably the *diorthota*) made a few

corrections in a beautiful uncial hand very like that of the scribe himself. An example of the work of this corrector appears in St Luke xviii 31. The first hand wrote *de* before *prophetas*. The corrector drew a fine line across the *d* from right to left, wrote *p* above and added *r*, thus changing *de* into *per*. The ink he used was of a slightly darker shade of yellow than that of the scribe himself. Again, in St Luke ix 3, the first hand wrote *petram*, but discovering his mistake drew a line through the *t*. The corrector, however, with more zeal than discretion restored *petram*¹. Examples of the work of the second uncial corrector may be seen in St Luke vii 13 and xiv 14, where the letter *m* is added, but somewhat above the line of writing, to *miseriordia* and *resurrectione*, thus, *miseriordia^m*, *resurrectione^m*. His corrections are confined to St Luke. This second uncial corrector I suspect to be the inserter of the twenty stops on p. 140. The ink he used resembles that of the first hand, but its tint of yellow is slightly paler and exactly the tint of *h* *nots*.

In addition to these two correctors, who did little to deface the beauty of the MS, at least three other hands have left their impress on the Codex. The two earliest of these both used Vulgate MSS, to the standard of which they sought to bring the Old Latin text of our MS; and therein they had a difficult task. They both write in minuscules, but they differ from each other both in handwriting and in the shade of the ink employed. The earlier of the two belongs to the eighth or ninth century, and the more recent to the twelfth century. Examples to the writing of the earlier of the two may be seen in the marginal note of St Matt. xiii 50: *In lib. ii sup apocalyp̄. odituri (sic) ubi iezubel meretricē dīc. ponendā in lectū cū eis q̄ cū ea fornicantur.* [Cf. Rev. ii. 22.] Again, on the opposite side of the same leaf, against the Parable of the Pearl, the same hand added: *In lib. secū apocalyp̄. odituri ubi ait q̄ vicerit dabo illi calculū candidum.* His third and last devotional note is in the margin against St Matt. xxv 15: *In lib. apoc audituri ubi ait dabo unicuiq; vestrum secūm opera vestra.* The same hand inserted in the Capitula of St Luke (at the end of xliii): *et de ficu quae fructum non rettulit et de cophinum stercoris.* This corrector, so it seems, in St Matt. xxv 43 corrected *venimus ad te*, the mistake of the original scribe, by writing above it: *non venistis ad me*, and two verses later corrected *minis* into *mini^ms*. He also added *quem quæris* (sic) after *quid ploras* in St John xx 13. The ink of this scribe had a violet infusion.

But the most active by far of all the correctors was the second Vulgate hand. He has left scarcely a column of the MS in the first three Gospels untouched. He deftly changed many an *e* into *ae*, by adding a tail to the *e*, and in every way did what he could to make the MS

¹ It is not without significance that *e* has here the same blunder and reads *petram* uncorrected.

resemble the Vulgate text of the twelfth century. A sample of his writing is seen on the margin of St John iii 32, where he substitutes *hoc testatur* for *testimonium perhibet*. It is easily distinguished by the colour of its ink as well as by the shape of its letters. The same scribe busied himself in inserting semicolons, and in making efforts to shew (where the continuous writing seemed to require it) the proper division of the text into separate words. He treated the original writing with but scant respect, and in some cases he wellnigh extinguished it by writing over it his corrections. All his many and laborious corrections have been ignored. The only corrections admitted have been those of the two uncial correctors, except that in a very few cases—one of which has been just referred to (St Matt. xxv 43)—a needed correction inserted by the first Vulgate corrector has been retained with a note stating to whom the correction is due. It is remarkable that neither of the two Vulgate correctors touched St Mark.

The last corrector of the MS uses a black modern ink, and corrects in imitative uncials. Some of his corrections are inept in the extreme. He defaces with black ink the letters he wishes away. To him, we must admit, falls the honour of correcting in St Luke xi 18 the egregious blunder of the first hand which escaped all the other correctors, viz. *si et sanatas sanatam eicit*. He is not so happy, however, when in St Luke ix 24 he suspects something wrong in the words *auferte illo mna*, and so inserts the word *decem* before *mna*! Other examples of this good man's officiousness are seen in St Mark viii 7, where he corrects *paucus* into *paocus* (instead of *paucos*); and in St John xi where he inks over the letters *iv* in true modern schoolboy fashion and makes *dormit* out of *dormivit*.

The work of the earlier correctors of the MS shews no acquaintance with the Latin idiom or even with the rudiments of the Latin language. The insertion of punctuation in the middle of a word, the blundering attempts to correct obvious errors, the failure even to detect the most palpable mistakes of the first hand—all bear witness to the MS having lain for centuries in the keeping of men who knew little or nothing of the Latin tongue. Not until we come to the twelfth-century corrector do we find any intelligence brought to bear on the MS—and even then not of a high order.

Internal Evidence as to date.

Whilst *ff* has features common to all old MSS of the Latin Gospels, it has also some noteworthy peculiarities. One of these (shared by *d'*) is the occurrence of the forms *dms*, *dmi*, *dmo*, *dme* alongside of the usual forms *dns*, *dñi*, *dno*, *dne*. The form *dms* instead of *dns* has been noted as occurring in the St Gall MS *n* of the fifth century, and has

been spoken of by von Arx, the librarian of St Gall, as 'a characteristic sign of MSS of the third or fourth century'. It would have been more correct to have said 'up to and including the fifth century'.

The following table will shew the relative occurrence of both forms in the text of *ff.*

St Matthew			St John		St Luke		St Mark		Totals.	
\overline{dmi}	1		2		16		2		21	
\overline{dmi}		5		1		8		0		14
\overline{dno}	2		2		5		1		10	
\overline{dno}		0		1		5		2		8
\overline{dns}	2		2		3		0		7	
\overline{dms}		18		2		24		8		52
\overline{dne}	17		27		18		1		63	
\overline{dne}		7		6		7		0		20
	<u>22</u>	<u>30</u>		<u>33</u>		<u>42</u>		<u>4</u>		<u>101</u>
				<u>10</u>		<u>44</u>		<u>10</u>		<u>94</u>

Hence it appears that \overline{dms} is the general form and not \overline{dns} , whilst \overline{dne} , on the contrary, is found three times out of four. In the Capitula of St Luke \overline{dms} occurs 9/10. The accusative is always \overline{dom} . In *d I* have noticed the interesting fact that \overline{dom} is the form used in St Luke and St John; \overline{dmn} (\overline{dnn}) that used in St Mark and St Matthew.

A second peculiarity in the orthography of the MS is the representation of *-nt* by a line over the preceding letter, viz., $\overline{erā} = \text{erant}$; $\overline{indigē} = \text{indigent}$; $\overline{erū} = \text{erunt}$; $\overline{venerī} = \text{venerint}$. This abbreviation occurs forty-nine times in St Luke, twenty-seven times in St Mark, nine times in St John, and only twice in St Matthew (the first ten chapters of which are lost). It is not found in the Capitula of St John, but occurs once in the Capitula of St Luke, and four times in the Capitula of St Mark. Thus the abbreviation occurs in the Codex ninety-two times in all.

A third and interesting feature in the orthography of our MS is the use of the form *-isset*, *itsent* for *-isset*, *-issent*. The occurrence of this ancient form of inflection has escaped the notice of all who have in times past commented on the Codex. Yet it appears no fewer than twelve times; once in what remains of St Matthew, four times in St John, three times in St Luke, and four times in St Mark, as the following list will indicate:

St Matt. xiv 19 et cum iussisset.

St John vii 9 haec cum dixisset.

xiii 1 cum dilexisset.

xiii 2 cum diabolus iam misisset.

xiii 26 et cum intinxisset.

St Luke vii 24 et cum discessissent.

ix 42 et cum adcessisset.

xx 20 et cum recessissent.

St Mark vi 14 quod iohannis baptista surrexitset.

vi 25 cumque introisset.

xiv 45 et cum adcessisset.

xv 39 quod sic clamans emisisset.

I have noted the same form once in Codex *b* in St Mark v 4.
et compedes confregisset.

Bianchini punctuates confregit: set. It is not found in any other Latin MS, nor am I aware that any one has up till now called attention to its existence.

Belsheim notices this peculiarity of our MS only once, viz. in St Luke xx 20, where the reading is

Et cum recessissē
summiserunt qui.

This with more daring than ingenuity he resolves as follows:

Et cum recessit sensum miserunt qui.

But *summiserunt* is plainly the reading of *ff* with *acilq*.

The occurrence of such an ancient form so many times in the text of *ff* is a strong argument for the antiquity of the text that contains it.

Affinities with Old French.

There is ample evidence that the original Old Latin Version was of popular rather than classical origin. It is the *lingua rustica* spoken in the Roman colonies and by the common people in Rome itself that has given birth both to the Romance languages and to the Old Latin Version. The classical idiom of Cicero was no more the language of the Roman legionaries than was the language of Dr Johnson that of the generality of the citizens of London. This being the case we should expect to find the same phonetic corruptions and the same levelling of grammatical distinctions both in Old French and in the earliest copies of the Old Latin Version. For it is well known that the Latin text of the N. T. underwent during the first four or five centuries a gradual process of refinement and of adaptation to classical usage.

Berger has already called attention to the form *iscindamus* in *ff* in St John xix 24. The form *iscribis* occurs in the Capitula of St Mark; and *pispicas* in the Capitula of St Luke. With these forms we may compare *ispiciens* in *b* (St Mark vi 41) and *ispumans* (St Mark ix 19).

The form *ab scandalis* (St Matt. xviii 7) in *ff* A F and the best Vulgate MSS, and *ab scribis* (St Mark xii 38) in *ff* *b a i K G M V X * Z*, are

survivals of the *lingua rustica* in which were found *iscandalum* and *scribere*, the parents of the Old French *esclandre* and *escrire*. In the text of G (Paris Bib. Nat. 11553) I noticed in i St John *escribo* (ii 1) and *escimus* (iii 4). In the Fleury Palimpsest are found *iscribo*, *iscimus*, *esculi*, *eseducere* and *istare*, and in F I have seen *istamus*, *ispirans* and *iscientia*¹.

Another feature of our MS that here calls for notice is the use of *respondes*² for *respondens* chiefly in the phrase *respondens dixit*. In St Matthew *respondes* is found 15/37. In St Luke it occurs 7/23, whilst in St Mark *respondens* is found twenty-four times and *respondes* only once³. In St John the phrase *respondens dixit* is replaced by *respondit et dixit* (e replaces *respondit et dixit* by *respondens dixit* in St Matt. 15/22, and in St Luke 11/22).

That *respondes* was misread by the scribe for *respondens* is unlikely when we notice that *dicens* although occurring more frequently than *respondens* is in every case spelt correctly. Moreover there is found *langues*, *ascendes*, *inclinat*, *convocas*, *significas*, *magnificas*, *manducas*, *seminatis* (= *seminantis*); and with these may be compared *expectas* and *praegnas* in e and *praegnatibus* in F vg^{alg}. There is good reason to believe that these are all correct ancient forms which were replaced by the regular endings in later MSS.

Another peculiarity of ff which belonged to the vulgar speech is the phonetic insertion of d between two vowels in the phrase *quo audito*.

Quo audito is found only once (St Luke vii 9), whilst *quo-d-audito* occurs six times: St Matt. xiv 13, St Luke xviii 22, xx 16, St Mark vi 16, vi 29, xi 18. In St Luke xviii 22 b agrees with ff and reads *quo-d-audito*, but in this instance only. In b this old form has virtually disappeared; but it is preserved 5/6 in ff.

Phonetic Changes from Classic Forms.

The following phonetic changes are found both in ff and the Old French:

(a) Dropping of medial h: *adpreendere*, *geenna*, *ioannes*, O. Fr. *pren-dre*, *jean*.

(b) Of initial h: *abere*, *abitent*, *oram*, etc. O. Fr. *avere* = *avoir*.

(c) Change of r to l: *pelegre*, *pelegrinans*. O. Fr. *pelerin*.

¹ *Escimus* occurs for *scimus* in the *Fragment of Exegesis of the Third Century*—JOURNAL OF THEOLOGICAL STUDIES, January, 1904.

² The Latin suffix *-ensis* was pronounced *-esis* in O. Fr. Hence *pays* is from Low Latin *pagensis*, *marquis* from *marchensis*, *bourgeois* from *burgensis*, &c. *demonstrat* in ff no doubt represented the vulgar pronunciation.

³ It is worthy of note that in St Mark xiv 62 *respondes* 2nd pers. sing. is altered to *respondens*, and that the only surviving *respondes* is an addition peculiar to the text of ff.

(d) *t* becomes *d* in O. Fr., *imperatorem* gives *emperador*. Hence *densaurus* as well as *tensaurus*.

(e) *f* interchanges with *t*: *sitim* gives *soif*. Hence *blastemia* and *blastemabant*.

(f) *s* becomes *x*: *duos* gives *deux*. Hence *vos, extimo* (= *ex*), *superunsit*.

(g) medial *s* becomes *j*. In *ff* are found *euangelio* and *gaiophylac* (= *b*). *Zelosus* gives *jalous*.

(h) Hard *c* changes to *ch*: *chana, chapharnaum*.

(i) *oo* becomes *o*: *cooperire* becomes *coperire*, whence *covrir*. has *coperire*.

(j) Medial *n* becomes *t* or *d* and vice versa. *ff* has *dissitio, constringat, mercetnarius, vedundari, quondam* (= *quoddam*), *pitna, antendo, ioadnes*. In the *Chanson de Roland* there occurs *anpres* (= *après*) from *ad* and *pressum*.

(k) Dropping of initial *a*: *postolis*. Cf. *done* from O. Fr. *adone*.

(l) *oe* is softened into *e*. In *ff* *ceperunt* = *coeperunt*.

(m) Dropping of final *m*: *septe* (= *d*), *dece*. Cf. *sept* and *dix*.

(n) *-dc-* for *-cc-*: *sudcendo, sudcido*. *-cc-* in this way becomes soft *c*.

(o) *t* final falls out after *s, n*, and *l*: *posquam, es* (= *est*), *erun, vul*. Hence Lat. *post* becomes in O. Fr. *puis*. Also *e* is found for *et*.

(p) Dropping of medial *i*: *divitis, calcum*. *ff* has the old form *tirabe*.

(q) Insertion of parasitic *r*: *lithrostrustrus, adpropiat. propiam* which occurs twice in *ff* and also in *hacta* is I believe the true spelling of *proprius*, which is derived from *prope* by the insertion of a parasitic second *r*. The presence of one *r* incites to the insertion of another.

The place of the aspirate in such words as *scarioht, eprhem, sepulcrhum, iosehp, osehc*, may perhaps be due to the aspirate being in early times expressed by a mark placed above the letter to be aspirated as in Greek. This misplacement of the aspirate is a striking peculiarity of *ff*.

Grammatical Variations from Classic Usage.

Cases of Nouns. There is an utter disregard of the distinction between the ablative and accusative cases after prepositions. Such forms as *intrare in regno* (thrice), *cum moysen* (= *i*), *docere in synagogam, de potestatem* (= *i*), *post resurrectione* (= *G*) are frequent.

We find also in *die festum, in ficulneam hac* (= *i*), *serviens nocte ac diem, propter tua loquellam, ex hoc panem, implebatur sapientiam et gratia*. Such forms as these point to the levelling of oblique cases in Low Latin, whereby the ablative was confused with the accusative¹.

¹ Ranke calls it an error for *existimo*.

² Compare *videt duos angelis*, St John xx 12; *ubi apostolus dicit*, St Luke Capitula; *dimittere populum unum vincum*, St Matt. xxvii 15.

The Genders of Nouns. Neuter plurals in O. Fr. were treated as fem. singular. Hence *foliam* gave (*la*) *feuille*. In *ff* we find *foliam*, *retiam*, *civarias*, *horream*, *sizaniae*, *tributam*, *aromatam*, *mannam*. There also occur *parascevem* and *marem*. *Lapis* is fem.; *faenum*, *linum*, *sal*, *altare*, and *olus* are masculine. *Corpus* is masc. in St John xx 12.

Declension of Nouns. There is a confusion that tends to reduce all declensions to the first and second. Hence also we find *vaso*, *fructo*, *moto*, *spirito*, *iho*, *fici*, *cornum*, *ossum*. *Noctu* (= *i*) and *patruum* are also found (*fratruum* is found in *a b* St Matt. xxv 40).

The acc. plur. of masc. nouns and adjectives of the second declension ends in *-us* more frequently than in *-os*: *oculus*, *porcus*, *paucus*, *pisciculus*, *meus*, *medicus*, *discipulus*, *servus*, *illus*, *multus*, *filius*.

The nom. plur. of masc. and fem. nouns of the third declension ends as a rule in *-is*. Hence we have *principis* (*principes* is found only thrice), *militis*, *daemonis*, *famis*, *valetudinis*, *calicis*, *possetsionis*, *docibilis*, *divitis*, *hominis*, *virginis*, *salutationis* (= *i*) 1/4, *voluntatis* (but always *sorores* and *gentes*).

Some participles form their nom. plur. in *-is* for *-es*: *videntis*, *habentis*, *euntis*, *ascendentis*.

The nom. sing. of substantives (or adjectives) of the third declension frequently ends in *-is* for *-es* and vice versa: *famis*, *panes vivos*, *heris*, *herodis*, *iohannis*, *austeres*. The gen. sing. often forms *-es* for *-is*: *principes*, *sermones*, *purgationes*.

The gen. plur. of *panis* is both *panum* and *panium*. The nom. plur. of *angelus* is *angelus* in St Luke ii 15. The neuter sing. of *ille* is *illum* and *illut*.

Forms of Adjectives. *Austeris* = *austerus*; *infirmis* (St Matt.) = *infirmus* [F has *sinceres* = *sinceri*]. *Minimissimo* is found as a double superlative.

Prepositions used unclassically. A mark of *ff* that calls for special notice is the instrumental use of *de*. The Codex has

de digito scribebat, St John viii 8.

extergere de linteo (= *b d f*), St John xiii 5.

tange eam de manibus tuis (= *d i*), St Mark v 23.

percutiebant eum de arundine (= *c*), St Mark xv 19.

que scripta sunt de prophetas, St Luke xviii 31.

This use of *de* = *avec* is common enough in the *Chanson de Roland*.

Roland says to his sword: 'Mult larges teres *de* vus avrai cunquises,' l. 2352. Its occurrence in *c d i ff* seems to connect these MSS at least with Western Europe if not with Gaul.

Use of habere as an auxiliary. The auxiliary use of *habere*—the precursor of the forms found to-day in the Romance languages—is

another peculiarity of *ff* and *d*. In St Mark xiv 27 for the Vulgate *scandalisabimini ff d* read *scandalisari habetis*, which is in strict conformity with that O. Fr. usage, whence the Modern Fr. verb endings are derived (e. g. *parlerai* is from *parlare* and *(h)abeo*).

Use of qui for quis. This use noted by Tischendorf as occurring in *e* is also found in *ff*; but the classic usage is the more common.

Quicum is sometimes used in *ff* for *quicumque*.

The curious *ad alis alium* (for *ad alterutrum*) found in *a b n* is not found in *ff*.

Confusion of Active Verbs and Deponents. *ff* uses *acusarentur* for *accusarent*, *vocarentur* for *vocarent*, and *consensus erat* (St Luke xxiii 5) for *consenserat*.

Syntax of Verbs. *Misereor* governs both the gen. and the dat.: *miserere mihi* and *miserere mei* are both found in St Luke; *perhibeo* has a double acc. in St John v 37 and viii 18; *noceo* governs an acc. (St Mark xvi 16); *ego* takes an acc.

The second and third persons sing. pres. indic. of the verb *sum* are confused; but *es* for *est* is more frequent than *est* for *es*. *Offeret*¹, *auferet* are found for *offer*, *adfert*, *aufert*. [F has *offeret offert*.] *Erunt* = *erunt*.

Some verbs of the 3rd conj. in *-io* make infinitive in *-ire*: *interficere* (*diripire* (*recevoir* and *concevoir* are from *recipire* and *concupire*, not from *recipere* and *concupere*); *fugierunt* = *fugerunt*; *processerant* (= *b G*).

Verbs in *-eo* form their imperf. indic. in *-iebam*: *abiebam*. The future is in *-iam* or *-ibo*: *transiet* or *transibit*.

Reduplicated perfects of the 3rd conj. formed with *e* for *i* are *crederedi*, *tradedi* (= F), *tetegi*, *perdedi*. *Prando* has for its perf. *prandidi*. So *prendidi* for *prendi* in St John xxi 10 is found in *b* and *v^g*.

2nd pers. sing., imp. and plup. subj., ends in some cases in *-is* for *-es*: *sciris*, *petissis*. So also *perspiciis* (= *perspicias*).

Respondite, *dicabant*, *manate*, *vexebantur* are also noteworthy.

In verbs compounded with the preposition *ad* the preposition more often than not remains unresolved: *adcupio*, *adpareo*, *adcesso*, *aduso*.

The preposition after compound verbs is not repeated: *incidit latrones*.

Non is used for *ne* in imperatives, and also for *nonne* in interrogatives.

Spelling.

The spelling found in *ff*—or rather the absence of all uniformity of spelling—is an important witness in determining the age and history of the text. In no other ancient MS is there found such an unfixity in the spelling. The process of levelling all variant spellings began

¹ Scrivener needlessly suspects *adferet* in *d* of being a clerical error (*Bezae Codex Cantab.* p. xlii). Similarly Ranke classes *offeret* in F as a blunder.

before Augustine, and was part of that 'emending' of ancient MSS to which he refers. Thus old spellings such as *nequa*, *cottidie*, *triticum*, *eclesia*, and *nubs* found in *ff* and old Latin MSS were silently changed into *nequam*, *cotidie*, *triticum*, *ecclesia*, and *nubes*, whilst words like *chana* and *chapharnaum* and *phascha* were reduced from their vulgar form to the form they assume in the original Greek.¹

The scribe of *ff* writes *delubium* in one verse and *diluvium* in the next; *cesar* in one line and *caesar* in the next; *preses* in one verse and *praeses* in the following verse; *austeris* and in the next verse *austeres*; *grabatum* in one verse, *gravatum*¹ in the next. These variants make the task of editing the MS one that requires constant watchfulness.

In St Luke xx he writes *phascha* (v. 1), *pascha* (vv. 7, 8, 13, 15), *pasca* (v. 9), *phasca* (v. 11).

In St Matt. xxi occur *ossanna*, *ossana*, and *osanna*. The form in St John xii 13 is *osanna*; in St Mark xi 10 *ossanna*.

Iohannes occurs together with *iohannis*, *ioannes*, *ioadnis*, *ioadnes*.

Herodes is written *herodes*, *herodis*, and *erodes*.

Iscariotes is *scarioth* or *scarioht* (8/11).

Præsepium is *presipium* (3/4) and *presepium*.

Propheta is *profeta*, *propheta*, *prophetha*, and *prophaeta*.

Denarius is *dinarius* (12/14) and *denarius*.

Mattheus is *matteus*, *mhatteus* [cf. *mhattata*], *mattheus*, *matheus*.

Phariseus is *phariseus*, *phariseus*, *pariseus*, and *pariseus*.

Gazophylacium is *gazophilacium*, *gaiophilacium*, *gaiofilacium*, *gazophylacium*, and *zaiophylacium*.

Philippus is *philippus*, *pilippus*, and *filippus*.

Grabattum is *grabatum* (2/10), *gravatum* (5/10), *grabattum* (3/10).

Elisabet is *elisabet*, *elisabeth*, and *elisabeht*.

Esaías is *esias* and *eseias*.

Barabbas is *barabas* (8/11) and *barabbas*.

Hypocrita is *hyprocita* (ten times), *hyprocyta* (once), *hyprocrita* (twice), and once *hyprocritys* for *hypocritis*. *Hypocrisis* is spelled *hyprocrisis* in G R in St Luke xii 1 (*ff* defic.), which is probably an imperfect correction of *hyprocisis* just as *grabriel* in *e* is a correction of *grabiel* in *ff*.

There are some exceptions to this variety:

Levi is always *levvi*. So also *levvita*.

Magdalene is always *magdaleneae* (except St Matt. xxvii 61 *magdelenae*).

Ilacism. The following are the commonest examples:

(1) *b* and *p*: *plaspheia*, *piscipus*.

(2) *v* and *b*: *vivit* = *bibit*, *benit*, *vonum*, *civum*, *serbe*, *vidimus*.

(3) *o* and *u*: *bus* = *e*, *spungia*, *hoc* = *huc*.

¹ In *b e* and *d* the spelling *grabattum* (= *vg*) is fixed, and in *a* it is only once varied (*grabbatum*).

(4) *ae, e¹, i*: *itenere, terri motus, cecus, ve, adcepit* (= *adcepit dimittat, hec*).

(5) *y and i*: *praebiterium = e, hyprocritys, iherosolomys*.

(6) *x and s*: *vos = vox, extimo = aestimo*.

(7) *d and t*: *reliquid, densaurus*.

(8) *m and n*: *finbriam, recunbo*.

Palaeographical miscopyings. The most striking and frequent of the scribe's errors is the confusion of *m* and *nt*. *Sunt* occurs at least half a dozen times for *sum*; and even *verbunt* for *verbum*. On the contrary *eum* is found for *eunt*, *sitium* for *sitiunt*, and *faciam* for *faciant*. The confusion no doubt arose from faulty resolution of the *lineola* that in the archetype signified both *m* and *nt*. It is an important fact that not only in twenty of our scribe's errors are corrected, and he himself erased nothing that he had once written.

(a) A syllable is lost: *constitum, tristia, phasma, exclaverunt, bedicere diffatus, existibunt*—none of which is corrected.

or a syllable is reduplicated: *mamamus, superaveraverunt, quemque uniuniversum*.

or (β) a terminal letter does duty twice (*Haplography*): *quinting dextramanum, domuilli, multin, quaerant, nuncepistis, quiadpropriavit*.

or (γ) letters and syllables are changed round (*Metathesis*): *servient (= esurientes), arbitetrur, xestus, lazamaphthani, eas (= aes), sanate (= satanas), eridacare*.

The letters *m* and *n* are omitted: *ude, capharnau*.

m is confused with *s*: *sponsusm, locusm, tespestas*.

t is confused with *s, m* and *nt*: *dicit = dicis, tunicat, ceperut*.

Omission of *i*, and insertion of *i*: *qua = quia*, and *quia = qua* (*e* has the same confusion).

Omission of *s*, and insertion of *s*: *eis = ei, vestris = vestri*.

Omission of *r*, insertion of *r*: *fetum, paate, lithrostrortru, tronitru*.

There is one instance of the use of *r* for *n*, *resciunt = nesciunt*; and one of *m* for *ns*, *quadram*.

Blunders of mere carelessness such as the following are distinct from those given above:

(a) *Qui non honorificat patrem non honorificat filium qui misit illum* (St John v 23).

(b) *per os sanctorum prophetaverunt*.

(c) *rabbi barabam* (*d has rabbi thabita*).

(d) *aepulabatur cottidie splendebat*.

So *poterant* is found for *propter*, *nin* for *non*, *nemo* for *me non*, *quonian* for *vobis*, *intellege* for *in lege*, *bropterea* for *prope*.

¹ Forms in *e* constantly replace those in *ae*: *quero* is more frequent than *quaero* and *precipio* than *praecipio*. *Caecus* and *cecus* are about equally distributed.

The number of mere blunders, however, in *ff* is remarkably small. Their character vouches for the fact that *ff* has undergone but little emendation. The faithfulness of its text is due not a little to the total ignorance of Latin on the part of its scribe.

Homoeoteleuton. The small number of errors of Homoeoteleuton in *ff* raises a presumption that *ff* is not far removed from the archetype. In an area remote from learning there should be a rough proportion between the number of copyings and the number of errors of this kind.

The following list¹ of these errors shews how accurate was the work of the scribe of *ff* (especially in St Mark), even if all of them be attributed to him :

(1) St Matt. xi 21, quia si in tyro et Sidonae factae [essent virtutes quae factae] sunt.

(2) xii 37, unusquisque enim ex verbis suis [iustificabitur aut ex verbis suis] condemnabitur.

(3) xviii 17, quod si non audierit [eos dic ecclesiae si autem ecclesiam non audierit] tibi sicut ethnicus.

(4) xxii 11, et vidit ibi hominem non vest[itum vest]em nuptialem.

(5) xxv 21, et fidelis [quia super pauca fuisti fidelis] super multa.

(6) St John iv 5, cognovit ergo pater quia [illa hora erat in qua] dixit ei
ihs.

(7) vi 19, vigin[ta quin]q.

(8) viii 55, ego autem cognovi eum [et si dixero quia non novi eum] ero similis.

(9) xi 2, 3, frater lazarus infirmabatur [miserunt ergo . . . infirmatur] audivit.

(10) xii 24, mortuum fuerit [ipsum solum manet si autem mortuum fuerit].

(11) xiv 21, ille est qui diligit me [qui autem diligit me] diligitur (*ff* = *e*).

(12) St Luke i 41, ut audivit salutationem mariae elisabeht [exultavit infans . . . elisabeht] et exclamavit.

(13) vii 26, quid existis videre prophetam [utique dico . . . prophetam] hic est.

(14) xii 47, 48, vapulabit [multas qui autem non cognovit . . . vapulabit] paucas.

(15) St Mark xiii 30, non transiet generatio haec [donec] omnia ista fiant.

It is probable that a few of the above occurred in the exemplar from which *ff* was copied.

It is also quite possible that Nos. 2, 3, and 11 may not be errors at all, but may represent the ancient Old Latin Text. In the case of No. 3

¹ The list is not quite complete. Other errors occur St Matt. xx 28; xxiv 23; St Luke xviii 27.

it is hard to see how words so important should have been omitted ~~not~~ only by *ff*, but by the diorthota and uncial correctors of the MS. They were not inserted in the MS until the twelfth century.

The Archetype.

Errors of the Archetype. A small number of the errors in *ff* are of a character to warrant the belief that they were taken from the archetype, and are not due to the scribe himself. Such errors are quite distinct from the errors made by an ignorant scribe, who could write ~~verbunt~~, and ~~ponet~~. The following appear to belong to the same class

- (1) *in ieiuniis* for *in ianuis*.
- (2) *nos tenuerunt* for *nocte venerunt*.
- (3) *in viam erat* for *invaserat*.
- (4) *pelegrinantibus* for *praegnantibus*.
- (5) *innocente* for *in occidente*.
- (6) *iunior* (St Luke xv) for *senior*.
- (7) *silvae* for *siloam*.
- (8) *mala* (St Luke xii) for *bona*.

These readings were, in the main, the outcome of a brain familiar (but non-conversant) with the Latin tongue, and were beyond the power of invention possessed by the scribe of *ff*.

It is probable also that in his archetype the scribe found *hyprocita* and *hyprocisis*, and possibly *servientes* for *esurientes* and *sicut* for *secus*.

Length of line. The lines in the archetype of *ff* were a little shorter than in their surviving copy.

In St John vi 17 *ff* reads Et cum ascendisse in | navem venieba.

The archetype was

Et cum ascendissē
in navem veniebā.

In St Mark xi 1 Et cum adpropinqua
was miscopied from Et cum adpropinquā.

In St Mark xiii 6 the words dropped out formed a line, viz.
multi enim venient.

Capitals. The fact that the scribe of *ff* sometimes begins a column without a capital letter, raises the presumption that the columns were not begun (or not always begun) with a capital in the archetype.

Punctuation. The punctuation by the scribe is often misplaced. In many instances his division of the text shews no knowledge of the Latin. Once he wrongly indents five lines in St John as though they formed a quotation from the Old Testament.

If the inept punctuation be subtracted from the whole, the fewness of the remaining marks of punctuation leads to the belief that the archetype had little, if any, punctuation in the proper sense of the term.

The marks were employed to mark off short words and numerals rather than to note the end of a phrase or sentence; whilst sometimes they appear to have been purely ornamental.

Palaeographical Evidence as to the Date of the MS.

In *ff* the beautiful rounded uncials of the scribe must strike even a casual observer. On first seeing the MS in 1899 I was much impressed by the apparent antiquity of the writing as compared with such MSS as I had hitherto examined, including Codex Bezae (*d*) and the Brescian Gospels (*f*). The writing of *ff* has, in fact, more resemblance to that of *a* than to any other Old Latin MS. Both are written on untinted vellum in natural ink. Compared with the MSS *k* and *h*¹ and *n*, which are all attributed to the fifth century, *a* and *ff* have a good claim to be ranked at least a century earlier; whilst *a*, *ff*, *k*, *h*, and *n* appear to be all earlier than the silver MSS *b*, *f*, *e*, and *i*.

On examining the letter D we notice that in *a* and *ff* the finishing line is bent rather more to the left from the vertical than in *k* and *h*. It is true that this is not a *proof* of great antiquity, as the same shape of D continues till the eighth or ninth century; but, on the other hand, straight-backed D's are a later departure, and in Codex Bezae the back of the D is quite vertical, as it is in most later MSS which approach the cursive formation².

In the case of the letter E the letter is *crossed high* and with an extremely thin line in *a* and *ff*, and with an almost equally fine line and nearly as high in *n*. In *a* and *ff* the horizontal stroke sometimes passes through the back of the letter. In *h* and *k*, on the contrary, the letter is crossed in the middle, and with a much thicker and more pronounced stroke. In other respects the E of *k* is unique in its oval rather than circular formation and the thinness of its back stroke.

With respect to the letter T the greatest possible affinity exists between *a* and *ff*, in both of which codices I and T are much alike. Hence in *ff* Belsheim edited *intra* for *in ira*, and Bianchini *scariothi* for *scarioht*. Tischendorf has remarked that the same similarity exists in *e*. But in *h* and *k*, as well as in *b*, the letters are clearly differentiated and the cross of the T is quite pronounced as in later MSS.

The letters G and C in *a* and *ff* are but slightly differentiated; and an intent gaze is needed to discriminate the two in some places, so fine is the distinguishing downward stroke. In *b*³, *n*, *k*, and *h* the finishing

¹ I use *h* throughout to signify *Le Palimpseste de Fleury*—not *Codex Claromontanus* of the Gospels.

² The formation of the D in S Hilary *de Trinitate* (Pal. Soc. 2nd series, Plate 10), attributed to the sixth century, is quite peculiar, the finishing stroke being a thin tail nearly at right angles to the vertical.

³ The publication of a facsimile leaf of *b* in *Monumenta Palaeog. Sacra* (Torino :

stroke is shorter and thicker and more pronounced. G in *h* and *d* might have been penned by the same scribe.

Again the bow of the P in *a* and *ff* is remarkably small, and is formed by a stroke more vertical than horizontal. In *b* and *h* the stroke takes a more horizontal direction.

The letter B has a small upper loop in *a* and *ff*, and is almost a replica of the B in the Bobbio Cicero Palimpsest at Turin, which is assigned to the third or fourth century.

In F the horizontal strokes are extremely short and unobtrusive in *a* and *ff*; and in this letter too there is a striking resemblance between *ff* and the Bobbio Palimpsest. In *b*, on the other hand, the horizontal strokes are pronounced, and the back of the F is even curled at its extremity.

The old scribes wrote the letter O with two crescent-shaped strokes which met, or more often *nearly* met, in a thin, scarcely visible line at the two points of contact; and the letter has thus in *a* and *ff* an oval rather than a circular appearance. In *b* and in *q* the O is almost an exact circle with an uniform thickness of its circumference; and in *n*, *k*, and *h* the circumference is also continuous, though of varying thickness.

The letter S in *a* and *ff* is more graceful and less rotund than in *b* or *n*, and approaches nearer to the S in the Bobbio Palimpsest. S in *h* and *d* sometimes dominates the other letters as does F in *e*.

Finally, in *a* and *ff* the letter A has a quite plain line as its back stroke, while the loop is short. In *b*, *k*, *n*, and *h* the back stroke of the A is slightly hooked and undulatory, and the loop of the letter is longer than in *a* and *ff*. Ancient scribes wrote the loop of the A first. I noticed this in an A begun in *i* and then cancelled.

Mr Warner of the British Museum has pointed out to me that there is a resemblance between *ff* and the Paris Livy (*Pal. Soc.*, First Series, Plate 32). If, as is probable, they must be assigned to the same century palaeographical considerations would place *ff* at the beginning of that century, and the Latin text of Livy towards the end.

The result of the comparison of the penmanship of *ff* with that of other ancient Latin MSS has convinced the present writer that *ff* must rank with *a* in point of antiquity. It is earlier than *h* or *n*, and decidedly earlier than *b*. In *h* and *n*, and more pronouncedly in *b*, the oval formation found in the Bobbio Cicero Palimpsest at Turin, and preserved in *ff*, has given way to the bold rounded letters of the sixth and seventh centuries. In *b* the letters are almost circular. It is true that in *k* the oval form survives, but the heavily-crossed T and E and the frequent punctuation of *k*, together with other considerations, such as

Fratelli Bocca, 1899) reveals the fact that the work of Bianchini leaves much to be desired.

the confusion of S and F, and R and N, make it probable that *k* should be assigned at the earliest to the second half of the fifth century.

Since writing the above the writer has seen in Vienna the two MSS *e* and *i*. The initials in *e* are, as a rule, much larger than in Tischendorf's facsimile. They overshadow three lines of writing, and they have ornamental knobs.

T and E are more pronouncedly crossed than in *a* and *ff*, and E is not crossed as high.

The tail of Q is not quite straight, but slightly bent to the left.

The abbreviation mark over *dne* and *xps* is short as in *hacta*, and covers only one letter, whilst in *a* and *ff* a thin longer line is drawn over the whole word. The stroke at the end of a line that stands for *m* is hooked at both ends (aute^o), and placed rather *after* the letter, as in *i*, than above it, as in *a* and *ff*.

The second loop of M and the loop of H curve inwards and depart from the openness of *a* and *ff*.

The letter F dominates the other letters, which is a feature of the later uncial writing, viz. the writing superposed in *hacta*.

The loop of A is exceptionally long in *e*; in *a* and *ff* it is short.

L is pronouncedly angled at the foot, and is hooked at the top.

Punctuation is exceedingly frequent. There are at least twenty points *e* for every point in *ff*; and these are all by the first hand, for in *e*, as in *i*, no second hand has touched the text.

A careful comparative study of the palaeography of *b*, *i*, *f*, and *e* points to the conclusion that *e* should be assigned to the latter part of the sixth century¹. Tischendorf thought *e* might belong to the fourth or fifth or sixth century. The practice of writing in gold and silver on purple vellum appears to have begun in the sixth century and to have died out in the eighth. Silver ink had not the durability of other ink.

One cannot tabulate all the impressions that are received from a MS and that lead to the belief that it is earlier or later than another. The great simplicity of the letters in *ff*, the absence of all knobs or ornamental points, the *smallness* and plainness of the capitals, the straightness and thinness of lines marking abbreviations, the extreme rarity of punctuation—all these contribute to the conviction that *ff* belongs to a more remote antiquity than does *e*, and that it surpasses in age all other Old Latin MSS with the exception of *a*.

E. S. BUCHANAN.

¹ Other considerations support this later date for *e*. One is the frequent use in *e* of *apud* side by side with *aput*. Both *aput* and *apud* are found in Codex Fuldensis. *Apud*, however, never appears to the best of my belief in either *a* or *ff*. *e* also reads the later form *gennesaret* (= *vg*) in S Luke; *ff* invariably *gennesar*.

(To be continued.)

THE LITANY OF SAINTS IN THE STOWE MISSAL

IDEAS in regard to the first attestations and early history of what is designated in the official books of the Roman Church 'the Litanies', but commonly called 'The Litany of the Saints', seem vague and indefinite. The use of such a series of invocations of saints by name was, for instance, in an article I read not long ago, assumed to exist in Gaul in the sixth century; and this assumption was used as an instrument in the criticism of the *Martyrologium Hieronymianum*. In the last number (iv 1) of the *Oriens christianus* Dr Baumstark has printed (text and translation, pp. 116-119) a 'Syrian-Melchite Litany of All the Saints', with a lengthy preliminary dissertation (pp. 98-116, 120). The subject is now therefore on the order of the day. Moreover, what must be the definitive edition of the *Stowe Missal* is in preparation; and doubtless discussion of some points of detail had better precede, than follow on, that publication. But the starting-point of an enquiry such as I have indicated is, so far as I can see, precisely the litany which stands at the beginning of the normal mass in that missal. It has then seemed to me opportune, without waiting for further informations, or more light, to lay before those interested in the subject what I have been able to gather in regard to the early history of the 'Litany of the Saints' in the West, with which Dr Baumstark and his former colleague, Dr Schermann, have not concerned themselves. Such a paper will serve to bring the discussion of this rather obscure matter into some definite form; and I propose to restrict my remarks, as much as I can, to what is textual, documentary, and, so far, positive.

Before examining the features of the litany of *Stowe*, it will be proper to remark on its position and surroundings. This litany appears as an item of what is now called the 'Praeparatio Sacerdotis', viz. the series of non-liturgical prayers which form the priest's personal preparation for saying mass. In the earliest Western books this 'Praeparatio' is rudimentary, being represented by a single prayer entitled 'Apologia Sacerdotis'. In his edition of the *Book of Cerne* (pp. xxv-xxvi), Dom Kuypers has pointed out that the most ancient examples of the 'Apologia' represent more than one type of religious mind and feeling. The form given in the *Bobbio Missal*¹ shews yet a different type of such mind, though textually it is related to the two 'Apologiae' adduced by Dom Kuypers. This is the stage of developement at the close of the seventh century. The 'praeparatio' which the *Stowe Missal* offers

¹ Mabillon *Mus. Ital.* i 375; Muratori *Liturg. Rom.* ii 934.

(before the interpolations were made by Moelcaich), is something quite different both in form and substance. It is thus composed: (1) a short prayer embodying penitential supplications evidently inspired by the litany; (2) the litany of saints; (3) a prayer 'ut pro peccatis meis possim intercedere, et adstantis populi peccatorum veniam promereri, ac pacificas singulorum hostias immolare; me quoque tibi audaciter accedentem ne sinas perire' &c.; (4) a brief ejaculatory prayer. Item (3) strikes, in the words quoted, a note that is absent from the 'Apologiae' mentioned above. In these the idea of specifically priestly supplication does not transpire. But it is quite in the spirit of those prayers of Eastern liturgies which, beautiful and devout in themselves, repeat with a wearisome iteration the same idea—the unworthiness of the priest himself, the 'tremendous' nature of the sacrifice. The newly-found manuscript of 'St James', of the close of the seventh century or the earlier years of the eighth, shews that a developed 'Praeparatio Sacerdotis' already existed by that date in Syria¹. The precise position of the *Stowe* 'Praeparatio' in the Western development must be matter for consideration; but to me it appears to represent the next stage immediately after the simple 'Apologia' of the seventh century².

The exact text of the litany of saints, item 2, will be given later. But it will be convenient, for the understanding of what follows, to give a summary of it at once; thus:

Christe audi nos (three times)—Kyrie eleison—thirteen invocations of saints—Omnes sancti orate pro nobis—Propitius esto parce nobis Domine—P. e. libera nos D.—Ab omni malo I. n. D.—Per crucem tuam I. n. D.—Peccatores te rogamus audi

¹ *Oriens christianus* iii 216.

² I do not know how the case stands in the Sacramentary of Gellone. The Sacramentary of Angoulême, Paris B. N. Lat. 816, f. 70^b has a single 'Apologia' (printed by Martene, *de ant. eccl. rit.* lib. iv cap. 27 § 10) there called 'Accusatio Sacerdotis ante altare'; it emphasizes the ideas already found in the *Stowe* 'Praeparatio' item (3). In Gerbert (*Mon. vet. liturg. Alemann.* i 297) this 'Accusatio' appears as if a collect of a 'missa sacerdotis propria'. Abbot Cabrol has recently printed an article in the *Revue Bénédictine* (April 1905) to shew that the so-called *Missa Fl. Illyrici* is a production of Alcuin. But these difficulties occur to me: (1) the special 'proof' on examination breaks down; (2) fashions and tendencies in liturgy have a history of their own; and in the time of Charlemagne the tendency in ruling circles was to simplify and clarify liturgy, liturgy books, and prayers; the *Missa Fl. Ill.* is an extreme example of the opposite tendency; (3) Alcuin's character shews many deficiencies, but the want of common good sense was not one of them and from any point of view the *Missa Fl. Ill.* is a liturgical monstrosity. For reasons such as these I believe the judgement of the older liturgists (like Bona) who assigned this document to the tenth or eleventh century to be sound. It has some fifteen or twenty apologies, besides a fully-developed scheme of prayers for putting on vestments, &c.

nos—[? Fili Dei t. r. a. n.]—Ut pacem dones t. r. a. n.—Agne Dei qui tollis peccata mundi miserere nobis¹.

Here it is necessary to distinguish two elements: the general 'framework', and the names of the saints invoked. Each element must be considered separately. I take the names first. The invocations of this *Stowe* litany of saints are: Mary, Peter, Paul, Andrew, James, Bartholomew, Thomas, Matthew, James, Thaddaeus, Matthias, Mark, Luke. Inspection of the four lists of Apostles in the New Testament shews that this list, imperfect as it is, agrees in order with that of Matthew (x 2-4) only². The order in the diptychs of the *Stowe Missal* is: John Baptist and Virgin Mary, Peter, Paul, Andrew, James, John, Philip, Bartholomew, Thomas, Matthew, James, Simon, Thaddaeus, Matthias, Mark, Luke. This is the order of Matthew except that in the diptychs Simon (the Canaanite) comes before, not after, Thaddaeus. After Matthias, Mark, Luke come Stephen and other martyrs. The litany then so far as it goes agrees with the diptychs; and it is not too much to suppose that when drawing it up the compiler had before him the diptychs and adopted their order.

But the two *Stowe* documents do not stand alone. The order of names of Apostles and Evangelists in the litany of MS Reg. 2 A xx³, a manuscript of the eighth century, is the same as that in the diptychs, except that Barnabas is inserted before Mark and Luke. Not merely so; but this litany adopts the order 'John, Mary', of the diptychs, and the case is both in diptychs and litanies, so far as I can find, unique. Moreover, after thus taking its order of invocations up to this point from the *Stowe* diptychs, the litany of 2 A xx proceeds to subjoin after Stephen the whole twelve names of martyrs appended to the quite different list of Apostles in the canon of the Roman mass⁴.

The question arises which is the borrower? Did the English document borrow the order of Apostles and Evangelists from Ireland, or Ireland from England. Several prayers and other documents, English and Irish, of a date presumably earlier than the ninth century, shew enumerations of the apostles. A list of such enumerations with some few others is given in the appended note A at the end of this paper (p. 135). From this list it appears that the order in the Roman canon occurs only

¹ See McCarthy 'On the *Stowe Missal*', *Transactions of the Royal Irish Academy*, vol. xxvii pp. 192-195 and 267 (on fol. 13^a).

² The order of Luke vi 14-16 is as Matthew's, except that it has 'Matthew, Thomas' instead of 'Thomas, Matthew', and 'Simon, Iudas Iacobi' instead of 'Thaddaeus, Simon'.

³ fol. 26^a (*Book of Cerne* pp. 211-212).

⁴ This use of the Roman canon probably explains the insertion in 2 A xx of Barnabas. For Barnabas see Duchesne, in *Mélanges G. B. de Rossi* (Rome, 1892) pp. 40-71.

in prayers in *Cerne*, not in 2 A xx or Irish books; whilst of the New Testament lists, that of Matthew only is followed except in the case of the diptychs of the Mozarabic mass and those of the Church of Arles which both adopt the list of Acts i 13. But it is in Irish or English-Irish documents that the Matthew list is found. Unless, therefore, further evidence can be adduced to throw a new light on the case, the conclusion seems inevitable that the presence of the Matthew list is to be taken as a probable indication of Irish influence¹.

If there be relationship (doubtless but indirect) between the invocations in the litanies of the *Stowe* 'Praeparatio' and 2 A xx, much closer is the relationship in the 'framework'. In fact the 'framework' of the two is identical. But we must not stop here. A Greek litany appearing on the last leaf (f. 200) of the so-called 'Athelstan Psalter', Cotton MS Galba A xviii², has to be taken into account. This manuscript contains on the same leaf the Greek text of the Old Roman Creed, whereof the Latin is found in the Laudian MS of the Acts and (with slight changes) in MS Reg. 2 A xx also. In what I have now to say it will be well to ignore the discussions on the Creed, but proper to observe in passing that through the documents common to Galba A xviii in Greek and 2 A xx in Latin, viz. the Old Roman Creed and the litany, we come into touch with the earliest age of the English Church. Sir E. M. Thompson, who has described the Galba manuscript³, considers that the psalter was written abroad in the ninth

¹ I should feel disposed to add here as follows: 'with the *Stowe* diptychs as a primary model. It would therefore follow that our litanies are of a later date than (say) about the year 650.' But this would hardly be justified except at the expense of a special dissertation for which this is not the place. Mr F. E. Warren and Dr McCarthy have, of course, only dealt with these diptychs as if in passing; but neither, it seems to me, has really envisaged the particular 'difficulties' which make them an interesting little problem from the modern point of view. I hope to deal with this in a separate paper by and by.

² In what follows I take no notice of the discussions on the Apostles' Creed; of set purpose. But it may be for persons engaged in that line of enquiry to consider whether, or how far, anything said in this paper may have a bearing on the questions that engage their attention; e. g. the origin or 'sources' of the Enumerations of Apostles found in connexion with the Creed, the suggested date of the Galba litany in relation to the use (or disuse) of the Old Roman Creed in Rome itself, &c.

³ *Ancient Manuscripts at the British Museum, Part II Latin* pp. 12-13. Kattenbusch *Apost. Symbol.* i 66, following Heurtley, states that the attribution to Athelstan 'has no sort of authority', but is a mere conjecture of the possessor of the MS in the sixteenth century. But is there not good ground for giving credence to the 'Athelstan' tradition? Dackombe was a Winchester man, and from entries of his name in MSS at the B. M. (*Anc. Manuscr.* p. 62) it appears that at the dissolution he acquired several MSS belonging to Winchester Cathedral; he chose (it may be said in passing) valuable ones. A leaf of Galba A xviii, that has disappeared since the seventeenth century, had five lines in verse commemo-

century and that the additions (ff. 1-21, 120, 178-200) were made in England in the tenth. At the bottom of f. 199^b is the title 'Hic incipit Grecoꝝ laetanie', the litany occupies f. 200^a; on 200^b is first the Our Father with the title 'Hic incipit Pater noster in lingua Grecoꝝ'; then the Apostles' Creed with the heading 'Credo Gr.'; lastly, with the heading 'Scs scs scs' the 'Sanctus', also in Greek but breaking off imperfect with the word 'doxis'. The next leaf which gave the continuation is now missing. The Greek litany at f. 200^a shews a 'framework' identical with that of the two Latin litanies that have been under consideration. The Galba manuscript, however, does not stand alone. The Cotton MS Titus D. xviii f. 12^b after giving the conclusion of a piece begun on f. 12^a, has on the eighth line a title: 'Ymnus Grecoꝝ ante canonem' and thereon follows the 'Sanctus' in Greek and complete. Then: 'Incipit letania Grecoꝝ' and the first eleven suffrages of the Galba litany occupying the rest of the page; f. 13 is blank. From the orthography it may be gathered that this is not a copy made from the Galba leaf¹. I do not give a print of the manuscripts here; it would serve no useful purpose; and doubtless a convenient opportunity may soon occur (may I say in the forthcoming edition of the *Stowe Missal*, for instance). But it is necessary in this place to give in parallel columns the full texts, Greek and Latin, of the 'framework' of the litanies, with so many of the invocations as they have in common. The Greek is obtained from the Galba and Titus MSS just mentioned. The Latin from 2 A xx, the Litany in *Stowe*, and a third copy from a Fulda MS printed by G. Wicel in 1555. The words in brackets complete from *Stowe* and Wicel the cues which are found in 2 A xx.

rating a gift by Stigand to some church of a rich cross (*ibid.* p. 12); from the Winchester annals (A.D. 1072) it appears that Stigand gave such a cross to Winchester Cathedral. From several extant MSS it also appears that Athelstan, in giving books to churches, liked to have record entered in them of such gift; for instance: Cotton MS B v, gift to Bath; Otho B ix, gift to Durham; MS Reg. 1 A xviii, and the MacDurnain gospels at Lambeth, gifts to Christ Church, Canterbury. Is it not probable, in all these circumstances, that Dackombe's note 'Psalterium Regis Ethelstani' is simply based on an inscription of this kind recording a gift of the Psalter in question by Athelstan to Winchester Cathedral? This may throw some light on the source or origin of the Greek pieces in Galba A xviii f. 200.

¹ Dom N. Birt has kindly copied the Greek pieces for me and supplied requisite details. The MS seems of about the twelfth century. As regards orthography, Galba reads, for instance: 'Aie Gabriel euxe yperimon', 'Pantas yaies euxe yperimon', 'fise ymas cyrie'; Titus reads: 'Agie Gabriel euche yper imon', 'Panta agies euche yper ymon', 'phise ymas Kyrrie'.

GRECORUM LAETANIE.

Galba A xviii f. 200^aTitus A xviii f. 12^b †

Χριστέ, ἐπάκουσον ἡμῶν
 * Ἀγίε Μιχαήλ, εὗξαι ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν
 * Ἀγίε Γαβριήλ, εὗξαι ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν
 Ἀγίε Ῥαφαήλ, εὗξαι ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν
 Ἁγία Μαρία, εὗξαι ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν
 Ἁγίε Πέτρε, εὗξαι ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν
 Ἁγίε Παῦλε, εὗξαι ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν
 Πᾶντες οἱ ἅγιοι, εὗξασθε ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν

Ἐλεος γίνου καὶ φείσαι ἡμᾶς κύριε

Ἐλεος γίνου καὶ λύτρωσαι ἡμᾶς κύριε

Ἀπὸ παντὸς κακοῦ λύτρωσαι ἡμᾶς κύριε

Διὰ τοῦ σταυροῦ σου λύτρωσαι ἡμᾶς κύριε

Ἀμαρτωλοὶ σε παρακαλοῦμεν, ἐπάκουσον ἡμῶν

Ἰνα εἰρήνην δώσης, σε παρακαλοῦμεν, ἐπάκουσον ἡμῶν

Υἱέ τοῦ θεοῦ, σε παρακαλοῦμεν, ἐπάκουσον ἡμῶν

Ὁ ἄμωδός τοῦ θεοῦ ὁ αἵρων τὴν ἁμαρτίαν⁷ τοῦ κόσμου, ἐλέησον ἡμᾶς

LAETANIA.

MS Reg. 2 A xx f. 26 (*Bk. of Cerne*
 pp. 211-212); Stowe litany, pp. 192,
 267; Fulda litany in Wicel *Exercit.*
 sig. P.

† Christe, audi nos [thrice in S. W.]¹* Scē Michahel, ora²* Sce Gabrihel, ora²* Sce Raphael, ora²* Sce Iohannes, ora³

† Scā Maria, ora [pro nobis W.]

† Sce Petre, ora [pro nobis W.]

† Sce Paule, ora [pro nobis W.]⁴

† Omnes sancti orate [pro nobis S. W.]

† Propitius esto par[ce nobis Domine S. W.]

† Propitius esto liber[a nos Domine S. W.]

† Ab omni malo liber[a nos Domine S. W.]

† Per crucem tuam liber[a nos Domine S. W.]

† Peccatores te rog[amus audi nos S. W.]

† Ut pacem dones te rog[amus audi nos S. W.]

† * Filius Dei te rog[amus audi nos. Moelcaich]⁵† Agnus⁶ Dei qui tollis peccata mundi miserere nobis⁸.

After consideration I have been unable to find any real grounds or valid arguments to support a conjecture that the Latin is the original

* = invocations not in the Litany of the Stowe 'Praeparatio' (= S.).

† = invocations of which the text is given by Wicel (*Exercitamenta syncerae pietatis* . . . per Georgium Vuicelium seniore edita, 1555, sig. P) (= W.).

‡ The invocations found in Titus D xviii end with 'Ἀπὸ παντὸς κακοῦ'. In this MS the invocation 'Ἁγία Μαρία comes before that of Michael.

¹ Followed in Stowe by 'Kyrie eleison'; this is not in Wicel or in any of the other texts and is doubtless an addition by the writer of the Stowe litany.

² These three suffrages are not in Stowe or Wicel.

³ This invocation in 2 A xx only; doubtless derived from the Stowe diptychs, see *supra*, p. 124.

⁴ Here follow in Stowe, Wicel, and 2 A xx, further and differing invocations of saints for which see p. 130 *infra*.

⁵ This suffrage, according to McCarthy (p. 267), does not occur in the litany of Stowe as written by the original hand; it is on Moelcaich's rescript (p. 194) which inserts it before 'Ut pacem' &c. As it is found in the Greek, 2 A xx and Wicel, its absence from Stowe would be doubtless a mere omission. In W. and Moelcaich 'Fili'.

⁶ 'Agne', Stowe (p. 267) and Wicel.

⁷ 'tin amartias' Galba A xviii.

⁸ 2 A xx adds 'Christe audi nos'; Moelcaich, the same three times; it is not noticed by Wicel.

and the Greek a translation, so far as England or Ireland is concerned. Such indications as I have been able to discern point in the opposite direction. I therefore assume that the Greek is the original. And, on this assumption, to the question: 'Whence came this document into England?' the reply can be made with fair certainty: 'From Rome'. This conclusion is arrived at as follows. The first portion of the 'Sanctus' of the mass is derived from Isaiah vi 3, which in the Old Latin and Vulgate reads 'Lord God of hosts'; in the Hebrew and Septuagint, 'Lord of hosts'. This latter form is adopted in all the Greek liturgies known to us, Sarapion, the Clementine, James, Basil, Chrysostom, Mark, Alexandrine Basil, Alexandrine Gregory; whilst the reading 'Lord God of Hosts' is found only in Syriac James, and in the Nestorian, Armenian, Roman, and Mozarabic liturgies¹. But the Greek 'Sanctus' in both the Galba and Titus manuscripts reads *κύριος ὁ θεὸς Σαβαώθ*. As there is no ground for supposing that the four Greek pieces found in the Galba (or the two in the Titus) manuscript came into England one by one from different quarters, or otherwise than together, it seems but reasonable to conclude that as the 'Sanctus' and the Creed came from Rome so did the litany also².

This conclusion seems to find confirmation in the text of the litany itself. To say nothing of the names Peter and Paul, two suffrages deserve particular attention: *Διὰ τοῦ σταυροῦ σου* and *Ὁ ἄμνός τοῦ θεοῦ*. These are cults both of which are associated in Rome with the name of Pope Sergius (687-701). Sergius was a Syrian of the region of Antioch (and therefore Greek-speaking) though born at Palermo; he came to Rome at a mature age and, as a skilled musician, was placed under the chief cantor; five years later he was ordained priest, and seven years after that made pope. The account of him in the *Liber Pontificalis* shews that he had a natural bent towards all that concerns the church

¹ Also in Africa in the latter part of the fifth century. Victor Vitensis writes: 'sicut in mysteriis ore nostro dicimus . . . sanctus sanctus sanctus Dominus Deus Sabaoth' (*de persec. Vandal.* iii 23; in Petschenig's edition ii 100).

² It has been not infrequently stated that the church Office was said in Greek as well as in Latin in England towards the close of the seventh century. I do not know how the statement can be evidenced. Certainly there is nothing to warrant it in the elaborate exposition or argument printed in 1875 by Caspari (*Ungedruckte Quellen* iii 188-199) who really seems to rely at bottom on the Greek pieces in Galba A xviii as evidence for the fact, as subsequent writers seem, for their part, to have relied on Caspari. The statement is also repeatedly made (e.g. among the last by Kattenbusch *Apost. Symbol.* ii 858, in 1900) that the Greek creed of Galba was said in the hours, and 'especially at Prime'. But it is to be observed that the Apostles' Creed was not said in the Office in the seventh and eighth centuries; and that the Greek pieces in Galba have nothing to do with the hours. It would appear therefore that the statement as to the recital of the Office in Greek in England is not warranted by evidence, and seems to be based ultimately on a misunderstanding.

services ritual and song. As is well known he ordered that at the time of the confection in the mass (i. e. just before the communion) 'Agnus Dei qui tollis peccata mundi miserere nobis' should be sung by the clergy and people. Some persons have thought that the 'Agnus' was already before this date in use in the Roman mass and that Sergius only made some change in the mode or place of singing it; others, that he first introduced it. These contradictories can each be plausibly maintained, and neither can be shewn to be wrong. All that is of importance here, however, is certain, viz. that the first record of the use of the 'Agnus Dei' in Rome occurs in the time of Sergius; and that if it had been indeed in use before, he gave to it an additional importance inasmuch as by his new arrangement he introduced into the Roman mass a (possible) element of what is called 'eucharistic adoration' in a way that should be popular and universal, public and unmistakeable. The originality of the action of Sergius in regard to the cult of the Cross in Rome is yet less open to doubt. Sergius, we are told¹, found a case hitherto 'in angulo obscurissimo jacentem' in the sacristy of St Peter's, which, though of silver, was dirty and black from neglect and age. After prayer he broke the seal, and opening it found within a precious gemmed cross containing a relic of the True Cross. 'Which from that day forward (says his contemporary biographer) is kissed and adored by all the Christian people in the Lateran basilica on the day of the Exaltation of the Holy Cross.' This is the earliest notice of the public liturgical cult of the True Cross and the feast of the Exaltation in Rome, and there can, I think, be no doubt that Sergius was the real originator of such cult in Rome.

We have at any rate these elements: on the one hand a litany in Greek coming to England from Rome with evidence in its invocations of the cults of the Cross and of our Lord as the Lamb of God; on the other, a pope Greek by race, whose speciality was church services and devotions, under whom the first mention is found of these cults in Rome. If we go a step further, sufficient traces are found of the relations of this pope with England; for instance: he consecrated St Willibrord (Nov. 21, 695); he was concerned in the accession of Berctwald to the See of Canterbury in some way special enough to call for record in the jejune contemporary biography; he was in correspondence with Jarrow and Wearmouth. Any one of these occasions might have served to bring to England a litany, the text of which suggests Sergius; there were doubtless many others of which we know nothing, and speculation as to the real one is useless. I am therefore content to have endeavoured to follow up the origins of the litany of invocations of

¹ *Liber pontif.*, ed. Duchesne, i 374.

saints so far as, keeping under the guidance of the documents, is possible to me.

But a few words must be given to the question of the probable age of our first English and Irish imitations of the Greek litany. (1) The writer of the saints' litany in the *Stowe* 'Praeparatio' restricts himself to the Blessed Virgin, and some of the Apostles, with Matthias, Mark, Luke. (2) The invocations of the litany of 2 A xx begin with three arch-angels (as in the Greek); then come invocations of John the Baptist, the Blessed Virgin, Apostles and Evangelists in the order of the *Stowe* diptychs with the insertion of Barnabas, followed (after Stephen) by the first order of martyrs (in the 'Communicantes') of the Roman canon; then come twenty-eight invocations of martyrs, hermits, doctors, and confessors (ending with Benedict), lastly virgins; all of these well known in the earliest Western mass-books or calendars; but to the exclusion of all Irish names. (3) In Moelcaich's revision of the original litany of *Stowe*, after Stephen, Martin, Jerome, Augustine, Gregory, Hilary, Patrick, come invocations of nineteen Irish men, and five Irish women, saints. (4) The litany in Wicel's Fulda manuscript after Luke has Barnabas, Stephen; then twenty invocations of well-known martyrs, doctors, confessors (ending with Benedict); then Patrick, Secundinus, and twenty-three more names *nostris temporibus ignotissima* of men and women, doubtless all Irish. This description suffices to shew the close relationship of the four documents, and the influences determining the differing selection of names in each case. The constant element is that derived from the *Stowe* diptychs, the Apostles and Evangelists. It is clear from the Council of Cloveshoe that litanies with a series of invocations of saints must have been widespread, or even in general use, in Southern England by the year 747. If we may accept (as after consideration I certainly do) Paul Ewald's assignment of the *Vita S. Gregorii antiquissima* to the first quarter of the eighth century, it would appear that such litanies were in use in the North of England twenty or thirty years before the Cloveshoe decrees¹. A developement must have taken place very soon after the arrival of

¹ 'Iste enim sanctus utique per omnem terram tam sanctus habetur ut semper ab omnibus ubique sanctus Gregorius nominatur. Unde letaniis quibus Dominum pro nostris imploramus excessibus atque innumeris peccatis quibus eum offendimus sanctum Gregorium nobis in ammiculum vocamus, cum sanctis scilicet apostolis et martyribus' (ed. Gasquet, Westminster, 1904, p. 45). This strikes me as if written in the quite early days of St Gregory's (liturgical) cult. To the writer of this *Life* Augustine is counted in the same category as Mellitus and Justus; 'venerandae memoriae viros' is his term for all three of them (*ibid.* p. 15). St Boniface is, it is true, mentioned as 'venerandae memoriae' in the letter of archbishop Cuthbert of Canterbury to Lullus of Mentz (Haddan and Stubbs *Councils* iii 392), but the letter itself sufficiently qualifies the term in this case.

the Greek document in England. There could be nothing to appear surprising in this if we consider the prevailing tone and temper of the English or Irish religious mind at this period.

The ejaculatory, litanic, asyndetic, type of prayer is peculiarly suited to the Irish genius. We have only to observe the prayers common among that people from the *Lorica* of St Patrick downwards. The publication of the *Book of Cerne* and of MS 2 A xx affords abundant, and genuine, material for study. But there is more. The Irish masters in the early days of England's conversion were by nature attracted to solitude; they strove, were even able, to combine this inclination of theirs with the active duties of the apostolate; and many of their English disciples imbibed much of their spirit. We must not look to the ordinary life of Jarrow and Wearmouth in this matter; but the *Life of St Guthlac* by Felix gives a lively presentment of a type of spiritual life that was common in England so long as the influence of the Irish teachers lasted. But if men such as these lived in solitude, they still were not alone; their world was peopled by spirits, angels, good and bad, all either friends or foes, with whom they were in continual communion or conflict. Given too the particular stage of religious development in Western Europe we are bound to believe that in the world thus peopled with spirits, the ancient martyrs and the hermits, who had suffered and had conquered in the fight were present too. In such a spiritual atmosphere as this nothing is more easy than to understand, once the impulse given, the development and rapid spread of such a devotion as that which we call the litany of the saints. On the supposition that the Greek litany reached England in (say) the last decade of the seventh century, I think it is not unreasonable to expect that even a dozen years may have sufficed for the propagation of the new devotion at least among those that still gave the tone to the common religious public of the time.

And here many questions suggest themselves—questions in which centres the real interest of the present enquiry: is the (Roman) *Galba* litany, so far as the invocations of saints are concerned, an abridgement of a litany already in use in Rome? is it Roman at all? is it a record of the introduction into Rome of an already existing Byzantine devotional practice¹ which then found there further development?

¹ Dr Schermann (*Römische Quartalschrift* 1903 p. 335) is disposed to assign one at least of the Greek litanies of saints printed by him with that from the 'Athelstan Psalter', to the sixth or seventh century. His grounds for this opinion are the invocation of categories of saints only in addition to the angels; and the special predicates used of the B. V. These grounds do not seem strong. Such a set of invocations of categories of saints is found, e.g., at the beginning of the litany of saints in the 'Pontifical of St Dunstan' (*Martene de ant. eccl. rit. lib. ii cap. 13*

did Gaul borrow the litany of the saints from Rome, or was the litany of the saints propagated in Gaul and Germany under English and Irish influences? The answers to such questions will be largely determined by individual appreciations of the respective 'factors' in the evolution of Western religion in its critical period, that is the sixth, seventh, and eighth centuries. Besides this, no suggestion can, I think, be safely made until something has been done to clear up the obscurities of the earliest history in the Western Church of that form of prayer which we call a 'litany'. Starting with the *Stowe* litany called by Moelcaich 'Deprecatio Sancti Martini pro populo', I propose to make such an attempt in two or three papers to which the present one may be considered a prelude. And such an enquiry seems the more necessary inasmuch as the litany of the Galba manuscript gives the actual 'framework' of the Litany of Saints that is found in the Roman liturgical books of the present day and bears there the name 'Litaniae', 'The Litanies', simply. There would therefore seem to be no room for doubt that these latter trace their descent, in some way, from the former. How this was, is a question that does not admit of a ready, or perhaps quite easy, answer. The task of necessary investigation is beyond my scope; but at least a few remarks on the subject of Carolingian developements seem called for here.

Angilbert, friend, confidant, son-in-law, of Charlemagne, afterwards abbat and creator of the glories of St Riquier, drew up a ritual order for his monks, seemingly in the first two or three years of the ninth century. Some fragments survive¹; and in them are found the following directions for the processions of the Rogation days. So soon as the brethren pass out of the monastery gates 'let them begin to sing their psalms in alternate verses. Let the schola of the boys, and others who can, begin at once to sing the Apostles' Creed; then, after a short interval, the creed of Constantinople; then, the faith of St Athanasius; and lastly the Lord's Prayer. After this, the general litany (*laetantiam generalem*) which stands first in our book (*quae prima in nostro continetur scripto*). Then let the schola of boys sing the *laudes*, for the welfare of the whole of Christendom. When

Ordo 4) and at the end of the special invocations of saints in a litany seemingly of the time of Lewis the Pious described by Wicel *Exercitamenta*, sig. O iij. I should have been disposed, as a matter of opinion, rather to connect the litanies which Dr Schermann prints with the Greek monastic revival in Lower Italy in the tenth century.

¹ This was printed in the *Downside Review*, March 1895 (vol. xiv pp. 91-98) in ignorance of the fact that it was to be included in the appendix to M. Lot's edition of Hariulfus which appeared at the same time. The copy in the *Review* was by an accident printed off without revision of proofs and contains several errors. The passage cited above is at p. 94.

all this is finished let the brethren cease their psalmody¹ and sing the litanies (*faciant laetantias*) along with the boys; first the Gallic, secondly the Italian, and lastly the Roman (*primo Gallicam, secundo Italianam, novissime vero Romanam*)'. Here are four (or, if we include the *laudes*, five) kinds of litanies mentioned. Rome, Italy, Gaul, and their ways, Angilbert knew perfectly well; no one better. I have no intention of even enquiring what all these litanies may have been, or what features may have distinguished one from the other. This must be done, if at all, by some one who undertakes to examine the history of the litany from the ninth to the thirteenth century and is in full possession of the manuscript evidence. But the 'general litany' would seem to have been one of Angilbert's own composing, though doubtless following generally some model. Gerbert has printed from a Vienna manuscript of the tenth century a litany of saints with the title *Letania Gallica*²; Muratori and Delisle, two with the title *Letania Romana*³. What, if any, value attaches to these titles is doubtful.

From Amalar⁴ it appears that the use of litanies with invocations of saints was common in Gaul (say about 830) on Holy Saturday before the blessing of the font. The so-called Sacramentary of Gellone, written in 'the second half of the eighth century', in a baptismal office towards the end of the volume, gives such a litany⁵. It is short, containing but thirteen invocations of saints by name; but it otherwise recalls the 'framework' of the Galba litany and its congeners, consisting as it does of suffrages, 1, 8, 10, 13, 14, 15, 16 of that litany (+a final *Audi nos* as in 2 A xx; cf. Moelcaich)—with the insertion of three petitions for fine weather between 14 and 15. This is the earliest text of a litany of saints in a Gallic manuscript that I know of. In the

¹ In regard to psalmody as the substance of the (popular) devotion of the Rogation processions see *Downside Review*, March 1900 (vol. xix pp. 47-49); cf. *Missale Gothicum* N^o xlviii, *Contestatio*: 'invictum hoc signum cum plebium cuneis praeferentes atque maiestatem tuam psallencii modulatione lautantes.' From Angilbert it appears that the psalmody still survived, but now as if a liturgical element, being confined to the monks; it was, from obvious causes, no longer popular; and as a 'popular devotion' litanies (in our common modern sense) took its place. With their short responses often repeated, they were sure in the long run to displace the more irregular and 'difficult' psalmody and come by and by to be so far regarded as proper to the Rogations as to have obliterated, as it were, the memory of the old practice; of which, however, a trace still survives in the singing of psalm 69 (= 70) immediately after the 'Litany of the Saints' on Rogation days.

² Gerbert *Mon. vet. Liturg. Alemann.* ii 90.

³ Delisle *Mém. sur d'anc. Sacramentaires* p. 363 (from a Senlis MS of about 886); Muratori *Liturg. Rom.* i 74 (from Ottobon. 313, a Paris MS 'of the second half of the ninth cent.'; this litany, at ff. 109-110, is in another hand).

⁴ *De ecl. offic.* lib. i cap. 28.

⁵ Martene *de ant. eccl. rit.* lib. i cap. 1 art. 18 ordo vi.

course of the ninth century and tenth, litanies come into common liturgical use, and are now found too in the order for the visitation of the sick, and among the prayers said for those at the point of death. It is, however, but slowly and gradually that in the manuscripts they obtain admission into the strictly liturgical offices of the body of the Sacramentary itself.

The order of Apostles in the ninth and tenth centuries is commonly that of the Roman Canon; or, very frequently, the order is not reducible either to it or to any of the lists in the New Testament. The influence of the order of Matthew (= of the *Stowe* diptychs) may still be traced, it would seem, in some cases¹. This order is found, however, exactly in the Rogation litanies of the *Manuale Ambrosianum*, a manuscript of the eleventh century; this seems to be the earliest Milanese attestation².

In concluding, in order to avoid misconception, so easy in dealing with things so vague and shadowy, I think it is well to add a few words by way of summing up the enquiry so far as it has yet gone. Subject to the production of further evidence or correction of oversights, I conceive of the case as follows. The Galba litany actually came to England from Rome about the last years of the seventh century, and was actually the starting-point for the English and Irish developements which have been reviewed. The Irish received this form of litany (that is the 'framework') from the English. At first it was a private devotion of individuals, and by and by probably of communities. If it in any way came to form part of the 'services' of secular priests or monks, this was as yet but in an informal manner, and it was far from having acquired a strictly 'liturgical' character even (I conceive) at the date of the Council of Cloveshoe. I think that the English and Irish were the propagators of such litany of the saints in the eighth century in Gaul and Germany. The subject of the Roman liturgy in Rome and outside Rome in the seventh and eighth centuries is still involved in obscurities; with patience and increasing knowledge a good deal may be done to

¹ See the litany in the 'Pontifical of St Dunstan' cited above p. 131 note 1 (but hardly that in the 'Pontifical of Egbert' p. 27); in a Fleury MS in Martene, lib. iii cap. 15 ordo i; in an important Poitiers Pontifical *ibid.* lib. iv cap. 24; in an Antiphonar described by Abbé Eugène Muller in an article entitled 'Antiphonaire du Mont-Renaud' in the *Bulletin du Comité archéol. de Noyon* (and separately Noyon, D. Andrieux, 1875, p. 21). All these are MSS of late ninth, or of the tenth, century. The order of the Roman Canon seems generally followed at this time in the litanies of the region Paris-Rheims.

² *Manuale Ambrosianum ex cod. saec. xi* ed. M. Magistretti (Milan, Hoepli, 1894), ii 247, 258 (and from a manuscript saec. xiii pp. 47, 129, 164). Some persons may perhaps be disposed to see here a trace of Milanese influence in Ireland; I should rather think of the influence of the Irish in Milan. But possibly the resemblance has another cause altogether.

clear these away. Meantime an attitude of reserve is the only one that is reasonable, in regard to the question whether the litany of saints was also developed by Rome herself, or whether it was received into her liturgy already developed from the Franks. My own present propension is sufficiently indicated; but doubtless it is in great measure due to general appreciations of the liturgy of Rome in its permanent characteristics as compared with the liturgies of other peoples or churches.

Lastly it may be well to revert to the fact already noticed that the litany of the Galba MS gives the actual framework of the Litany of the Saints found in the Roman liturgical books of the present day. This latter is an actual translation of the former so far as it extends, and the same order is preserved. Moreover, the Latin found in our Irish-English books, *Stowe* and 2 A xx, is verbally identical with the Latin of the present Roman books. It seems incredible that in rendering the Greek litany two independent translations should be so absolutely the same. This identity of the *Stowe* 2 A xx litany and the present Roman litany will appear further emphasized when the earliest history of the 'Litany' in the West is considered. Here, however, I will so far anticipate what has to be said by being beforehand with an idea that may occur to some reader of this paper: is the Greek of Galba A xviii an abridgement of some already existing Latin litany? So far as I can see at present there is no ground or evidence whatever in support of such a notion; rather the evidence runs quite counter to it.

Note A (see p. 124 *ante*).

The list in St Matthew is: 1 Peter, 2 Andrew, 3 James (Zebedaei), 4 John, 5 Philip, 6 Bartholomew, 7 Thomas, 8 Matthew, 9 James (Alphaei), 10 Thaddaeus, 11 Simon the Canaanite (St Luke's see in note 2 p. 124 *supra*).

The following enumerations seem derived from the Matthew order:

I *Stowe diptychs*: 1, Paul, 2 to 9, 11, 10, Matthias Mark Luke (+ Stephen).
 II *Stowe litany*: 1, Paul, 2, 3, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, Matthias Mark Luke. III 2 A xx litany: as I but Matthias Barnabas Mar. Lu. (+ Stephen). IV *Cerne prayer* 1 (p. 81), and 2 A xx f. 18^b (p. 208): as I but Matthias Barnabas. V *S. Gall MS* 1395 (Warren *Lit. and Rit.* p. 180): 1, Paul, 2 to 8, 11, 9, 10, Matthias Mar. Lu. (+ Stephen). VI *Cerne pr.* 71 (pp. 170-171): 1 to 9, 11, Matthias, 10 ('Iudas'). VII 2 A xx f. 47^a (p. 222): 1, Paul, 2 to 8, 10 ('Iudas Iacobi'), 11, Matthias Mar. Lu. (+ Steph.) (9 is omitted). VIII *Hymn attributed to Cummain the Tall* (*Ir. Lib. hymn.*, H. B. Soc., i 18-20, cf. ii 108): 1, Paul, 2 to 11, Matthias Mar. Lu. (+ Patrick Steph.). IX 2 A xx ff. 40^b-41^a (p. 218): 1 Paul, 2 to 11, Matthias.

The following cannot be reduced to any New Testament list:

X *Cerne pr.* 15 (pp. 104-105; and in De Gray Birch *Ancient Manuscr.* p. 59): 1, Paul, 4, 2, 'tres Iacobi', 5, 6, 7, 8, Barn. Matthias. XI *Cerne pr.* 68 (pp. 162-163), 1, 'Iacobus iustus', 2, 4, 3 ('altus clarus Iacobus'), 8, 7, 5, 6, 10 (Iudas), 11 (S. Zelot.), Paul. XII *Nomina apostolor.* (*Lib. hymn.* i 159, ii 52, 222): 11, Matthias, 8, 6, 7, 10, 1, 2, 5, Paul, 4, 3, 9 ('two Jameses'). XIII *Harl. MS* 7653

(*Ant. of Bangor*, H. B. Soc., ii 83: 1, Paul, 2, 3, 7, 4, 5, 6, 9, 8, 11, 10, John, Bapt. Mar. Lu.

The order of the Roman Canon (= 1, Paul, 2, 3, 4, 7, 9, 5, 6, 8, 11, 10) is found in XIV *Cerne pr.* 30, repeated 69 (pp. 128-129, 164-165). XV *Cerne pr.* 48 (p. 145); XVI *Cerne pr.* 29 (p. 127), also found substantially in *Harl. MS 7653* f. 4^a (*Ant. of Bang.* ii 85) but with order of apostles changed to 1, Paul, 2, 3, 4, 7, 6, 8, 5, 9, 11, 10. None of these has the additions Matthias, &c.

The diptychs of (XVII) the Mozarabic mass give the order in Acts i 13 (viz. 1, Paul, 4, 3, 2, 5, 7, 6, 8, 9, 11, 10 ('Iudas') with Matthias Mark Luke (ed. Lesley 225. 108-226. 4). XVIII The diptychs of the Church of Arles (Mabillon *de Liturg. Gall.* p. 44) give the same order with Matthias only added. At the beginning of the 'Acta Thomae' is a list of the apostles 1 to 9 + 11, 10 (but Simon is called 'the Canaanite', as in St Matthew, and Thaddaeus 'Iudas Iacobus' as in St Luke and Acts. Two other lists which might have been known in England and Ireland in the seventh century, that in the so-called Codex Fulde (Victor of Capua's MS) ed. Ranke, p. 332, and that in Gerbert *Mon.* i 453-454, shew quite other orders.

We have accordingly in authentic 'diptychs' three orders of apostles in use in the West: Irish, based on St Matthew; Mozarabic and Arles, based on Acts; Roman, not derived from Scripture. There is a gap: the Gallican is wanting, for it would be a gratuitous assumption, and unsafe, to treat the Arles diptychs as evidence for Gaul; they must rather be taken with the Mozarabic, and viewed as representing Hispano-Gothic practice. There is still a chance of recovering 'Gallican' order. M. Omont has found (see G. Schlumberger, *L'ivoire Barberini*, *Mém. et Doc. publiés par l'Acad. des Inscr.* Fondation Eugène Piot vii 1900, p. 88 seqq.), at the back of that wonderful ivory now at the Louvre, church 'diptychs' containing as many as 350 names coming down to the middle of the seventh century. Of course lists such as this must not be confused with those formal ecclesiastical documents of which the diptychs of *Stowe* and Arles are specimens; it is rather an anticipation of the *Liber vitae*, the volume, of later times, and is akin to the lists in the Sacramentary MS Ottobon 313 printed by M. Delisle (*Mém.* p. 374 seqq.). But as it seems to embody episcopal lists from the fourth century, it is just possible that the long list of names may be headed by patriarchs, prophets, apostles and such like categories of 'the well-pleasing' that have gone before, and that these may be among the names still legible. The list as a whole is seemingly *Austrasian*, and so affords the possibility of recovering an enumeration of apostles in formal ecclesiastical use in one of the 'Gallican' churches.

Finally, the order of apostles in the diptychs of St James, in all the MSS now in print, is identical with that of the *Stowe* diptychs + Matthias, Mark, Luke. I do not know how the case may stand in the recently discovered seventh- to eighth-century MS; but those in 'print' seem to cover ground from Thessalonica to Sinai and Lower Italy to Jerusalem. At the last moment a friend tells me (what is well to be added here *pro memoria*) that Mr F. C. Burkitt has a note on the order of the apostles' names in various documents, chiefly Syriac and Old Latin, in his *Evangelion Da-Mepharreshe* ii 270.

EDMUND BISHOP.

SYMMETRICAL REPETITIONS IN *LAMENTATIONS* CHAPTERS I AND II.

IN my critical translation of the Book of Isaiah (*Le Livre d'Isaïe*, which was the object of a very kindly notice in this JOURNAL, April, 1905, pp. 463, 464) I endeavoured to separate the poems contained in chapters xl and onwards, by means of the sense and the symmetry of the strophes. Certain words are symmetrically repeated in such wise that they form a kind of concentric setting (*inclusion*) for the whole poem, the repetitions occurring in the first and last strophe, in the second and second from the end, in the third and third from the end, and so on. No one will deny that an exact delimitation of these poems is very important, particularly with regard to the question of the Servant of Yahweh.

It may be useful, therefore, to adduce some clear and incontestable examples of this concentric form in entire poems. The examples I bring forward will be incontestable, (1) if the poems are already on other grounds clearly delimited, (2) if the symmetrical repetition occurs so frequently and so regularly in a poem, that it cannot be set down to mere chance or to a simple figure of rhetoric. These two conditions seem to me to be realized in chapters i and ii of the Lamentations. Here we have alphabetical poems, and consequently we can determine with certainty the beginning, the regular sequence, and the end of each poem.

In these two chapters, each of the sections marked by the letters of the alphabet forms one Massoretic verse and contains three metrical verses. The metrical verse is the *kinah verse* (first clearly pointed out by Dr K. Budde). Each section repeats one or more words of the corresponding section. Thus, the repetitions occur in sections א and ת (Massoretic verses 1 and 22), ב and ש (2 and 21), ג and ז (3 and 20), &c. The following list will make this clear:—

CHAPTER I.

1. א רבתי, in the first metrical verse.
22. ת רבות, in the last metrical verse.
2. ב אין לה מנחם . . . לאיבים
21. ש אין מנחם לי . . . איבי
3. ג המצרים, in the ninth metrical verse.
20. ז צר, in the ninth from the end.

4. ר בוצה, in the eleventh metrical verse.
 19. ק בוצי, in the eleventh from the end.

(The word כחן occurs nowhere else in this chapter.)

5. ה יהוה . . . הלכו שבי
 18. צ יהוה . . . הלכו בשבי

(The expression הלך בשבי does not occur elsewhere in this chapter.)

6. ו ציון
 17. ס ציון

7-9 and 14-16 are dealt with further on.

10. י פרש
 13. ס פרש
 11. כ ראה . . . הבימה
 12. ל הבימו וראו

(The verb הבימ is not found elsewhere in this chapter.)

CHAPTER II.

- | | |
|---|---|
| 1. א ביום אמו | 7. ז אויב . . . כיום |
| 22. ת ביום אף יהוה | 16. ס אויבך . . . חיום |
| 2. ב לא חמל . . . לארץ | 8. ח בת (ציון) |
| 21. ש לארץ . . . לא חמלת | 15. ס בת (ירושלם) (No special significance is to be attached to this repetition of בת, which occurs in almost every section.) |
| 3. ג אכלה | 9. ט נביאיה . . . חזון |
| 20. ר תאכלנה (The verb אכל nowhere else in this chapter.) | 14. נ נביאך חזו |
| 4. ד שפך | 10. י בת ציון . . . בתולת |
| 19. ק שפכי | 13. ס בתולת בת ציון |
| 5. ה אדני | 11. כ נשפך . . . בעטף . . . ברחבות |
| 18. צ אדני | 12. ל ברחבות . . . בשחמך |
| 6. ו יהוה | |
| 17. ע יהוה | |

The seventh verse of chap. i needs correction: the words כל מחמדיה אשר היו מימי קדם are regarded as a gloss by Budde, Löhr, Dyserinck, Baethgen, Minocchi, Sievers, &c. Moreover, v. 7 does not correspond with v. 16, nor v. 9 with v. 14; but γ^b does correspond with 14, especially if we complete, with Budde, the first member of the last metrical verse in 14, according to a very good reading of the LXX, which requires only a change of vowels: $\epsilon\nu\ \chi\epsilon\rho\sigma\acute{o}\nu\ \mu\omicron\upsilon\ \delta\acute{o}\upsilon\lambda\alpha\varsigma$ = צָרָה; read

צָר, *into the hands of the adversary*. Between 9^b and 16 the correspondence is very marked. Let us try a transposition:—

16 על אלה אני בוכיה	א ^a זכרה ירושלם ימי עניה []
עיני [] ירדה מים	9 ^b לא זכרה אחריתה
כי רחק ממני מנחם	ותרד פלאים
משיב נפשי	אין מנחם לה
היו בני שוממים	ראה יהוה את עניי
כי נבר אויב	כי הנדיל אויב

(In *vs.* 8 and 15 no important repetition.)

14 נשקר על פשעי	9 ^a טמאתה בשוליה . . .
בירו
ישראלנו עלו על צווארי	7 ^b בנפל עמה ביד צר
הכשיל כחי	ואין עוזר לה
נתנני אדני בדי [צר]	ראוה צרים
לא אוכל קום	שחקו על משבתה

The above transposition I give as probable for the following reasons: (1) it re-establishes perfectly the symmetry; (2) the gloss which now finds a place in *v.* 7 refers to *v.* 10 בל מחמדיה; it was probably inserted somewhere near, that is in the primitive ninth verse; (3) 7^a and 9^b hang well together as regards the sense (לא זכרה and זכרה); as also 7^b and 10 (ידו פרש צר 10, ביר צר . . . ראוה צרים 7^b).

I have purposely refrained from giving the name of strophes to the sections indicated by the letters of the alphabet, because each strophe contains several sections. For instance, in chap. i the division into strophes is as follows: (1) as regards the sense:—

1. *vs.* 1-3. Affliction of Sion.
2. *vs.* 4-6. Its priests, virgins, children, princes.
3. *vs.* 7-11. Triumph of its enemies.
4. *vs.* 12-16. Sion makes an appeal to the compassion of passers-by.
5. *vs.* 17-19. Sion remains unconsoled.
6. *vs.* 20-22. Sion addresses Yahweh.

In *vs.* 1-11 Sion is spoken of; in *vs.* 12-22 Sion is speaking¹.

¹ 'Verses 1-11 lament the sufferings which Jerusalem is now undergoing, while twice in the course of this portion (verses 9, 11) the city itself breaks out into a wail of distress, and thus leads up to the second division of the chapter, verses 12-22, where the city itself is the speaker.' A. W. Streane, 'Jeremiah and Lamentations' (*The Cambridge Bible for Schools*) p. 361.

(2) Symmetry of these strophes in the number of metrical verses:—

9, 9, 15, 15, 9, 9.

(3) Symmetry in repeated words:—

לֹא מִצָּאָה . . . רָדְפָהּ at the end of strophe 1.

לֹא מִצָּאוּ . . . רָדְפוּ at the end of strophe 2.

The expression הָשִׁיב נַפְשׁ is repeated at the end of the strophes 3, 4, and 5 (vv. 11, 16, 19). In the last strophe notice the *inclusion* יְהוָה (vv. 20, 22); and in the third, the *inclusion* רָאָה יְהוָה (vv. 9, 11), if the transposition be admitted.

According to the symmetry, as well as according to the sense, the alphabetical order v. 16 ע, v. 17 פ in chap. i, and v. 16 פ, v. 17 ע in chap. ii seems to be right. In chap. ii (not in chap. i) the concatenation is worth attention:—

ש. 1 and 2	אֲדֹנִי	ש. 12 and 13	}
2 and 3	יַעֲקֹב	13 and 14	
3 and 4	כָּאֵשׁ	14 and 15	
4 and 5	כְּאוֹיֵב	15 and 16	עֲלִיד . . . שָׂרִיקוּ
5 and 6	שָׁחַת	16 and 17	עֲלִיד . . . אוֹיֵב
6 and 7	מוֹעֵד	17 and 18	יוֹם
7 and 8	חוֹמַת	18 and 19	לַיְלָה
8 and 9	יְהוָה	19 and 20	עוֹלָלִים
9 and 10	אֶרֶץ	20 and 21	הָרֶג
10 and 11	לְאֶרֶץ	21 and 22	בְּיוֹם אֶף
11 and 12	בְּרַחֲבוֹת, עֵמָק, שַׁפְךְ		

These remarks, besides confirming the statements made with regard to Isa. xl ff, may perhaps throw some light on the origin of chapters i and ii of the Lamentations.

ALBERT CONDAMIN, S.J.

NOTE ON THE WORD עָבַר, GEN. XLIX 7.

How did this word come to mean 'wrath'? The verb עָבַר means 'to pass over', specially to pass over a river by a ford. Neither passing over a river by a ford, and passing over by a bridge, are very different modes of action. To pass by the bridge is to get across easily. To pass by the ford is often to push one's way strenuously. And in this latter sense, which, although inherent in the Hebrew stock עָבַר, has been largely lost sight of, chiefly no doubt owing to our Western ha-

of viewing the matter from an easy bridge-crossing and, so to speak, map-using standpoint.

The crossing of a ford can be watched from two points of view; from the near bank, whence the traveller's pushfulness and the current's power and danger are noted; and from the far bank, where the fact that he is over is the important point. So in the verb עבר and its derivatives, these two points of view are, sometimes together, sometimes the one more than the other, to be reckoned with. The instances in which the sense of 'passing over' is most in evidence have been sufficiently treated in the dictionaries. It remains to consider some instances in which the sense of 'pushing through' is predominant. See Isa. xliii 2, xlvii 2, Ezek. xlvii 5, and 2 Sam. xix 19 (where translate 'and the convoy crossed the ford'—but see Driver on suggested emendation).

The verb עבר then, while to the 'Hebrew' a word in general use of 'passing over', 'travelling across', was in a special sense connected with the imagery of the fording of a river. And, as the forder of many rivers remembers in especial those crossings which were most difficult, so this word, in certain connexions, came to carry with it the memory of the stress and peril of the crossing. And then, in no unnatural fashion, the word עבר was boldly transferred from the man at the ford to the river at the ford. See Isa. viii 7, 8 (here 'pass through' is certainly not strong or vivid enough: translate 'and he shall sweep onward into Judah—he overwhelms and rushes onward—even to the neck shall he reach'), Nah. i 8, Ps. xlii 8 (cf. ver. 7 מארץ ירדן), and Hab. iii 10 (translate 'they saw thee, they travailed, the mountains—a tempest of waters outgushed').

The thought of the overwhelming turmoil of the river in spate, gaining in strength and fury as one watches it, commended itself to the poets of old time; see Job xiii 13 ('irruat in me quidquid est calamitatis', Gesen.), Ps. lxxiii 7 (R.V. text is the merest paraphrase; cf. our phrase 'letting the thoughts run riot', and translate 'the imaginations of their heart rush on'), Ps. lxxxviii 17, Job xl 11 ('the full floods of thine anger'), and Hos. v 10.

When in contrast with אף, עברה appears to mean the sustained and continued outbursts of fury as against the first explosion of anger, and to be of the two the stronger word. See Hos. xiii 11, Amos i 11, and Ps. lxxviii 49.

To sum up then, while no doubt we must be content to render עברה by the English 'wrath', we shall do well to remember that it is a strong word with an interesting history; and that the secret of its strength is its close connexion with the mind-picture of a terrible river in ever-growing flood, threatening destruction to any that may attempt its passage.

H. W. SHEPPARD.

CHRONICLE

PATRISTICA.

Clemens Alexandrinus: Erster Band, Protrepticus und Paedagogus, herausgegeben im Auftrage der Kirchenväter-Commission der k. Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften. Von Dr OTTO STÄHLIN, Professor am k. Maxgymnasium in München [griech.-cl. Schriftsteller, Band 12]. (Leipzig; 1905.)

IN the end of 1794 the learned Johannes von Müller wrote to his brother telling him that he had just read the *Paedagogus* of Clement and advising him to do the same¹. The advice is as good now as it was then, and it is a pleasure to meet with such a masterly example as that of Dr Stählin in which to read it. As is well known, the study of Clement has been much hampered in recent times by the unfortunate edition of Dindorf which the Clarendon Press published in 1869. The present edition will be entirely superseded by the present, of which the first volume lies before us. Dr Stählin has been known to be working on Clement for a considerable time, and the generous way in which he has put his results at the disposal of Mr Barnard some years ago ought not to be forgotten by Englishmen. It is greatly to the profit of students of Clement that two such competent workers, who have been on the same ground, should compare their conclusions. The present edition of the *Protrepticus* and *Paedagogus* opens with an introduction in which the ancient *testimonia* to Clement are collected, the manuscripts of the works of Clement, as well as the MSS of extracts and the *apocrypha* described, the editions enumerated and characterized, and many translations indicated. The introduction, which fills eighty-three pages, deals with all these matters so minutely yet so clearly as to leave nothing to be desired. Many scholars are thanked for help given, such as Jackson, Weyman, Schwartz, Wilamowitz-Moellendorff among others, but especially Prof Joseph B. Mayor, whose critical notes on Clement are in *Philologus* and *The Classical Review* 'sind die wertvollsten Beiträge zur Textkritik unseres Autors, die seit der Ausgabe Sylburgs erschienen sind. Kein Herausgeber hat solche Mühe darauf verwendet, die

¹ See Professor J. E. B. Mayor's *Juvenal* vol. i p. xvi.

legenden Text zu verstehen oder zu verbessern wie er' (p. lxxxii). On page lxxiv the (Hort) Mayor edition of *Stromateis VII* is deservedly given the highest place as an introduction to the minute understanding of Clement. The manuscript tradition of the *Protrepticus* and *Paedagogus* is as follows: The archetype is Paris. graec. 451 (of date 914), a famous MS which once belonged to Arethas, Archbishop of Caesarea in Cappadocia, the former owner of the Clarkianus of Plato. From it are descended Mutinensis III D. 7 (126) (saec. x or xi) and Laurentianus 724 (s. xii), the latter of which contains the *Paedagogus* without the *Protrepticus*, Genuensis, Miss. Urb. 28, and Paris. Suppl. Graec. 254. Mutinensis, in its turn, has three existing descendants, Laurentianus 724, and Genuensis one. Of the four chief descendants of Paris. graec. 451 (P), which now lacks a considerable portion of the *Paedagogus*, the first and second are alone of consequence, because they alone were copied from P at a time when it was complete and had not been disfigured by corrections of the fourteenth or fifteenth century. The way to form the text, then, is to follow P where extant, and compare Laur. (F) and Mut. (M) where it is not. Of these two M is the more reliable; F has occasionally, however, better readings than P or M, which must have been obtained from some outside source. The important manuscripts, though three only in number, are good, and there is thus less necessity for emendation than in the case of the *Stromateis*, which depends entirely on one Florence MS which is very corrupt. Dr Stählin's text is provided with Sylburg's and Potter's pages in the margin, with very full *testimonia* and references to quotations, as well as with critical notes, some fifty pages of Greek *scholia* on the two treatises, and indexes of passages quoted, proper names and interesting words. This volume is a great advance on all previous editions, and it is doubtful whether it will ever be improved. It can be confidently recommended to all classical scholars, theologians, and students of ancient manners and customs, who will look forward to the appearance of the remaining volumes.

G. MERCATI I *Un Frammento delle Ipotiposi di Clemente Alessandrino.*

II *Paralipomena Ambrosiana con alcuni appunti sulle Benedizioni del Cerco Pasquale* (Studi e Testi 12). (Roma: Tipogr. Vatic.: 1904.)

If scholars had the offer of any single undiscovered ancient work bearing on the Canon of the New Testament, the *Hypotyposes* of Clement would probably be first favourite. Though we do not despair of such good fortune, we must for the present be content with the fragments which have appeared. The latest has been discovered by G. Mercati on the margin of Codex Vaticanus graecus 354 (f. 30)

(= S of the Gospels), opposite λεπρός (Matt. viii 2), and is introduced by the words Κλήμεντος ἐκ τῆς 5' τῶν ὑποτυπώσεων. It contains a legend on the healing of lepers by priests, and is in itself interesting enough, but its special importance arises from the fact that it contains a new *testimonium* for the Western text of the Gospels. The legend is to the effect that the priests were accustomed to cure lepers on fixed days by the power of God. On finding themselves unable to cure one of them after many attempts, they declared that the Messiah alone could cure him, and that he must wait for His coming. This cure the Saviour effected by the following command—ἄπελθε καὶ δείξον σεαυτὸν τοῖς ἱερεῦσιν εἰς μαρτύριον. The μαρτύριον is explained as evidence that the Messiah had really come, and that they must believe on Him, since the cure they prophesied had been effected by Him. This tradition is not known elsewhere in ancient literature, except for an implicit reference in St Ambrose's homilies on Luke. The origin of it is uncertain, though no doubt it came from some written authority. The fragment calls it παράδοσις. This gives Mgr Mercati a clue; he searches in the works of Clement for other examples of this expression, and finds in the *Stromateis* the phrases—καὶ Ματθίας ἐν ταῖς παραδόσεσι παραινῶν and λέγουσι δὲ ἐν ταῖς παραδόσεσι Ματθίαν τὸν ἀπόστολον . . . εἰρηκέναι, and in the *Hypotyposes* φέρεται μενοῦν ἐν ταῖς παραδόσεσιν, and finds that the term παράδοσις is used of apocryphal writings such as 'The Acts of John', and indicates the authority rather than the nature of the work referred to. To come to the question of the text. In the passage of Luke (v 14) εἰς μαρτύριον αὐτοῖς instead of εἰς μαρτύριον ὑμῶν read by the following authorities, *D a b c ff, l q* Tert. Ambr. Marcion and the Lewis Syriac. It is evident that the reading is older than the middle of the second century. The present passage points to what was very likely the original form in both Matthew and Luke, εἰς μαρτύριον simply. Mercati also prints three pages of interesting scholia from S. I must hurry over the remaining contents of this interesting volume. Under the title *Paralipomena Ambrosiana* we are presented with editions of two hymns of St Ambrose, one *On the Excellence of the Number Three*, the other on Easter, as well as an edition of a beautiful fragment—'de pudicitia et castitate'. The first hymn has appeared in editions of Alcuin and Hincmar, both of whom quote it entire. The second has not hitherto appeared in any edition of Ambrose, but is in the *Antiphonary of Bangor*. The fragment on chastity was rejected by the Benedictines, but may be genuine for all that. These three pieces are accompanied by notes and discussions shewing the brightness and learning which we expect from Mgr Mercati.

CARL SCHMIDT *Plotin's Stellung zum Gnosticismus und kirchlichen Christentum*: CARL SCHMIDT *Fragment einer Schrift des Märtyrer-Bischofs Petrus von Alexandrien*: OTTO STÄHLIN *Zur handschriftlichen Überlieferung des Clemens Alexandrinus*. (Leipzig, 1901.)

THIS part of *Texte und Untersuchungen* (N. F. v 4) consists of the above-mentioned three works, of which the first occupies ninety pages, the second fifty, and the third eight. The first hardly falls within the scope of the series as indicated by the title *Texte* etc., but forms a proper appendix to the edition of the Codex Brucianus in the eighth volume of the previous section of the series. It consists of a study of Plotinus πρὸς τοὺς Ἰνωσιτικούς, whom the author regards as an apologist of heathendom against Christianity, and against Gnosticism as closely connected with Christianity. I have neither space nor the necessary qualifications to criticize the author's treatment, but a perusal of the essay has convinced me that it is a very careful piece of work which merits the attention of all students of the philosophy and the Church history and literature of the third century. The second part is a Coptic text, found by the editor on two leaves of a Paris vellum codex (Cod. Copt. 130^b, fol. 123) of the tenth or eleventh century, which formerly belonged to the famous Schenoudi monastery. A German translation is provided for those who do not know Coptic. The work is a portion of a sermon, containing exhortations for the proper keeping of Sunday (κυριακή), curses on those who speak falsely of their neighbours, etc. The most interesting part is the following: 'Höret, auf dass ich erzähle euch, o du Rede liebendes Volk, eine merkwürdige Begebenheit, die zugestossen ist mir, dem Petrus, dem Mitteilhaber der Leiden Christi (1 Pet. iv 13, v 1). Ihr wisset, dass ich, als ich während langer Zeit floh von Ort zu Ort aus Furcht vor Diocletian und seiner Verfolgung, die auf uns (liegt) noch jetzt—, dass ich gegangen bin nach dem Süden Aegyptens, bis ich kam nach Oxyrynchos, d. i. Pemdje. Es nahmen mich auf die Kleriker u. s. w. . . .' Later he mentions that a τάξις of the βουλευτήριον came commanding him to elect a bishop in place of the deceased bishop of Oxyrhynchus . . . The whole fragment is full of interest, both for the method of election of bishops in Egypt and also for manners and customs. Schmidt rightly conjectures that the Peter intended is the martyr-bishop of Alexandria, and gives a detailed account of Diocletian's persecution in Egypt, at the same time shewing the extreme importance of the fragment. Stählin's short paper consists of notes on four MSS of Clement (Monac. graec. 97, Paris. Suppl. graec. 270, 421, and 1000). He shews that the *editio princeps* (of Petrus Victorius) was based on Laur. v 24 (= F) for the *Paedagogus* and on Monac. graec. 97 for the *Protrepticus*, also that the latter MS is derived from M (Mutinensis) corrected. Of the three Paris MSS he enumerates the contents more

minutely than Harnack in the *Altchr. Literatur*, and shews that the worthless for the text :—a useful piece of work.

Origenes' Johanneskommentar, herausgegeben im Auftrage der Kirchenväter-Commission der königl. Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften. Von Lic. Dr Erwin Preuschen in Darmstadt [Griechistl. Schriftsteller, Band 10, Werke des Origenes, Band (Leipzig, 1903.)

THE Berlin edition of Origen moves apace. Within five years *Exhortation to Martyrdom*, the *Against Celsus*, *On Prayer*, *Homilies on Jeremiah*, *Commentaries on Lamentations*, *Samuel*, *Kings*, and now *Commentary on St John's Gospel*, have appeared. The Commentary on St John is the longest of Origen's commentaries which we have in original Greek, and it was critically edited by Mr A. E. Brooke in 1891 (Cambridge: University Press). It seems rather a pity that an arrangement should not have been come to with the Cambridge edition for the re-issue of that edition with any modifications that might have been thought desirable in the interest of this new series. Mr Brooke's handy edition costs about ten shillings less than Dr Preuschen's; the latter is in some respects an advance upon the former, e.g. it has an index of words extending to fifty-seven three-columned pages. The introduction is in two parts, one on the MSS, the other literary and historical. There are only eight MSS known, the oldest of the thirteenth (?) century. So it is obvious at once that the editor's task will be no sinecure. The eight MSS group themselves thus :—(Class I) Monacensis graecus 191 (saec. xiii) with Barberinus (now Vaticanus) gr. VI 14 (s. xv), Paris. gr. 455 (s. xvi), and A Vatopedinus 611 (s. xv)¹, which are descended from it; and (Class II) Venetus No. 43 (s. xiv) with its descendants Barberinus (now Vaticanus) gr. V 52 (s. xv), Matritensis O. 32 (s. xvi), and Bodleian gr. Misc. 58 (s. xvii). The problem is, then, to shew the relationship between M and V. Dr Preuschen, after Mr Brooke, proves that V is itself a copy of M, and that the undoubted improvements in V are due to the learning of some scholar, perhaps the scribe of that MS who wrote in the year 1374. This scholar altered some of the biblical quotations to the form which he approved; for example, 1 John 1:1 which Origen read there as B does, he altered into the reading of A. Dr Preuschen gives a most interesting classified collection of mistakes in M, which is bound to be of use to editors of Greek in general (pp. xlv-lvii), and then an account of the printed editions of the book from the *editio princeps* of Huet, bishop of Avranches,

¹ The last not certainly. Only one or two notes have been taken of it, but it was not among the MSS examined by Mr Lake in 1899.

to the edition of Mr Brooke, the value of whose work is everywhere acknowledged by him. A chapter on the *catenae* follows; they are numerous, and some of the MSS are as old as the ninth century. The editor has taken the trouble to classify them, and gives two *stemmata codicum*, which ought to be valuable in the interests of other authors also, such as Chrysostom. The literary and historical introduction is occupied with the following subjects—the occasion, date and place of the Commentary, the exegesis of Origen and its sources, the biblical texts of Origen, and Heracleon and his notes on St John's Gospel. The Commentary was written at the instance of his 'taskmaster', the rich Ambrosius. It seems certain that this man, who provided Origen with secretaries and shorthand-writers, paid him for his work. The first five books were written and the sixth begun in Alexandria, before the quarrel with Demetrius drove Origen in flight to Caesarea in Palestine in the year 231. The rest of the work was written after 232. The date of composition of the first book was probably 218–219, and the second to the fifth were written at intervals during the next ten years. The work was never completed, and does not go beyond the thirteenth chapter of St John. Origen's method is exhaustive, going minutely into the exact signification of each word, and marked a great advance on anything that had been done before his date. He does not conceal the differences between the various Gospel accounts, and does not attempt to reconcile them. He is careful of the grammatical and historical interpretation, and he visited some sites of the Gospels to arrive at certainty between opposing views. But withal he employs the traditional allegorical method. The form of Origen's citations from Scripture is such a large subject that it cannot be treated in the thirteen pages which Preuschen has devoted to it. Nevertheless, these pages are of great value. They contain, amongst others, the important principle: 'where Origen marks a citation as word for word, it is with few exceptions accurately cited.' Some light is also thrown on the method of Origen's stenographers. To them quotations appear to have been left, and sometimes they have been neglectful (cf. p. lxxxix). A special object of Origen's Commentary was to quote and refute interpretations of the Gnostic Heracleon, and he has thus rescued an interesting monument which would otherwise have perished.

The text itself is the result of three collations of the Munich MS, which is very difficult to read. In spite of his care Dr Koetschau is not satisfied with the reports of its readings, and has published, under the title of *Beiträge zur Text-Kritik von Origenes' Johannescommentar* (*Texte und Untersuchungen*, N. F. xiii 2), a number of corrections as well as a number of interesting notes on the text, which will be valued as coming from so great an authority on Origen. Whether Preuschen

or Koetschau is right can be decided only by inspection of the MS if at all. Readers of Preuschen are recommended to spend three shillings more on Koetschau. The apparatus of Preuschen is enriched by valuable notes from Wendland and Wilamowitz, and the book is highly to be recommended. There are misprints on pp. xxxii, cii, 45.

X DANIEL SERRUYS *Anastasiana*. I. Antiquorum patrum doctrina de Verbi incarnatione; II. Les Signes critiques d'Origène; III. I Stichométrie de l'Ancien et du Nouveau Testament. (Extrait de *Mélanges d'Archéologie et d'Histoire*, publiés par l'École française de Rome, T. xxii. Rome, Cuggiani; 1902. 53 pp. and two photographs of MS leaves.)

THE present work, as the title indicates, is in three parts, of which the first is the longest, and demands most of our attention. In 1821 Angelo Mai published, in the seventh volume of his *Scriptorum Veterum Nova Collectio*, portions of a work to which he gave the Latin title quoted above. The work is, however, in Greek, was referred to repeatedly while still in MS by Sirmond, Muratori, and other eminent patristic scholars, and is of considerable importance. Though it contains many patristic extracts and Monophysite fragments, it has not yet been published complete. The collection has been attributed to various authors: to Anastasius the priest (Sirmond, Hardouin, Muratori), to Anastasius of Sinai (Lequien), and to Sophronius of Jerusalem (Loofs). The last named scholar has alone published a serious study of the work. M. Serruys has been able to add to the three manuscripts already known a fourth which exceeds them in importance. Mai used the Vaticano-Columnensis (Vaticanus 2200, Columnensis 39) of the ninth century and the Vaticanus 1102 of the fifteenth century, but rather carelessly. The third MS, which was not used by Mai, has had a chequered history. Once the property of the Jesuit College of Clermont, where it was seen by Labbe, Sirmond, and others, it passed through the hands of Meerman and now rests in the Bodleian (gr. misc. 184). M. Serruys states that it passed into the Bodleian through Sir Thomas Phillipps's hands, like the Meerman collection now at Berlin. This is not so. It was bought at the Meerman sale in 1824 by Dr Gaisford for the Bodleian, where it has been ever since. The fourth and best manuscript belongs to Vatopedi (Athos), where it bears the number 507 (saec. xi-xii). From its special characteristics M. Serruys has been able to prove that the author of the *Λόγοι πατέρων ἡγουν ἐκλογὴ χρήσεων δι' ὃν τὴν ὅλην τῆς ἀποστολικῆς ἐκκλησίας δόξαν σαφῶς διδασκόμεθα*, as the Greek title has it, is Anastasius Sinaita, Patriarch of Antioch. We are furnished with many extracts of interest from the MSS, some published by Mai and now published much more correctly, while others appear for the first time in print. These e

tracts are indispensable to all students of this work, and we hope they may lead to a satisfactory edition of the whole. Amongst the writers quoted are Cyril (on Hebrews), Apollinaris, Severus, Ebion, Paul of Samosata, and Nestorius. The second part of M. Serruys' work has reference to the critical signs used by Origen in his *Hexapla*. To the testimony of Epiphanius and Isidore of Seville he adds a third from the thirty-second chapter of Anastasius's book of extracts. This extract is in agreement with the known evidence as to the asterisk and obelus, and clears up the obscurity of our accounts of the lemniscus and hypolemniscus by the following definitions:—(1) ὁ λιμνίσκος δηλοῖ ὡς μία συζυγὴ δύο τῶν ἑρμηνευτῶν ἰδιῶ τινα εἶπον ἢ ἐνηλλαγμένως ἔθηκαν τὸ ῥητόν; (2) ὁ ὑπολιμνίσκος δὲ καὶ οὗτος δηλοῖ ἐγκείμενος ὡς μία συζυγὴ τῶν ἑρμηνευτῶν παραλλαγμένως τὴν λέξιν εἶπεν. In other words, both names indicate alterations made by a group of two translators; but while the former refers to alterations which affect the thought, the latter has to do only with those which affect the expression. Further, the alterations of the former class have been made either by the translators themselves personally, or have been got from manuscript sources. M. Serruys deserves to be congratulated on his discovery. The third part of the treatise contains a new stichometry from the Vatopedi codex. For purposes of comparison the author has drawn on Mr C. H. Turner's *Freising Stichometry* (see *J. T. S.* ii (1901) p. 236 ff) and others, and printed a number of them in parallel columns. The list, which comprises all the books of Scripture, contains also some patristic works; for example, 'The Life of Antony'. The numbers do not harmonize entirely with any known list, but there is a more serious difference in the order of the books of the Old Testament. The major prophets, the minor prophets, and the books of Solomon, Esther, Tobit, and Judith are found in an unexpected order. For instance, the minor prophets come after the major. The significance of these facts may become clear later.

GIOVANNI MERCATI *Un preteso Scritto di San Pietro, Vescovo d'Alessandria e martire, sulla Bestemmia e Filone l'istoriografo.* (Estratto dalla *Rivista Storico-Critica delle Scienze Teologiche*, Anno I, Fasc. iii Roma (1905), pp. 21.)

THE *Reliquiae Sacrae* of the veteran President of Magdalen remains a standard work after half a century. What is now required is that scholars should revise it in the light of our vastly increased manuscript sources. Routh had often to depend on few manuscripts, and of these the collations made for him by friends were not always exact. One of the best examples of the modern advance on Routh is to be found in Mr Gregg's restoration of Origen's Commentary on *Ephesians*, published some years ago in this JOURNAL. Another is the above-named tractate,

one of the most recent contributions of the indefatigable Monsignor Mercati to the study of early Church literature. A fragment on Blasphemy, purporting to be by the martyr-bishop Peter of Alexandria, was first edited from some *scholia* on the margin of a Paris (Coisl. 268, saec. xiv) manuscript. Routh doubted the attribution, and his doubts are shared by Bardenhewer and Bonwetsch. A new complexion was put upon the question by the publication in 1891 of a new work of Anastasius of Sinai, entitled *κεφάλαια διάφορα καὶ πᾶν ὠφέλιμα*, from a Jerusalem MS of the ninth century (Sabbaitic. 408). It was edited by Papadopoulos Kerameus, a prolific scholar, and contains the Peter fragment. This little work of Anastasius is preserved in other MSS as well—Barocc. (saec. xi), Mosq. 416 ($\frac{378}{ccccv}$) (saec. xiii), Angelic. graec. 52 (saec. xi), Iveron on Athos (saec. xvi), Barber. gr. 522 (V, 18) (saec. xi-xii), Vat. gr. 662 (saec. xiii). The Barberini MS gives the work without the author's name; the others attribute it to Anastasius, but with various titles. Mercati describes the MSS and discusses the differences of title, and the character of the work. He then gives a revised text of the last part of the little treatise, containing the Peter fragment, with variants from the Jerusalem, Vatican, Coisl. and Anglican MSS. From this passage it appears that our fragment is quoted by Anastasius from a book of Philo the historian (*Φίλων ὁ ἱστοριογράφος*) in which Peter was represented as *speaking* the words of the fragment to one of the fathers from Scetis, who was disputing with him. It is natural to suspect from the evidence now before us that the words are really apocryphal; all the more as, in this speech, Peter himself quotes a certain servant of God and confessor Pafnutius, and another saint named Pambo. Having shewn the slender basis on which the fragment really rests, Mercati goes on to discuss the reference to Philo the historian. His conclusion is that the notice about Peter has no historical value. As Peter died in 311 and the historical Pambo about 373-379, it will readily be seen that the statements break down in chronology. Space will not allow us to follow Dr Mercati through the special discussion of Philo and Anastasius, the former of whom is identified as a scholiast with the bishop of Carpasia (Cyprus), who died in 393-394, or through his edition of a second portion of Anastasius, this time from the *De Dignitate Sacerdotali*, which contains a quotation from 'the ecclesiastical history of Philo the philosopher'. This short work is an example of the best kind of destructive criticism, full of learning and insight.

Le Latin de saint Cyprien: par l'abbé L. BAYARD (Paris: Hachette 1902). The first sight of this substantial work of some four hundred

and fifty octavo pages raised the question of the reason for its existence. Professor E. W. Watson's work, *The Style and Language of St. Cyprian*, is perhaps the most perfect work of its kind, and little has been done since it was published (1896) to increase our knowledge of Cyprian's latinity. But a little reflexion will shew that there is a *raison d'être* for Dr Bayard's work. Mr Watson's study cannot be obtained separately, but only as a part of the fourth volume of the Oxford *Studia Biblica et Ecclesiastica*, which contains much matter of a diverse character. Premising that I think Dr Bayard might have made a reference to Mr Watson's work in the 'Avant-propos' as well as elsewhere (for example, p. xii, n. 3), seeing it was published three years before he himself began to work on Cyprian, I may go on to discuss the book itself. The preface, which contains acknowledgements to Goelzer, Martha, and a MS study of Cyprian by M. Noël Valois, is followed by a bibliographical index of works mainly connected with Latin syntax. The following improvements can be made:—the date of Hartel's Cyprian is not '1871', but '1868-1871'; Dombart's, and not Ludwig's, edition of Commodian should have been referred to; the date of Monceaux's *Tertullien et les origines* is 1901, not 1902; the third edition of Neue's *Formenlehre* as far as published, and not the 1875 edition, should have been used; trouble would have been saved by using the collected articles of Paucker (A-L) and Benoist-Goelzer's *Dictionnaire* instead of two separate articles: for 'Woodam' read 'Woodham' (as on p. xxxv), and for 'Rivingstons' read 'Rivingtons'. The bibliography, though good, is in some respects peculiar. In the introduction Dr Bayard discusses amongst other matters the authenticity of the *Quod Idola*, which he regards as genuine and as the earliest work of Cyprian, being a compilation from Tertullian *Apol.* and Minucius Felix. There is a looseness about some of the remarks in this introduction, which is disappointing. 'Saint Cyprien est un Africain' (p. xiv): what does he mean by 'African'? Is it 'a native of Africa' or 'a Carthaginian Semite' or 'an aboriginal'? And how inexact is the following statement: 'l'empereur Septime-Sévère [i.e. Punic] parlait bien, au commencement du même siècle [as Cyprian], et saint Augustin un siècle après.' We have no evidence that Augustine spoke the language well, though it is true he once or twice quotes a Punic word in his writings. Other topics of the introduction, well treated, are the education and authenticity and date of the several writings of Cyprian. The book proper is divided into three parts—Phonétique, Sémantique, and Style. The first part is subdivided into four books—Orthographe et Prononciation, Dérivation, Composition, and Flexion; the second into two books—Vocabulaire and Syntaxe; the third consists of an introduction, and two chapters on 'Les procédés d'école' and 'La personnalité de l'écrivain'. The book ends with

'Conclusions générales'. This method of subdivision is clear and good, and as the work is provided with a good index, it is easy to use. I think it premature to discuss the orthography and pronunciation of Cyprian's Latin, because we have yet to receive exact reports of the orthography of the best MSS, and when we have received them it will be necessary to find out which, if any, represent the actual orthography of Cyprian. Many of Dr Bayard's results may have to be discounted. For example, it seems certain that *ingemesco* (p. 3), *linimenta*, *calciare* (p. 4) are the correct spellings for all authors: *spiritualis* is probably not older than the eleventh or twelfth century A.D.; it was hardly necessary to mention *tentare*, as *templare* and *temlare* are the only good spellings; on *affluere* (p. 13) reference should have been made to Nettle-ship's classical article in *Contributions to Latin Lexicography*. On pp. 18 and 21 the author begs the question as to the date of the Latin Irenaeus, apparently never having heard of the view, held by Hort and others, that the translation was made in the fourth century. When discussing words in *-bundus* he might have mentioned Livy's fondness for such words. It would be easy to add parallel citations from other authors to those which the author has given, but space forbids. The 'semantic' part of the book is excellent and ought to be most useful to those beginning the study of the later Latin authors. In the discussion of the equivalence of *hic* and *is* (p. 132), account ought to have been taken of the forms *hii* and *hiis* in MSS. It is time some one told us whether these forms are wrong or right, whether they are for *hi* and *his* or for *ii* and *iis*. Twenty-one pages are devoted to the prepositions, a part of the subject intentionally omitted by Mr Watson. The words *remissa* (plur.) and *Salanas* (p. 202) should have been mentioned: in the index s.v. *remissa* correct 197 to 190. The syntactical part is excellent. I should call special attention to the part dealing with *quod*, *quia*, and *quoniam* after verbs of statement. The portion on the personality of Cyprian is able and interesting. The proposed emendations in the text are based on a minute knowledge of the author's style and merit attention. Space forbids detailed reference to these and to misprints I have noticed.

Die Cyprianische Briefsammlung; Geschichte ihrer Entstehung und Überlieferung: von HANS FREIHERR VON SODEN. (Leipzig: 1904.)

IT is a pleasure to welcome this part of *Texte und Untersuchungen*. It is the work of a very young man, whose father and grandfather are living scholars of repute, and shews qualities from which we may expect further valuable contributions to theology in the future. The main purpose of the book is to examine all the MSS of Cyprian in existence, with special reference to the order in which the epistles are given

by them, so as to discover the precise stages in the growth of the collection, the chronological order of the letters, and the authorities likely to be most valuable in the effort to arrive at their true text. The author has visited many libraries in connexion with the forthcoming Greek New Testament of his father, and has examined all Cyprianic MSS which came within his reach; about others he has received reports from the never-failing courtesy of librarians. It is not too much to say that, next to the biblical MSS themselves, it is of importance that we should know accurately what Cyprianic MSS have to tell us, and this work of von Soden's must form the basis of any future edition of Cyprian. (It is no disparagement to Hartel to say that the lapse of thirty-four years has shewn the necessity for a new edition.) The greater part of the book is taken up with the detailed classification of MSS according to their contents, and the disentanglement of various archetypes. The results cannot be described here. Further valuable features of the book are the collection of ancient *testimonia* to Cyprian's letters, a description of the contents of all the printed editions, notes on the manuscript tradition of the *libelli*, lists of MSS of the *spuria*, mention of MSS not properly Cyprianic, which yet contain works of Cyprian, a list of manuscript translations and commentaries on Cyprian's works, a bibliography of Cyprian with 120 items (eight to the credit of Mr Turner), lists of the MSS of Cyprian arranged according to countries, etc., and three larger tables, in which the contents of MSS are made evident at a glance. A few notes may not be out of place: the Rylands MS (pp. 153 f, 250, etc.) is actually of the eighth century; at least one of the Bodleian (Bodleian, p. 250) MSS (Laud 105) is dated too low (p. 62); it is of interest that the Bodleian MS of Augustine *De Baptismo contra Donatistas* (Laud. 130, saec. x) often offers a text agreeing with the *sententiae episcoporum* as they are given by Cyprian against the Benedictine text of Augustine which Hartel quotes (p. 179 f); add to the MSS of the *De singularitate clericorum* known to Harnack and von Soden, Reims 369 (saec. ix) and 374 (saec. x), both of which attribute it to Origen (p. 224); no. 26 of the bibliography should be struck out, as it has reference to Question 102 of Ambrosiaster (p. 242); Smith made a catalogue only of the Caius College Library, not of all the Cambridge College Libraries, and its lack of dates will be remedied in the forthcoming scientific catalogue of Dr M. R. James (p. 250, n. 1); for 'Middlehill' read 'Thirlestaine House' (p. 250); there is, I believe, only one Manchester MS of Cyprian, the Rylands (formerly Crawford) MS (saec. viii), and Mr Guppy is not Lord Crawford's librarian (p. 250); for 'Auranches' read 'Avranches' (pp. 251, 257). This work is indispensable to every serious student of Cyprian, and I would re-echo the author's wish that its publication may lead to the desirable and possible new edition of Cyprian,

where the readings of archetypes, as in Lindsay's edition of Martial, and not those of individual MSS, shall be quoted.

An Hippolytus Fragment and a Word on the 'Tractatus Origenis', by
DOM E. C. BUTLER, O.S.B. (reprinted from *Zeitschr. f. d. neuest.
Wissenschaft* IV (1903), pp. 79-87).

DOM BUTLER has made several contributions to the question of the authorship of the so-called *Tractatus Origenis*, which Mgr Batiffol published some years ago, the most considerable of them being the masterly article which appeared in the last number of this JOURNAL. I cannot help thinking that if half the time and trouble devoted to a discussion of this collection had been devoted to one of Origen's genuine commentaries, it would have been better employed. It is strange how some scholars seem blind to literature already printed, while they rush eagerly to discuss the latest *anecdote*. Dom Butler cannot be accused of this unhealthy excitement, and in my opinion has taken the correct view of this collection, that it is a compilation of the fifth century. It recalls the discussion about a commentary on the Gospels which was confidently attributed to Theophilus of Antioch till a MS was discovered which proved it to be a compilation of the seventh century (see the interesting account by Dr Sanday in *Studia Biblica* vol. i). In the above-named paper Dom Butler examines Tractate XI in the most skilful manner. It is an allegorical treatment of the story of the spies sent to the Promised Land (Num. xiii 24), and is almost identical with a homily of Caesarius discovered by Dom Morin, the editor of the forthcoming Vienna edition of that writer. Dom Butler, with practical certainty, considers Hippolytus to have been the ultimate source from which both (as well as Maximus of Turin) drew this elaborate allegorical interpretation. In the same paper also he prints passages from Tract. III and Origen-Rufinus Hom. VII in Gen., which prove conclusively that the latter was a source of the former¹. I cannot do better than quote Dom Butler's opinion of the collection: 'though the new *Tractatus Origenis* probably contain embedded in them morsels of interesting old material, still in their extant form they must be regarded as the handiwork of an unknown compiler or redactor, who probably made use of some remains of Origen and Hippolytus, and certainly pillaged freely the writings of Tertullian, Minucius Felix, Novatian, the *de Bono Pudicitiae*, Hilary, Rufinus, and probably others' (amongst them Gaudentius of Brescia, as Morin has shewn). I think it probable that the compilation was made in Gaul.

¹ Cf. *J. T. S.* vol. ii (Oct. 1900).

Die Theologie der neuentdeckten Predigten Novatians; eine dogmengeschichtliche Untersuchung, von HERMANN JORDAN, Lic. Theol. (Leipzig: Deichert. 1902.)

It is unnecessary that much should be said here of this work, in view of the fact that Dom Butler in the last number of the JOURNAL has made known its characteristics at sufficient length. The author, a pupil of Haussleiter, can hardly be blamed for adopting the Weyman-Zahn-Haussleiter hypothesis that the *Tractatus Origenis* is a work of Novatian; but believing as I do in Dom Butler's view of the character of that compilation, it seems to me unfortunate that the author should have rushed into print so soon with a work of the above title. His aim is to expound the theology of Novatian from that author's works (including the new *Tractatus*). In as far as his book deals with those works which all allow to be by Novatian, it lacks neither interest nor usefulness. The introduction of seventy pages, comprising an account of all that was written on the homilies up to the time of publication and an epitome of the contents of each homily, with an enumeration of sources, is of great service. The rest of the book (pp. 71-224), in which the theology is treated in detail, will be valuable to the student of the theology of the Latin Church. It is divided up into six chapters, with the following subjects—God, Christ, the Spirit, the Trinity, the Relation of the Homilies to the Fundamental Ideas of the Novatian Schism, and the Parallels with Earlier Christian Literature, etc. This part of the work must have cost great trouble, for it is carried out with thoroughness. It is only occasionally that the author is uncritical, as, for example, when he ejects as interpolations those passages in which *ingenitus* (unborn) occurs, because Novatian in the admitted works uses only the other word *inogenitus* (inborn) (pp. 54 ff, 77). The fifth and sixth chapters are, as might be expected, the weakest. The sixth contains an interesting list of parallels between the homilies and (the Latin) Origen's homilies on Genesis, etc., Hippolytus, and others. An excursus gives a list of those scripture passages quoted both by Novatian and by the homilies. Jordan (p. 12) is sure that the biblical citations prove identity of authorship; Ammundsen is sure they do not. This very important question must be left to others (see the above paper of Dom Butler, p. 87 note, whose examination of a number of texts leads him to agree with Ammundsen). A new edition of the homilies, with the sources indicated, would be a benefit.

A. SOUTER.

RECENT PERIODICALS RELATING TO THEOLOGICAL STUDIES

(1) ENGLISH.

Church Quarterly Review, July 1905 (Vol. lx, No. 120: Spottiswoode & Co.). George Ridding, first Bishop of Southwell—The Approach to Modern England—Church of Ireland Finance—The Christian Society: III The earliest Christian Community—'Memorials of Edward Burne-Jones'—The Church in Newfoundland—Henry Parry Liddon—The Fourth Gospel: II The internal evidence—Short Notices—Index of Articles to vols. i–lix (continued).

The Hibbert Journal, July 1905 (Vol. iii, No. 4: Williams & Norgate). C. G. MONTEFIORE Impressions of Christianity from the points of view of the non-Christian religions: I The synoptic Gospels and the Jewish consciousness—G. M. TREVELYAN Should Agnostics be miserable?—J. MOFFATT Mr Meredith on Religion—A. C. M'GIFFERT The God of Spinoza as interpreted by Herder—J. A. HUTTON Is the Age of Faith returning?—J. McCABE Sir Oliver Lodge on Haeckel—H. WALKER The Birth of a Soul—T. S. RÖRDAM What was the lost end of Mark's Gospel?—B. USSHER The teaching of the Christian Religion in public schools: a plea for reform—Discussions—Reviews—Bibliography of recent literature.

The Jewish Quarterly Review, July 1905 (Vol. xvii, No. 68: Macmillan & Co.). R. GOTTHEIL Some Hebrew MSS in Cairo (*with two facsimiles*)—D. PHILIPSON The Rabbinical conferences 1844–1846—G. MARGOLIOUTH Gleanings from the Yemenite Liturgy—H. HIRSCHFELD The Arabic portion of the Cairo Genizah at Cambridge (10th art.)—J. H. A. HART Philo of Alexandria—I. FRIEDLAENDER The Arabic original of the Report of R. Nathan Hababli—M. N. ADLER The Itinerary of Benjamin of Tudela (continued)—S. A. COOK Notes on Old Testament History—Critical Notices—Bibliography of Hebraica and Judaica.

The Expositor, July 1905 (Sixth Series, No. 67: Hodder & Stoughton). G. A. SMITH Isaiah's Jerusalem—W. O. E. OESTERLEY The study of the synoptic Gospels exemplified by Matthew v 21, 22—

A. R. EAGAR The greater sin: a note on St John xix 11—F. W. LEWIS The suffering of God—J. CHAPMAN The original contents of Codex Bezae—B. WHITEFOORD New Testament teaching on lawlessness—G. JACKSON The ethics of speech in the teaching of St Paul—J. MOFFATT Literary illustrations of the Book of Daniel.

August 1905 (Sixth Series, No. 68). W. M. RAMSAY The worship of the Virgin Mary at Ephesus—G. MILLIGAN The eschatology of 2 Thessalonians ii 12—J. CHAPMAN The earliest New Testament—W. H. BENNETT The Life of Christ according to St Mark—M. KAUFFMANN Is the New Testament teaching optimistic?—W. M. F. PETRIE The census of the Israelites—A. CARR The meaning of 'Hatred' in the New Testament.

September 1905 (Sixth Series, No. 69). J. RENDEL HARRIS 'Spoken by Jeremy the prophet'—J. H. BERNARD Authority and Infallibility—G. JACKSON Asceticism true and false in the ethical teaching of St Paul—W. M. RAMSAY Iconium—G. A. SMITH Sennacherib and Jerusalem—C. A. SCOTT 'The sufferings of Christ' 1 Peter i 11—W. M. F. PETRIE Note on 'the census of the Israelites.'

(2) AMERICAN.

The American Journal of Theology, July 1905 (Vol. ix, No. 3: Chicago University Press). E. KÖNIG The latest phase of the controversy over Babylon and the Bible—C. H. HASKINS The sources for the history of the Papal Penitentiary—B. W. BACON Jesus' Voice from heaven—I. W. RILEY The rise of Deism in Yale College—E. J. GOODSPEED The original conclusion of the Gospel of Mark—A. S. CARMAN Philo's doctrine of the Divine Father and the Virgin Mother—E. B. NESTLE The Septuagint rendering of Gen. iv 1—E. B. NESTLE Chrysostom on the life of John the Apostle—Recent Theological Literature.

The Princeton Theological Review, July 1905 (Vol. iii, No. 3: Philadelphia, MacCalla & Co.). J. D. DAVIS The nineteenth Psalm in the criticism of the nineteenth century—E. D. WARFIELD John Knox, reformer of a kingdom—J. A. KELSO The code of Hammurabi and the Book of the Covenant—T. W. HUNT The elements of Shakespeare's genius—R. D. WILSON Royal Titles in Antiquity: an essay in criticism (5th art.)—T. F. FOTHERINGHAM 'The doctrine of Baptism (1st art.)—J. S. DENNIS Education as a national asset of Japan.

(3) FRENCH AND BELGIAN.

Revue Bénédictine, July 1905 (Vol. xxii, No. 3: Abbaye de Maredsous). G. MORIN Fragments inédits et jusqu'à présent uniques

d'antiphonaire gallican—J. CHAPMAN Le témoignage de Jean le Presbytre au sujet de S. Marc et de S. Luc—U. BERLIÈRE Les chapitres généraux de l'ordre de Saint-Benoît. Notes supplémentaires—RENÉ ANCEL La question de Sienna et la politique du Cardinal Carlo Carafa (*fin*)—H. LECLERCQ Mélanges d'épigraphie chrétienne—U. BERLIÈRE Bulletin d'histoire bénédictine—Bibliographie.

Revue Biblique, July 1905 (Nouvelle série, 2^e année, No. 3: Paris, V. Lecoffre). WEHRLE De la nature du dogme—CUQ Le mariage à Babylone—SCHEIL Documents archaïques en écriture proto-élamite—Mélanges: L. DELAPORTE Fragments thébains du Nouveau Testament; A. VAN HOONACKER Un nom grec ("ΑΔΗΣ) dans le livre de Jonas (II 7); J. PLANÈS Noms des plantes recueillies en Arabie Pétrée et dans le pays de Moab; J. DISSARD Les migrations et les vicissitudes de la tribu des 'Amer—R. SAVIGNAC Découverte d'une statue à Ascalon; M. ABEL Fouilles anglaises de Gézer—Recensions—Bulletin.

Revue d'Histoire et de Littérature Religieuses, July-August 1905 (Vol. x, No. 4: Paris, 74, Boulevard Saint-Germain). A. LOISY Pardon divin—C. COCHIN Recherches sur Stefano Colonna; article—J. LABOURT Le patriarche Timothée et les Nestoriens sous les Abbasides—P. LEJAY Ancienne philologie chrétienne, Ouvrage généraux et ouvrages d'ensemble: (5) Avant Nicée; (6) L'Église nestorienne d'Orient; (7) Après Nicée—J. DALBERT Littérature religieuse moderne.

Revue d'Histoire Ecclésiastique, July 1905 (Vol. vi, No. 3: Louvain, 40, Rue de Namur). L. SALTET Les sources de l'Επαριστής de Théodoret (*suite, à suivre*)—M. VAES La Papauté et l'Église franque à l'époque de Grégoire le Grand (590-604) (*à suivre*)—J.-M. VIDAL Notice sur les œuvres du pape Benoît XII—L. WILLAERT Négociations politico-religieuses entre l'Angleterre et les Pays-Bas catholiques (1598-1635) (*suite, à suivre*)—Comptes rendus—J.-P. KIRSCH Le R. P. Denifle, O. P. (1844-1905): Notice biographique et bibliographique—Chronique—Bibliographie.

Revue de l'Orient Chrétien, April 1905 (Vol. x, No. 2: Paris, A. Picard et fils). F. NAU Dans quelle mesure les Jacobites sont-ils monophysites?—FR. TOURNEBIZE Histoire politique et religieuse de l'Arménie (*suite*)—D. PLACIDE DE MEESTER Le dogme de l'Immaculée Conception et la doctrine de l'Église grecque (*fin*)—F. NAU Les constructions palestiniennes dues à sainte Hélène, d'après une rédaction du x^e siècle, source de Nicéphore Calliste, viii 29, 30, 52—P. GIRARD Sivas, huit siècles d'histoire (*suite*)—A. MALLON Documents de source copte sur la sainte Vierge—F. NAU Traduction des lettres xii et xiii

de Jacques d'Édesse (exégèse biblique)—Mélanges: F. NAU Carion et Zacharie, moines de Scété (commencement du iv^e siècle)—Bibliographie.

Analecta Bollandiana, July 1905 (Vol. xxiv, fasc. 3: Brussels, 14, Rue des Ursulines). H. QUENTIN Passio S. Dioscori—A. PONCELET La date de la fête des SS. Félix et Regula—P. PEETERS Historia S. Abramii ex apographo arabico—E. HOGEDEZ Lettre de Pierre Ranzano au pape Pie II sur le martyre du B. Antoine de Rivoli—Bulletin des publications hagiographiques—A. PONCELET Catalogus codicum hagiographicorum latinorum bibliothecarum Romanarum praeterquam Vaticanarum: I. Codices archivi capituli Sancti Petri in Vaticano, pp. 17-48; II. Codices archivi capituli Sancti Iohannis in Laterano, pp. 49-64.

(4) GERMAN.

Zeitschrift für Theologie und Kirche, August 1905 (Vol. xv, No. 4: Tübingen, J. C. B. Mohr). O. SCHEEL Die Tauflehre in der modernen positiven, lutherischen Dogmatik.

Zeitschrift für wissenschaftliche Theologie, July 1905 (Vol. xlviii, N. F. xiii, No. 3: Leipzig, O. R. Reisland). F. MAECKLEBURG über die Auffassung der Berufsthätigkeit des Ebed-Jahwe nach den Ebed-Jahwestücken 42. 1-7, 49. 1-9.—A. HILGENFELD Die neuesten Logia-Funde von Oxyrhynchus—F. GÖRRES Das Judentum im west-tischen Spanien von König Sisebut bis Roderich (612-711)—J. DRÄSEKE Psellos und seine Anklageschrift gegen den Patriarchen Michael Kerullarios (Zweiter Artikel)—W. WEBER Die Unsterblichkeit der Weisheit Salomo's—A. HILGENFELD Eine dreiste Fälschung in alter Zeit und deren neueste Verteidigung—Anzeige: R. ROCHOLL, Bessarion, 1904; J. DRÄSEKE—Ein Vorschlag zu Act. xiii 38, 39, A. H.

Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft und die Kunde des Urchristentums, August 1905 (Vol. vi, No. 3: Giessen, A. Töpelmann). W. WAGNER Über ΣΩΖΕΙΝ und seine Derivata im Neuen Testament—H. GEBHARDT Die an die Heiden gerichtete Missionsrede der Apostel und das Johannesevangelium—F. C. CONYBEARE The Authorship of the Contra Marcellum—C. CLEMEN Beiträge zum geschichtlichen Verständnis der Johannesbriefe. Miscellen: Neue Peschittahandschriften; I. von E. TER-MINASSIANTZ; II. von R. WAGNER.

Theologische Studien und Kritiken, July 1905 (1905, No. 4: Gotha, F. A. Perthes). KIESER Das Jeremiabuch im Lichte der neuesten Kritik—GOLTAU Die ursprüngliche Gestalt des Kolosserbriefs—DIETZE Die Briefe des Ignatius und das Johannesevangelium—VEREIG Akten zur Reformationgeschichte in Coburg—E. CLEMEN Die Einheit

lichkeit des 1. Petrusbriefes—O. CLEMEN Nachtrag zu dem Briefe Melanchthons an Johann Cellarius S. 401 ff—ECKE Die theologische Schule Albrecht Ritschls und die evangelische Kirche der Gegenwart; rez. von O. KIRM—GROSKOPF Das Christenleben; rez. von E. KAUTZSCH—FROHNMEYER und BENZINGER Bilderatlas zur Bibelkunde; rez. von E. KAUTZSCH.

Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte, July 1905 (Vol. xxvi, No. 2: Gotha, F. A. Perthes). DIBELIUS Poimandres—OHR Die Ovationstheorie über die Kaiserkrönung Karls des Grossen—VEECK Die Abschaffung des Seniorats in der bremischen Kirche—MANITIUS Ein Fragment aus einem Matthäuskommentar—NESTLE Die Auffindung der Arche Noë durch Jakob von Nisibis—CLEMEN Beiträge zur Lutherforschung—Nachrichten—Bibliographie (1. Januar bis 1. Mai 1905).

Neue kirchliche Zeitschrift, July 1905 (Vol. xvi, No. 7: Erlangen am 1. Leipzig, A. Deichert). L. IHMELS Blicke in die neuere dogmatische Arbeit III—MEUSEL War die vorjahwistische Religion Israels Ahnenkultus?—D. NÖSGEN Eine kleine paulinische Studie über Römer xiv 1—18—D. ROCHOLL Gegen den Strom.

August 1905 (Vol. xvi, No. 8). A. KLOSTERMANN Beiträge zur Entstehungsgeschichte des Pentateuchs—G. WOHLBERG Die religionsgeschichtliche Methode und ihre Anwendung auf die neutestamentliche Forschung—VON SCHWARTZ Hat die Mission Einzelbekehrung oder Volkschristianisierung ins Auge zu fassen?

September 1905 (Vol. xvi, No. 9). A. KLOSTERMANN Beiträge zur Entstehungsgeschichte des Pentateuchs—P. WAPLER Die Theologie Hofmanns in ihrem Verhältnis zu Schellings positiver Philosophie—K. SCHMIDT Zur Lehre von der christlichen Vollkommenheit.

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THEOLOGICAL RECONSTRUCTION AT CAMBRIDGE.

'BEHOLD now this vast City ; a City of refuge, the mansion house of liberty, encompassed and surrounded with His protection ; the shop of warre hath not there more anvils and hammers waking, to fashion out the plates and instruments of armed Justice in defence of beleaguer'd Truth, then [i. e. than] there be pens and heads there, sitting by their studious lamps, musing, searching, revolving new notions and idea's wherewith to present as with their homage and their fealty the approaching Reformation: others as fast reading, trying all things, assenting to the force of reason and conviction. What could a man require more from a Nation so pliant and so prone to seek after knowledge ?'¹

There is all the glow and splendour of a poet's imagination about this picture. Its grandiose proportions have to be reduced somewhat before they can be fitted to the more prosaic reality, whether in 1644 or in 1905. It required a Miltonic temperament to see his own age as Milton saw it. And yet the fact that he could so see it was justification enough for his lofty language. It does not hurt us to idealize the age in which we live, if we do not take our individual selves too seriously.

There is a real parallel between the age of Milton and our own. The first fifty years of the seventeenth century and the last fifty of the nineteenth have both been times of forward movement, consciously realized as such. Now as then, and then as now, there have been 'pens and heads, sitting by their studious lamps,

¹ Milton *Areopagitica* p. 69 (ed. Arber).

musings, searching, revolving new notions and ideas'; and the work on which they have been engaged has been very largely that of religious restatement and reconstruction.

It may help us to feel how much the two periods have in common if we compare them both with the long period which intervened. Perhaps better dates to take would be Milton's death in 1674, or the Revolution of 1688, and the beginning of the Tractarian movement in 1833. The long interval between those dates was in the main a time of depression. It was at best an age of genial acquiescence, at worst an age of sombre despondency. Even its best work, like that of Bishop Butler, was done upon the defensive; great minds were content if they could hold their own, and if Christianity could hold its own. The note of hope and the sense of forward movement were wanting. No one would have thought of using such language as Milton's; nor if it had been used, would it have met with any response.

No doubt, if we look a little deeper, restatement and reconstruction were really going on. Butler, no less than the contemporaries of Milton, was really adapting Christian ideas to the thought of his time. He could not help doing it; the greatest men in every age have done the same. We only have to place *The Analogy of Religion Natural and Revealed* by the side of the New Testament to feel how great is the difference between them and the length of the road that has been traversed from the one to the other. But I greatly doubt if either Butler or any other eighteenth-century writer, until we come to Coleridge, had any sort of consciousness that he was restating Christianity in terms of the thought of his own day. Milton, in the passage I have quoted, gives impassioned expression to this consciousness; and it has been steadily growing in strength and volume in the English theology of the last fifty years. We do not need to overrate the success of the efforts that have been made in order to recognize that there has been a real effort, and one that has increased in extent and momentum as the years have gone on.

If we desire to gauge the deeper characteristics of a time, we should probably do well to study the works of the more prominent individual writers. But if we wish to take a broad survey and to form an estimate of the extent of the forces at work, we may turn our attention rather to joint undertakings.

From this point of view we may take as landmarks the four successive volumes, *Essays and Reviews* (1860), *Lux Mundi* (1889), *Contentio Veritatis* (1902), and now the *Cambridge Theological Essays* edited by Dr Swete. When I speak of them as landmarks, I do not mean to imply, either that the volumes are equal in value or that they contain (except to a limited degree) the most important work of the period. The work of individual scholars, conceived on an ample scale, will usually take precedence of mixed volumes, whatever their contents. It rarely happens that the distinction of single writers extends to a whole group. It would be possible to select particular essays—such as the contributions of Mark Pattison and Jowett to the first series, and those of Dr Inge to the third—which stand out rather conspicuously among their surroundings, and deserve to rank with the permanent literature of their time. The distinguishing feature of *Lux Mundi* was not so much the prominence of single contributions as the unity of conception, with the corresponding weight of impact and appeal, which runs through the whole. This volume indeed illustrates the relation in which individual writers stand to a group. The untimely death of Aubrey Moore left his essay as perhaps the best of his published works; on the other hand, Dr Illingworth and Dr Moberly, although their essays were not unworthy of them, would yet be more adequately judged by their later books. Both in *Essays and Reviews* and in *Contentio Veritatis* the independence of the writers was carefully emphasized, whereas *Lux Mundi* was deliberately put forward as 'the expression of a common mind and a common hope'. In this respect the volume of *Cambridge Theological Essays* stands rather midway between the two types: on the one hand, we are told that the nucleus of the volume proceeds from a small body of associated teachers, and that the essays were circulated among the contributors in proof; but on the other hand, the writers would not be all described as belonging exactly to the same school, and there appears to have been no attempt to interfere with individual freedom and responsibility. It is only fair to remember that, while *Essays and Reviews* and *Contentio Veritatis* each contained no more than seven essays—the work in the one case of seven, and in the other of six authors—*Lux Mundi* in the first edition had twelve essays by

eleven authors, and the *Cambridge Essays* are fourteen in number by as many authors. To what extent the larger volumes gain by the increase of bulk is a question on which there may be differences of opinion. No doubt they do gain, by covering the ground more completely and by weight of representative utterance; but probably all the volumes would have been the better for a process of weeding, and the smaller even more than the larger. The smaller volumes vindicate their *raison d'être* chiefly (as has been already hinted) by the excellence of particular essays.

The character of the successive ventures is in the main such as might naturally be expected from the place which they occupy in the movement.

The first series of essays stated problems and difficulties. Some, indeed, did little more than mark the emergence of new questions with the acquisition of new knowledge. Such were Mr Goodwin on the 'Mosaic Cosmogony' and Dr Rowland Williams on 'Bunsen's Biblical Researches'. Weightier and of a less purely historical significance were H. B. Wilson on 'The National Church', Mark Pattison on 'Tendencies of Religious Thought, 1688-1750', and Jowett on 'The Interpretation of Scripture'. These essays were remarkable for the boldness and frankness with which they broke new ground at a time when theological thought (as distinct from religious life) was sleepy and conventional. Mark Pattison's essay stands alone in all four series as a masterly historical monograph, with its wealth of concrete knowledge, its breadth and severity of judgement, and its unflinching realism. We cannot help feeling, for instance, that if an ideal like this had underlain the essay in *Lux Mundi* on 'The Preparation in History for Christ', it would have come out differently.

I have said that *Lux Mundi* derived its importance as the manifesto of a new school. And the school itself was important as the meeting-ground of tendencies that had been hitherto conflicting. The religious movement which had been in the ascendant in the second and third quarters of the last century had been almost wholly hostile to the intellectual Liberalism which began to assert itself in the third¹. But towards the end

¹ I do not wish to deny that this newer Liberalism had been to some extent

of this third quarter and at the beginning of the fourth, the two streams began to unite. And it was just in their union that the power and attractiveness of the new movement lay. The religious enthusiasm of the middle of the century was enhanced in value when it no longer shut its eyes to the progress of thought and the problems that were forcing themselves upon the modern mind. On the other hand, the obstinate questionings of scattered thinkers acquired a fresh significance when they came to be associated with the warmth of popular, but cultured, religion. *Lux Mundi* made the impression that it did from the fact that it embodied this new point of view. It was a serious and strenuous effort on the part of a group of young writers, who were not merely drawn together by fortuitous combination, but a veritable 'band of brothers', personal friends as well as allies, to give expression to the faith and hope that were in them. The circumstances of its origin thus gave to the volume an impetus, a buoyancy and *élan* of chivalrous appeal, which distinguishes it among its fellows. It was rather in this, and in the coherence and relative completeness of the views expressed, that the strength of the book consisted, than in the conspicuous excellence of particular contributions.

Contentio Veritatis was a more occasional product, not so long in its incubation, or so spontaneous as a rallying of opinion. Single essays may well hold their own in comparison with the other books; but as a whole the volume gave an impression of inferior weight and maturity.

These qualities come more to the front—if we again look at the whole rather than at the parts—in the volume of *Cambridge Essays*. It has not quite the *élan*, or upward lift, of *Lux Mundi*. I doubt if there is anything in it that quite rises to the commanding level of Mark Pattison's essay, or that in freshness and directness as well as in style is altogether to be placed by the side of Jowett's. But the strong point of the book seems to me to be a general impression of thoughtfulness and gravity appropriate to the subjects discussed, and calculated to exercise a wholesome influence upon English thinking.

anticipated in the teaching of men like Arnold and Whately, and still more in that of Coleridge. It is chiefly perhaps the increasing predominance of the element derived from Coleridge that gave it its distinctive character.

If we may see in it on the one hand, lightly impressed, something of the characteristics that we associate with Cambridge, on the other hand it serves to bring home to us still more strongly the common standpoint of English Theology. There is, as I have ventured to say elsewhere¹, a large amount—perhaps a surprising amount—of solidarity in the teaching of theology in all our British Universities and in all our Churches. The average of this teaching is excellently represented in the Cambridge volume. Everywhere there is the effort after restatement and reconstruction, but everywhere this effort proceeds along conservative lines. I do not doubt that to many abroad and to some at home the tendency will seem to be too conservative. It is, however, in harmony with the genius of our nation, which has always been anxious to pull down no faster than it can build up, and has always shewn itself reluctant to part with the old before it can make sure of assimilating the new. If I understand its temper aright, English Theology does not for a moment pretend either that it has said or is saying the last word; but it does hope that such progress as it has made is sound, and that the work upon which it has been engaged will not have to be undone.

By a happy coincidence, almost at the same time with the *Cambridge Essays* there appeared Dr Knowling's *Testimony of St Paul to Christ*, another book crowded with facts exactly stated and judicially weighed, which is a striking illustration of the same tendencies. Altogether we may begin to feel that England is taking its place in the international movement in a manner that is really characteristic and really deserves attention—

I.

In coming to closer quarters with the volume before me, there are just two remarks to be made on the *personnel* of the contributors to it. I am sure that all its readers will regret that the editor should have confined himself to the writing of the Preface. Those who know Dr Swete will not be surprised at his wish to efface himself in this way. But, if I may say so, the essayists who have responded to his invitation should have left him no choice in the matter; they should have risen in a body

¹ *The Criticism of the Fourth Gospel* p. 45.

and insisted upon his taking an equal share with themselves. The world that is interested in Cambridge cannot be content that the University should speak without the mingled learning, gentleness and wisdom of the Regius Professor.

The other remark is that, although the volume is no doubt generally representative of Cambridge, it is not completely so. One rather feels the absence from the list of writers of Dr Kirkpatrick, Dr Stanton, Mr Burkitt, the Master of St John's, and the Dean of Westminster. At the same time we understand that the initiative came from a small society, and we know the difficulties that always stand in the way of making such an enterprise completely representative. It would not be right to do more than just take note of the fact that the book is not quite all that those at a distance might suppose it to be. On the whole the younger generation has had a rather larger part in it than the elder.

The writer of this review approaches the detailed criticism of the essays with some diffidence. The fourteen essays are in part outside his province. Of some of them he cannot speak with any special knowledge. And in respect to all he would wish that the fullest allowance may be made for subjective fallibility of impression and judgement. He hopes that his Cambridge friends will accept his assurance of this, and that they will at the same time forgive the frankness without which criticism is as salt that has lost its savour. *Prima facie* the writer is inclined to think that the strongest sections of the book are those concerned with Science and Philosophy (II, III, IV) and with the New Testament (VIII, X, XI), especially if we may combine with the latter group the essay on Prayer (VII), which seems to the writer particularly valuable. Nos. XII and XIII seem to fall into their natural place as (in more senses than one) subsidiary to these. The last essay is in a manner *hors concours*, and can only be spoken of by itself.

The opening essay on 'The Christian Standpoint' is not one of those which impress me most. It is pleasantly written, and is evidently the work of a cultivated mind; but the effect that it leaves behind is rather intangible. I should be inclined to set this down to a certain looseness of structure. There is a want

of logical clearness and cohesion. One fails to see exactly how one step in the argument leads to another. The essay appears to be of that familiar type which fills a gap readably enough, but does not contribute much of positive and ponderable value. It is only just to add that in my opinion the writer had an extremely difficult task before him in reducing to concentrated expression a subject at once so wide and so vague.

The next three essays are different from this: they are clear, definite, rigorously coherent, and really constructive. Coming to them as one of the unlearned, I find them supply just what I look for. They seem to be all really abreast of the knowledge and thought of the time. They present in a summary and compact form just what a Christian is interested to know, and what I imagine that most Christians will feel that they can assimilate. Personally, I should give the palm to No. III, Dr Caldecott on 'Philosophy, and the Being of God'. It is no small feat to compress into some forty pages a complete philosophical view of the central truth of religion. And the result, so far as I am able to judge, is a piece of strong and satisfactory thinking.

Dr Caldecott represents the reaction which is so characteristic of our day against the excessive intellectualism of the past. He takes the whole of human nature as he finds it. He seeks to interpret this nature in the interrelation of part with part; and he finds the elements of it projected on an infinite scale into the universe.

Is the objection raised that this method is too anthropomorphic? It may be replied, that what we are concerned with is the interpretation of the universe *to man*; if there are other beings more highly endowed, there will doubtless be another interpretation for them, adapted to their peculiar faculties. But as a fact there are properties in the universe objectively, or in what to us is objectivity, that really correspond to what we find in ourselves. If we are to discover in it a single meaning, it is out of these elements that it must be constructed. Man is conscious of intelligence, and he finds the universe intelligible. That must surely mean that there is at work in it an infinite Intelligence. There is something within himself 'that makes for righteousness': and he sees that there is also something in the universe 'that makes for righteousness'. Nor is it possible for

him to say that the Power which acts thus is impersonal ; because all that he is conscious of in his own personality, all that goes to make up what he means by the word, is reflected without as well as within. It is the person in him that is the bond of union in his own nature ; and if there is anything that is apparent in the world, or world of worlds, without, it is its unity. Dr Caldecott does ample justice to the recently propounded theory of an absolute 'Pluralism'. But it is hard to think that this theory can be a serious alternative.

It would be presumption on my part to attempt anything in the way of criticism. And indeed Dr Caldecott carries me along with his argument almost entirely. I would only ask whether his language is always quite consistent with itself—more especially on the subject of the 'impenetrability' of the individual consciousness. As thus :—

'Consciousness is seated in individuals, in centres : these are accessible to one another : each of us stands within his own circle, others are to him' (p. 120).

'Individual spirit we took to be impenetrable ; the imperviousness, the inwardness, the inaccessibility of the self is rarely questioned—"impervious in a fashion of which the impenetrability of matter is a faint analogue", says Professor Pringle-Pattison' (p. 135).

It is natural that Professor Pringle-Pattison should be quoted in this sense ; for is not his name associated with a specially uncompromising view of the subject ? But is it not also the case that philosophy in other quarters is becoming rather less uncompromising ? And are there not features in Dr Caldecott's own view that would fall into place better on a less rigorous hypothesis ?

I cannot part from Dr Caldecott's essay without expressing the lively satisfaction with which I see given to the world in this volume the outlines of a construction which (if one who is not of the *Fach* may be allowed to say so) is at once so genuinely philosophical and so genuinely religious and Christian.

Nearly as high praise may, if I am not mistaken, be given to the companion essay (II) by Mr Tennant on 'The Being of God, in the Light of Physical Science'. Nearly, but not quite. Mr Tennant's essay, like Dr Caldecott's, is just what the readers

of such a volume will be glad to have—a comprehensive well-rounded survey of his subject from the point of view of the present position of physical science. The essay is lucid, and compact, and thoroughly adapted to its purpose. I only seem to detect—it will be remembered that an outsider is speaking—a little less firmness of handling, more especially in regard to the conception of a First Cause, and on the subject of teleology.

I have just a doubt whether the essayist quite does justice to Mr Huxley. We are reminded (p. 61) that he was the author of the Lay Sermon on 'The Physical Basis of Life'; and it is almost suggested that he ought to have accepted the name of 'materialist'. True, we are told that he was 'a good instance of a scientific thinker who, in spite of his whole habit of mind, lapsed at odd moments to the side of idealism and conceded the position to the idealist's view of ultimate reality' (p. 89). But was not the author of 'The Physical Basis of Life' also the author of the essay on 'Descartes'? And was it not really characteristic of Huxley to hold the scales as evenly as possible between the two seemingly antithetical propositions—on the one hand, that the activities of spirit were to be explained in terms of matter, and on the other hand, that the ultimate reality might rightly be said to be spirit? My impression is that Professor Huxley practically gave up the attempt to reconcile these propositions, but contented himself with stating them side by side.

I observe that we are warned in the Preface that the writers are allowed to use their own spelling. I suppose, therefore, that 'transeunt' (pp. 82, 84, 85) must be taken as a deliberate correction of the dictionaries. Would Mr Tennant have us write 'anteunt'?

The next essay (IV), on 'Man's Origin, and his place in Nature', is by Dr Duckworth, one of the University Lecturers in Science. It fitly takes up the two essays which precede it, and like them is just of the kind that is desirable in such a volume. It is a quiet, straightforward, unpretending statement of the present position of science on the subject of man's place in nature. There is, perhaps, just a little primness of style, reminding one of a cabinet of specimens, in the way in which the subject is divided up into sections and sub-sections. But this, if a fault at all, is eminently a fault on the right side, and contributes to the

clearness of result which makes the essay such satisfactory reading. To those who are not themselves students of science it conveys a maximum of instruction in a minimum of space.

II.

I wish I could say as much of the two essays which follow, and which carry us over to a different field. The first is by Dr Askwith on 'Sin, and the Need of Atonement'. This is, I think I may say, quite well intentioned, and shews a certain dialectical ability. But it seems to me (though I may be wrong) that this ability has acted rather as a snare. It has led the writer into a long and elaborate preliminary discussion, which to me at least contains little that is really helpful. The writer begins by affirming and developing the proposition that 'the term Sin is at once religious and ethical'; but he seems to me to exaggerate the ethical element in it. Ethics may come in to determine what is rightly regarded as sinful; but the term Sin is, I conceive, essentially religious. It denotes an attitude or condition of the soul in relation to God. It seems to me that we ought never to leave this primary meaning out of sight. There may be some question as to the way in which the attitude or condition implied in the word should be defined. It is often described as an act of conscious disobedience and rebellion. But it must be obvious that many acts of sin do not really possess this character. A man falls into sin, without any rebellious thought, simply out of weakness. Temptation carries him away against his better self. Still, it is essentially the relation of the act to God that makes it Sin. We use all sorts of anthropomorphic language about it; we speak of God as 'offended', as 'displeased', or the like. We do so simply because we cannot help it. We mean to express the relation of a person to a person; and we are obliged to have recourse to words of this class. We know perfectly well that such words as applied to God can be only symbols. His blissful untroubled Essence cannot, in our human sense, suffer hurt or grief or pain. The worm that turns against the hand of man is a comparison immeasurably too great to describe the detriment that man can do to God. But this only brings home to us the poverty and utter inadequacy of language. We do not know what we mean when we speak or think of the contact of infinite

holiness and infinite love with sin. It must suffice for us that we are led to think of it, and that we have reason to believe that the will of God is that we should think of it, somewhat after the analogy of the effect which the shock of sin has upon finite holiness and finite love. More than this (in substance) I doubt if we can say.

The initial mistake of (as I cannot but think) imperfectly realizing this seems to me to throw out of gear the whole essay. The preliminary discussion, which I am obliged to regard as ineffective, takes up so much space that little is left for the subject of Atonement. I should have thought, indeed, that from the first it was too much to attempt to combine two subjects so large as Sin and Atonement in a single essay; but the disproportion is made still greater by the way in which the first subject is treated. And the element that I must needs think inadequate in the treatment of Sin reacts also upon the treatment of Atonement. I know that Dr Askwith is only going with the multitude when he begins by laying down that 'some views of the Atonement fail to commend themselves because they are unworthy of and inconsistent with the perfection of the character of God Himself'. He is in the majority, and I am in the minority; and of course as it stands the sentence is true. Still, I confess to being one of those who think that as a premiss to an argument it is often too lightly assumed. Through assuming it too lightly I cannot help thinking that the whole work of theological reconstruction has been made artificially easy, and easier than it ought to be. Simple denials and dismissals do not constitute reconstruction. Before a doctrine can be said to be reconstructed, we ought to be able to put the older forms of it into their place. We ought to feel that we understand the part that God intended them to play in the history of His people. As I have said, mere conditions of space must have prevented any attempt at this in the present essay. But, apart from that, I doubt very much whether Dr Askwith is prepared with an explanation for the facts that I think ought to be explained.

It is characteristic of Dr Askwith—and the feature strikes us all the more because it is so little characteristic of Cambridge—that the side from which he approaches his subject is so much more *a priori* and philosophica than biblical.

Generally speaking, he may be said to follow in the steps of Dr Moberly; but the small scale to which this part of his subject is reduced makes the omissions and abruptnesses stand out rather conspicuously. The biblical passages to which he appeals are chosen quite eclectically, and those which do not fit readily into his view are simply passed by. I am quite aware that there are many to whom this method will commend itself; but, for the reasons stated, I cannot regard his essay as any long step towards the permanent reconstruction at which it aims.

The essay next in order (VI, 'Revelation and Modern Knowledge')—I say it with real sorrow—compels me to speak more strongly. I can only wish, and greatly wish, that the whole essay were away.

Dr J. M. Wilson is a writer whom one is always glad to have on one's own side. When the course before him is clear, when he is dealing with a subject of which he has complete mastery, his style is admirable—direct, forcible, lucid in exposition, serious and yet bright, at once earnest and inspiring. I doubt if any other writer in the volume possesses these qualities in equal degree.

Another quality that he always has is courage. If anything unpopular needs to be said, he is always prepared to say it. In the present instance he thinks that he has something unpopular to say, and we can almost see him bracing himself for the task.

But the misfortune is that in this case he has not really mastered his subject. He has not read enough, and he has not thought enough about it. For the time—I must needs think all through the essay—the accurate scientific thinker is asleep in him, and he is carried off his feet by an antithesis that is little more than verbal.

There are two ways, we are told, of conceiving of Revelation: one is objective, the other subjective; one *to* man from without, the other *through* man from within.

'By the word "objective" as applied to revelation, I mean any communication of truth that comes to a mind in and through the phenomenal world. By the word "subjective", applied to revelation, I mean communication of truth in and through the world of personality. It will therefore include the action of God regarded as Transcendent and as Immanent, so far as this distinction is valid, on the human mind. The contrast between the words is not one of revelation to the subject by God, and of

revelation to the subject by itself, but a contrast of revelation God to the subject through phenomena or through personalities (p. 228 n.).

What responsible writer in this age, or—I had almost said—any age, ever thought of the leading method of revelation other than as 'through personalities'? Perhaps at the time when the most crudely literal construction was put on the Books of Genesis and Exodus, there might have been some justification for speaking of revelation 'through the phenomenal world'. I cannot think of any other conception to which the phrase would be rightly applicable. Who really thinks, or has ever really thought, of the prophetic inspiration—the type of inspiration—as 'phenomenal'? What is called the subjective mode of revelation is no modern discovery, but goes back almost as far as the correlated ideas of inspiration and revelation at all. 'No prophecy ever came by the will of man: but men spake from God, being moved by the Holy Ghost' (2 Pet. i 21). What could be more completely 'subjective'? Or, if we take the most extreme view of inspiration, the form in which it is conceived by Philo, how else does even he think of the Holy Spirit as acting but through the faculties and organs of men? The very term *θεόπνευστος* from the beginning told its own story.

The mere word 'revelation' is a stumbling-block to Dr Wilson (p. 225), only because it is externalized—as if it were anything more than the external expression of an internal process; and as if without such external expression any kind of communication were possible.

The whole question is simple enough, when it is not darkened by inconsiderate language. The really important point is safeguarded by Dr Wilson himself, when he asserts the active energizing of the Holy Spirit on the minds of men. It is true that here too his language does not always satisfy me. He leaves us in doubt how far this active energizing has about it anything specific, any concentration upon a particular purpose of God. He seems inclined (as we might expect) to exalt the ordinary working of the Holy Spirit in man at the cost of the extraordinary. And yet I think that I could come to an understanding with him on this head. My quarrel is with the negative side of his contention, not with the positive. I could gladly

adopt the really beautiful words in which he speaks of the universe

'as essentially one continuous whole, in which, from hidden sources of life within, which we call Divine, mysterious and ordered movements spring up, progressing towards some remote end'.

All that we have to add would be that there are greater and lesser or higher and lower ends, and that there are also ends within ends.

In the name of his false antithesis we are called upon to give up 'finally' (*his*) beliefs with which, even if it were true, it could have nothing to do; for instance, the common opinion that

'first individuals, then a family, then a nation, and then a Church, are the Divinely selected channels and depositaries of God's revelation to man in the past' (p. 225).

What is there really *ab extra* in this? Why should not the Divine Spirit, operating within, make use of 'first individuals, then a family', and so on? The inward working is implied in the words 'channels and depositaries'. I can imagine that Dr Wilson does not like 'depositaries'; but it means in this connexion the same thing as 'channels', which Dr Wilson must use along with the rest of us. The affirmations objected to are merely a description of plain historical facts.

As the essay goes on, the confusion becomes deeper and more hopeless, especially when it reaches the Person of our Lord. Here it has to be admitted that the revelation is in some sense objective, though the revelation through prophets and holy men is no less objective in its degree.

Of course there are substantial questions connected with Revelation and its counterpart Inspiration; and the present time might have been opportune for dealing with them. The problem of Inspiration (and therefore ultimately of Revelation) is largely psychological; and, if I am not mistaken, some recent work—more particularly by Giesebrecht (*Die Berufsbegabung d. alttest. Propheten*, Göttingen, 1897) and by A. B. Davidson (in his posthumous work on Hebrew Prophecy)—enables us to carry the psychological analysis some way further. If Dr Wilson had helped us in this, we should have been grateful to him; but, as it is, he presents the melancholy spectacle of a strong man

entangled in a net that he has spread for himself, and that his struggles to escape do but wind about him more tightly. I think with dismay of the unlucky student who takes up this essay in the hope of finding his ideas cleared up and deepened.

Fault-finding is an ungracious task, and it seems better to have done with it as soon as possible. There is another essay in this neighbourhood (IX, 'The Permanent Value of the Old Testament') which rather disappoints the expectations that I should naturally have formed of it. Readers of the JOURNAL will be familiar with the careful judicious work of Dr Barnes; and his contribution to the present volume is both careful and judicious. My complaint of it would be that it does not rise to the height of its subject. It singles out a detail or two here and there; but the permanent value of the Old Testament surely ought to be traced on grander and more comprehensive lines. Is it not really to the Old Testament that we owe the enduring form of our religion—the essential contents of our doctrine of God and the typical forms of the relation of the soul to Him? Where else do we get our conception of God as a Person, endowed with the highest moral perfections? And where else do we get our models and examples of devotion—of self-abasement and contrition, of fervent aspiration and worship, of prayer and praise?

It makes no real difference to this position of things, either (1) that behind the Old Testament there should be a dim background of Semitic religion, out of which by divine appointment and guiding these higher forms were to arise; or (2) that in the fullness of time both the knowledge of God and the shaping of the soul's attitude towards Him should have been carried to a yet further point of perfection by the Incarnation of His Son. To the Old Testament belongs the imperishable glory of having cast the moulds into which the religions of all the most civilized races of mankind were to run. To this day we go back to the prophets of Israel for a classical expression of the fundamental attributes of God. And to this day we go back to the Psalmists of Israel if we desire to learn how to worship Him.

The real value of Dr Barnes's essay is as a sketch of the growth of Messianic doctrine, not over the whole of its course, but from the end of the eighth to the end of the sixth century B. C. Here

the writer is on his own ground, and we are glad to be instructed by him. I rather doubt, however, whether anything is really gained by trying to read the ideas of kingship and kingdom into the description of the Servant of Jehovah in Isaiah lii-liii. We are in no way bound to think that the Messianic idea progressed only along a single continuous line. So far as a particular figure lies behind the portraiture of these chapters, is it not rather that of the prophet than of the king?

The essay on 'Prayer' (VII) is to me one of the most attractive in the volume. It derives especial interest and pathos from the fact that the writer, Dr A. W. Robinson, stepped into the place of his brother Forbes Robinson, whose loss Cambridge is not alone in mourning. No one would have thought from the essay itself that the subject had been taken up in an emergency and not by deliberate choice. But apart from the circumstances of its origin, and apart from the further fact that the essay is an excellent specimen of the thoughtfulness and gravity characteristic of the volume generally, it marks a real step in advance on the important subject with which it deals. And it is a specially encouraging feature that this advance is one that can be at once appropriated by every individual Christian.

The full title of the essay is 'Prayer, in relation to the idea of Law'; and it is on this side that the advance is chiefly felt. I think it may be said that the bugbears which have gathered round the subject are really cleared away. The essay itself refers to the controversy which arose over Prof Tyndall's famous Belfast Address in 1872, and attention is rightly called to the difference in the position then and now.

I cannot claim to have followed the history of the subject closely enough to say how much of this difference is due to a memorable paper which appeared in the first number of *The Hibbert Journal* (Oct. 1902) by Sir Oliver Lodge. In my own mind that paper stands out prominently, though I may perhaps be using it in a sense not altogether intended by its author¹. The same thing might possibly be said of Dr Robinson, who quotes the paper, and with whose somewhat extended application of the principles involved in it I entirely sympathize. I will

¹ Although it seems right to say this, I have, on the other hand, no reason to think that the use of which I am speaking would be unwelcome.

venture to go back for a moment to the point at which this paper struck into the discussion.

There was an eloquent passage in which the late Prof Tyndal combined, as he was wont, his Alpine experiences with his scientific knowledge.

'The principle [of the conservation of energy] teaches us that the Italian wind, gliding over the crest of the Matterhorn, is as firmly ruled as the earth in its orbital revolution round the sun; and that the fall of its vapour into clouds is exactly as much a matter of necessity as the return of the seasons. The dispersion, therefore, of the slightest mist, by the special volition of the Eternal, would be as much a miracle as the rolling of the Rhone over the Grimsel precipices, down the valley of Hasli to Meyringen and Brienz. . . . Without the disturbance of a natural law, quite as serious as the stoppage of an eclipse, or the rolling of the river Niagara up the Falls, no act of humiliation, individual or national, could prevent one shower from heaven, or deflect towards us a single beam of the sun.'

Sir O. Lodge demurs to this, 'even from the strictly scientific point of view'.

'The law of the conservation of energy is needlessly dragged in when it has nothing really to do with it. We ourselves, for instance, though we have no power, nor hint of any power, to override the conservation of energy, are yet readily able, by a simple physical experiment, or by an engineering operation, to deflect a ray of light, or to dissipate a mist, or divert a wind, or pump water uphill; and further objections may be made to the form of the statement, notably to the word "therefore" as used to connect propositions entirely different in their terms.' (*H. J.* i. 50.)

A little further on the same writer observes, with that pointed simplicity which is characteristic of arguments that are really decisive, that Prayer for rain

'need involve no greater interference with the order of nature than is implied in a request to a gardener to water the garden'.

We naturally ask ourselves why it was that anything so obvious did not occur to us in this form before. Of course it does not follow at once that Prayer for rain is right, or that it will necessarily be answered. All that really follows is the removal of what I have called the 'bugbear' that Prayer for rain involves

a gigantic interference with the order of Nature. The interference need be no greater, except in scale, than that involved in the most ordinary use of a watering-pot. The larger question, which remains in the background, whether anything is ever accomplished by direct divine volition, is one that the humblest Christian can answer for himself on the basis of his own experience. He knows full well that prayers of his without number have been directly and immediately answered.

There will still be room for discussion—what sort of prayers are endorsed by this experience and what are not. The essayist is doubtless right in saying that we shall hear no more of the proposal to establish a hospital for the testing of the effect of prayer by experiment. A Bible-reading person would call that a 'tempting of God', on which he would look with horror. But there is nothing to prevent us, in the silence of our own closets, from observing what kinds of prayer are answered more unambiguously than others, or from conforming our own practice to the result of this examination.

The essay contains many wise remarks to this general effect. And it also contains (p. 299) some interesting speculation as to the method by which it may perhaps in the future be discovered that prayers are answered.

III.

I have already said that the triad of essays that may be connected with the New Testament is, with the philosophic and scientific triad, and with the essay last mentioned, the most permanently valuable part of the book. Perhaps there is a little more overlapping than might have been necessary. But, as this is on important points like the Resurrection, it need not be regretted. Neither need we regret the little difference of style and mode of treatment which marks off No. XI from Nos. VIII and X. The excellence of these two essays lies partly in their definite and concrete character. In No. XI the concreteness might perhaps have been still further increased with advantage, but it comes in as a rule in another way.

The first essay of the triad (VIII) is on the subject of Miracles. To one who only skimmed the outline of the argument prefixed

to the essay, it might hardly do itself justice. I might at least myself have been tempted to describe that outline as rather more commonplace than it need have been. I cannot help thinking that time is wasted in discussing before the fact what amount of evidence will justify us in accepting the miraculous. There is no quantity known to arithmetic or algebra by which that amount can be measured. It seems to me more to the purpose to point out that we do as a matter of fact possess the evidence of one—St Paul—who undoubtedly believed himself to have worked miracles, and who testifies with undeniable good faith to the fact that miracles were worked around him. That ought to be a fixed datum in the discussion.

Another small criticism that I might make would be—that might have been well to keep more distinct from each other the conception in the minds of those on whom we rely for evidence bearing on miracles, and the conception present to our own minds now. The definition of Miracle as 'an extremely wonderful event waiting to be fitted into its place in the order of Nature' is excellent in its way, but it is entirely modern. It would not be true to say that the ancients had *no* idea of fitting miracle into its place in the order of Nature; but it would probably be true to say that the writers of the first century with whom we are most concerned had no thought of any such thing. This does, perhaps, in some places affect the course of the argument; and it is desirable that it should be consciously kept in view from the first.

With these slight exceptions, I have nothing to say that is not praise. The strong point of the essay is in its thoughtful remarks on points of detail.

Dr Chase (in essay X, 'The Gospels in the Light of Historical Criticism') has much in common with Dr Murray. In particular, he shares with him the great merit of conveying the impression that his work is always at first-hand. He writes with his eye directly upon the object. And he brings to bear a sober, weighty, even-handed judgement. I have read this essay with a strong feeling (in the main) of sympathy and agreement—of sympathy and agreement even where I am conscious that what Dr Chase says, as well as what I should myself be able to say, is something short of convincing. I suppose that the feeling

of race, and of like environment, has a good deal to do with it. I can quite understand that a Continental scholar, even with similar predilections, would sum up differently. Still, I cannot but rejoice that Dr Chase's summing up should take the form it does. From an educational point of view, his essay is just what I should like to see put into the hands of a student, especially a more advanced student, who is to investigate for himself.

A notable point about Dr Chase is his candour. There are many things that are commonly slurred over, but which he does not slur over. He discusses these just as one would wish them discussed, not hastily putting a new patch on to the old garment, but feeling his way towards the interweaving of new and old. That which is not itself absolutely final and satisfying, may yet be a step towards it. Dr Chase does not write like one in a hurry, and this wise suspense of judgement I can only commend.

A writer of this type will naturally have some individualisms; and, naturally, there will be some of these that will not command every one's assent. The point on which perhaps I should be most inclined to part company myself is the peculiar theory that the Acts, although it was doubtless published after the Third Gospel, was really planned and composed before it. I agree cordially that St Luke himself was probably the author of both works. It is as common for English scholars to assume this as it is for scholars on the Continent to assume the opposite. So far, I can side with my countryman; and I can also join with him in the belief that the two years' stay at Caesarea (Acts xxiv 27) was a probable occasion on which some at least of the materials for both treatises were collected. But I am unable to go with the rest of Dr Chase's construction on p. 380 f. I greatly doubt if St Paul ever suggested to his companion 'the task of telling in outline the story of his apostolate'. I question whether the Apostle ever wished his own biography to be written as his biography. I do not think that we can generalize from the first chapter of Galatians. The Apostle was too intent on preaching the Gospel to care to dwell on his own past where there was no special necessity for doing so. I suspect that the historical interest, strictly so called, hardly began to arise before the beginning of the sixties. I am aware that this is only

speculation ; and I do not give it for more ; but it is the view that I am inclined to prefer.

Dr Mason's essay (XI, 'Christ in the New Testament') has a special quality of style. I hope that readers will observe the skill with which a great amount of close exegesis is woven into the main texture of the essay, without any parade of learning. Not only is the exegesis close, but the result of it is handled with such dexterity of expression that the essay almost amounts to a paraphrase, especially of the Gospels, 'in modern speech'—and not only in modern speech but in very elegant and finished speech. I am inclined to think that this is the most distinctive feature in the essay.

With the main lines of Dr Mason's criticism I am quite agreed. But, once again, I am agreed as an Englishman. It is the common ground on which so many of us stand. I think, however, that Dr Mason passes rather too lightly over some points that are sure to be challenged—indeed, that *are* challenged books more or less widely circulated. Instances occur (e. g.) pp. 432, 437, 438. I am afraid that Dr Mason is rather too optimistic and takes too much for granted. It would have strengthened his essay if he had shewn rather more signs of having considered objections. This is where Dr Chase gains in weight and authority.

It will not be expected that I should always be able to follow the exegesis. I should not be sorry if I could have done so in the case of the note on p. 449 ; but I cannot get Dr Mason's sense out of the (corrected) Greek. What of *παλι*?

IV.

The two essays that come next (XII, 'Christ in History', and XIII, 'The ethical significance of Christian doctrines') have been already described as subsidiary to those which have gone before. The object of the first (by Mr Foakes-Jackson) is to shew how the verdict of history confirms the New Testament witness to Christ ; and the object of the second (by Mr Bethune-Baker) is to vindicate the place of doctrine by bringing out its intellectual necessity and its moral value.

The first essay is of a type that I am as a rule inclined to deprecate (see *J. T. S.* iv 10 ff), which resolves itself into a rapid excursion over the whole field of Christian history. In such a hurried career it is difficult to say anything of permanent value. I must confess too that at first I was not impressed very favourably. To appeal to the early Gnostics, and then to the Apologists, with hardly even an allusion to the abundant material contained in the Apostolic Fathers, who from their mere position in time could not fail to be specially valuable, did not seem to me hopeful. But I gladly confess that the essay improved, and became quite as pointed as it could be expected to be, as it went on.

The questions that I should be disposed to ask with regard to the essay on Doctrine are, (1) whether it might not have been rather more concise—the author has command of such an easy and graceful pen that it is apt to carry him away; and (2) whether it would not have gained by the concreteness which (to my mind) forms such an admirable feature in Nos. VIII and X.

I should also have to make the same criticism of this essay as of No. XI, that it takes too much for granted; the writer does not ask himself so constantly as he ought, Is this that I am saying wholly and absolutely true?

For instance, the leading idea of the essay is expressed on p. 538. It is summed up in the words:—

‘He based—the historical Jesus of the earliest tradition based—
all His ethical teaching on Himself.’

But then we are confronted with Harnack’s famous thesis:—

‘The Gospel, as Jesus proclaimed it, has to do with the Father only and not with the Son.’ (*What is Christianity?* p. 144.)

I am more inclined to agree with Mr Bethune-Baker than with Harnack. Still I cannot but feel that his way of stating the case is too absolute; it needs examining, qualifying, and guarding—especially the phrase as to the ‘earliest tradition’.

The essay has many good ideas scattered up and down, and I can quite believe that an intelligent survey of the whole position lies behind it. But the phrase that occurs to me in regard to it is

that it is somewhat discursive. I cannot help thinking that it might have been better still than it is, if it had cost a greater and more concentrated effort to write it at all.

The concluding essay of the book is felicitously assigned to the Master of Trinity. The real function of this essay is I conceive, not so much to forge a link in the chain of logic or to add a course to the edifice of learning, as to *make the book end upon the right note*. And for that purpose, such a gift as the Master's was peculiarly appropriate. A right instinct has guided his treatment of the subject committed to him ('The Christian Ideal and the Christian Hope'). He appears to have taken it up in the first instance rather as an outlying branch of apologetics, but he found that the subject did not lend itself easily to this, whereas it did lend itself to an expression of faith.

Dr Butler does well to emphasize the religious side of his subject. My only question would be whether he emphasizes it quite enough at its central point. The true ground—at least the supreme ground—of the Christian Hope is in that piercing word, 'God is not the God of the dead, but of the living.' Round that word as a centre are grouped a number of other words that are also piercing. They assure us that the world of being is not exhausted by the world of sight. Their function is not limited to the light which they throw on the state of the happy dead. They make us aware that there are many things besides for which perhaps we have no place in our everyday philosophy.

To sum up. We must not expect in the *Cambridge Essays* exactly the kind of newness that was found in *Essays and Reviews* and in *Lux Mundi*. Neither must we expect exactly the kind of corporate feeling that was specially characteristic of *Lux Mundi*. The book in no sense inaugurates a movement. There is really, I venture to think, no movement that needs to be inaugurated. All that is wanted is that we should go on steadily and progressively as we are. And that is where the Cambridge book seems to me to be so admirable. With the exception of a single essay—and that not really representative of Cambridge—it gives every promise both of steadiness and of progressiveness.

I should be inclined to say of the volume as a whole that it **was** eminently educational. Here again there is but one exception **in** a higher degree, and one or two more perhaps in a lower. **And** the fact that there are just these few and on the whole **slight** exceptions, suggests to me the remark with which I will **close**. Accumulating experience seems to shew that what is most **wanted** in these joint volumes is some means of securing the **maintenance** of a more even level—a level of soundness in **substance** as well as of style. How this might best be done is **a** further question—whether by strengthening the hands of the **editor**, or arranging for thorough and searching discussion among the contributors before the volume goes out into the world. I **am** inclined to think that the latter method would be more **effective**. And, although the process would no doubt be rather delicate, and although it would add to the responsibility of contributors, I still believe that it might be done. After all, it is well to **have** one's weak places brought out, and one's defects made good, before publication rather than after.

W. SANDAY.

'IN THE NAME.'

IN the last number¹ of this JOURNAL attention has been drawn to our Lord's command to baptize, as it is recorded in the closing verses of St Matthew's Gospel. The authenticity of the clause βαπτίζοντες αὐτοὺς εἰς τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ τοῦ υἱοῦ καὶ τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος has been ably and, as it seems to me, adequately defended against the suspicion cast upon it by reason of certain textual phenomena recently observed in the writings of Eusebius and some other authors. At the same time a new rendering of the familiar words has been offered to us, as conveying more precisely the spiritual significance of the rite which they enjoin. The new version is this: 'Immersing them into the Name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost.' In developing this part of his essay the writer cites and challenges a closely compressed statement in an article of mine in a Bible Dictionary and therefore it is probable that both he and others will expect that I should offer some reply. It would be the easiest course and perhaps from the controversial point of view the most effective, to examine in detail the arguments by which Dr Chase supports the new interpretation, which is in manifest conflict with the traditional rendering which I believe to be correct. In this way the ground might be cleared for a fuller statement of my own view, together with a consideration of the objections alleged against it. But in the interval between the writing of his article and its publication, the Norrisian Professor has been summoned to leave his chair for a higher office in the Church; and it would be ungracious in any one, and above all in a personal friend, to meet a challenge written in other circumstances by a counter-challenge, even though it were equally courteous and friendly, at a time when new responsibilities must naturally preclude the possibility of a careful reply. The

¹ This was written in September, 1905.

question, however, of the true rendering and interpretation of these solemn words is of so great importance, that I feel bound to take this opportunity of stating the argument in favour of the current version in a more adequate form than was possible in the brief summary to which reference has been made. I hope that I may succeed in doing this without the appearance of a controversial method, even though alternative views may demand a passing consideration.

The summarized argument in the article on 'Baptism' in the *Encyclopaedia Biblica* is so short that I may be allowed to repeat it here as the starting-point of my discussion.

In the Name, not 'into the name'. Although *eis* is the preposition most frequently used, we find *en* in Acts ii 38, x 48; and the interchangeability of the two prepositions in late Greek may be plentifully illustrated from the N. T. Moreover, the expression is a Hebraism; cp. *en ónómati κυρίου* Matt. xxi 9 (= Ps. cxviii 26 מִשְׁמֵךְ); so in the baptismal formula of Matt. xxviii 19 the Syriac version has ܡܝܢ (Lat. *in nomine*).

The argument here summarized is twofold: it is based, first, on the meaning of the Greek preposition in such a connexion; and secondly, on the recognition that we are here dealing with a Semitic idiom and not with a native Greek idea. Each of these points will need to be developed presently; but they cannot be satisfactorily dealt with until we have first considered the meaning and usage of the verb βαπτίζω.

No one will question the use in general Greek literature of βαπτίζω in the sense of 'to dip' or 'to immerse', followed by either *eis* or *en* of the element of immersion. Here, however, we are concerned solely with the use of the word in connexion with religious rites. Already in some of the later books of the Septuagint we find it employed of cleansing by water, and in the special sense of ceremonial purification. When we come to the New Testament we find that it has no other than a ceremonial sense or a sense derived by metaphor from the commonly received ceremonial sense. The Judaism of our Lord's day had its βαπτισμοὺς ποτηρίων καὶ ξεστῶν καὶ χαλκίων (Mark vii 4); that is to say, ceremonial washings of vessels. In this use of βαπτισμός the notion of immersion has practically disappeared before that

of ritual cleansing; and even if we do not accept the additional item *καὶ κλινῶν*, which in some MSS is appended to the list, yet the gloss testifies to a sense of *βαπτισμός* incompatible with actual immersion. If in the same context we prefer to read *καὶ ἀπ' ἀγορᾶς ἐὰν μὴ βαντίσωνται οὐκ ἐσθίουσιν*, rejecting the alternative *βαπτίσωνται*, yet the existence of the alternative once again illustrates the change which had passed over the meaning of *βαπτίζειν*. In St Luke's Gospel we find a still more striking example of this change, in a passage in which the passive of the verb is used to express the ordinary hand-washing preparatory to a meal. The Pharisee who invited our Lord to his table *ἐθαύμασεν ὅτι οὐ πρῶτον ἐβαπτίσθη πρὸ τοῦ ἀρίστου* (Luke xxi 38). Such a sentence could not have been written until the verb *βαπτίζειν* had ceased in common parlance to connote immersion; until, in other words, the idea of ceremonial ablution had become paramount.

This use of the word by the first Christian writers in their description of Jewish observances is very instructive. For the ceremony of baptism, or the symbolic purification by water as a release from moral or ritual pollution, was not originated by Christianity. Even John's baptism, which was the immediate antecedent of the Christian institution, was not new in its idea but only in its application. The Jews had baptized their proselytes; John had baptized the Jews themselves, and had lifted baptism out of the region of distinctions between ritual cleanness and defilement and made it the symbol of release from moral guilt. Yet the word used both for John's baptism and for the yet loftier rite of Christian initiation was a word borrowed from Jewish religious usage, a word which a Christian could still use to express the ritual cleansings of contemporary Judaism. In the light of this fact it seems to me that we cannot securely argue from the employment of the word *βαπτίζειν* that even John practised baptism by the method of complete immersion. It is possible that he did so; it is also possible that water was poured over the penitent as he stood in the stream: the word *βαπτίζειν* does not help to decide between these alternatives; for 'washing' or 'cleansing', and not 'immersion', was the idea which it of necessity suggested to the writers of our narratives of his mission. I do not wish to deny that John's baptism was

a baptism by complete immersion, or that the early Christians may have commonly used a like ceremony. I only desire to make it clear that the word βαπτίζειν, while perfectly appropriate to such a method, did not at that time of itself suggest immersion, but was equally applicable to more partial washings of a ceremonial nature.

I maintain, therefore, that in the language of the Gospels, and, I may add, in New Testament usage generally, βαπτίζειν has lost its earlier signification of 'dipping' or 'immersing'—a signification which still naturally attaches to the cognate verb βάπτειν¹—and has acquired the new religious signification of 'ceremonially cleansing by water'. In a few passages a further development may be noted, when the word is metaphorically used of 'cleansing by the Spirit' or 'by fire': in these cases it would seem obvious that the idea of 'immersion' has entirely disappeared.

If my contention is a true one, it will result that βαπτίζειν, as meaning 'to cleanse ceremonially by water', cannot ordinarily be followed by the preposition εἰς in the sense of 'into'. John the Baptist is spoken of as baptizing εἰς ἄφεσιν ἁμαρτιῶν: but in this phrase the preposition denotes the end in view, 'for remission of sins'. In Mark i 9 we find the words ἐβαπτίσθη εἰς τὸν Ἰορδάνην. We have here an example of the interchangeability of the prepositions εἰς and ἐν, which is a common phenomenon of the later Greek². The same writer a few verses before (Mark i 5) has written ἐβαπτίζοντο ὑπ' αὐτοῦ ἐν τῷ Ἰορδάνῃ ποταμῷ. In either case the meaning is 'baptized in Jordan'. In Acts xix 3 St Paul asks the question Εἰς τί οὖν ἐβαπτίσθητε; and received the answer Εἰς τὸ Ἰωάννου βάπτισμα. It is most natural to suppose that the

¹ Luke xvi 24 ἵνα βάψῃ τὸ ἄκρον τοῦ δακτύλου αὐτοῦ, John xiii 26 βάψας τὸ ψαμίον, Rev. xix 13 ἱμάτιον βεβαμμένον αἵματι.

² I need hardly undertake the defence of the phrase 'the interchangeability of the prepositions in late Greek'. At one time ἐν with the dative was very commonly used after verbs of motion, and εἰς with the accusative after verbs of rest. In modern Greek ἐν has disappeared except in a few privileged phrases, and εἰς with the accusative has taken its place. For the illustration of this interchange in the N. T. I may refer to Blass *Grammatik des NTlichen Griechisch* pp. 119 ff, 127 (§ 39, 3 f; § 41). See also a passing dictum of *Field Notes on N. T. Translation* p. 5 (Matt. v 22), 'since εἰς is perpetually interchanged with ἐν': he cites in a footnote Matt. v 35 (μὴ δρόσαι) ἐν τῇ γῇ . . . μήτε εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα, and Luke iv 44 'He preached in the synagogues (εἰς τὰς σ.)'.

preposition has the same meaning in the question as in the answer, and to render it by the word 'unto'.

But while Christian baptism, like that of the Baptist, started with the conception of the washing away of the sins of the past, it superadded a further conception which was wholly its own. It had a positive as well as a negative result. The cancelling of the past was the prelude to a higher life. Baptism, in words which are familiar to us all, was not only 'a death unto sin', but also 'a new birth unto righteousness'. Moreover, it was from the outset ordained as the method of enrolling disciples. This is plain from the context of the words which we are at present discussing: *πορευθέντες οὖν μαθητεύσατε πάντα τὰ ἔθνη, βαπτίζοντες αὐτοὺς κ.τ.λ.* Thus Christian baptism added to the conception of purification from past sins the idea of initiation into a society or fellowship, based on discipleship to Christ. Hence it became possible to speak of a person as 'baptized into' the Christian society or fellowship: in other words, as 'entered by baptism into' that society. A parallel example of a modification of phraseology is offered by the curious English phrase 'to be sworn in'; that is, to be 'entered by oath' as the member of an organization. It is not the act considered in itself, but the act considered in its result, whether of privilege or of obligation, that produces in either case the unexpected phraseological combination. When Christian baptism is viewed, not merely in its primary signification of a cleansing from sin by a ceremonial washing with water, but also, and specially, as the rite of initiation into the society of Christian discipleship, then the verb *βαπτίζειν* has gained a further meaning which enables it to avail itself of new constructions, as for example in the important phrase *εἰς ἐν σῶμα ἡμεῖς πάντες ἐβαπτίσθημεν*.

We have accordingly traced a series of stages in the history of the word *βαπτίζειν*:—

(1) 'to dip' or 'immerse'; (and, metaphorically, in such phrases as 'to drown in misery', 'to overwhelm in ruin');

(2) as a religious term, 'to cleanse ceremonially by water', the idea of 'immersion' passing into the background, and then disappearing altogether, so that in New Testament times the word can be used of the ritual washing of the hands as practised

by the later Judaism; (also, metaphorically, to express 'cleansing by the Spirit' and 'by fire');

(3) of the Christian sacrament of baptism, which is not only a cleansing by water from past sins, but also a rite of initiation into the Christian society; so that it is possible to speak of a person as having been 'baptized into' the one Body of Christ, and further, as we shall see presently, 'baptized into' Christ.

We may now pass on to consider the meaning of St Matthew's phrase βαπτίζοντες αὐτοὺς εἰς τὸ ὄνομα κ.τ.λ. Following the recognized principle that the interpretation of a writer should first be sought in his use of language in other passages of his own writing, we begin by asking what constructions St Matthew employs to express the idea of 'in the name'.

First, we observe that the common phrase ἐν τῷ ὀνόματι and the less usual phrase ἐπὶ τῷ ὀνόματι are not used by this author, except in passages which he has embodied from the works of other writers¹.

Next, we find in Matt. vii 22, in a passage which has a partial resemblance to Luke xiii 25, the following words which are peculiar to St Matthew: κύριε, κύριε, οὐ τῷ σῷ ὀνόματι ἐπροφητεύσαμεν, καὶ τῷ σῷ ὀνόματι δαιμόνια ἐξεβάλομεν, καὶ τῷ σῷ ὀνόματι δυνάμεις πολλὰς ἐποιήσαμεν; With the verb προφητεύειν we should certainly have expected the construction ἐν τῷ ὀνόματι, corresponding with the Hebrew עִנְיָן². With the other clauses we may compare Mark ix 38 f, εἶδαμέν τινα ἐν τῷ ὀνόματί σου ἐκβάλλοντα δαιμόνια . . . ὃς ποιήσει δύναμιν ἐπὶ τῷ ὀνόματί μου, and other similar passages. In all three clauses St Matthew prefers the construction τῷ σῷ ὀνόματι. We may compare his quotation (xii 21) of Isaiah xlii 4 in the form καὶ τῷ ὀνόματι αὐτοῦ ἔθνη ἐλπιοῦσιν (LXX ἐπὶ τῷ ὀνόματι).

Lastly, there are three passages, all peculiar to St Matthew, which contain the phrase εἰς (τὸ) ὄνομα.

(1) Matt. x 41 f, Ὁ δεχόμενος προφήτην εἰς ὄνομα προφήτου μισθὸν

¹ Thus ἐν ὀνόματι Κυρίου in Matt. xxi 9 is from Mark xi 9, and in Matt. xxiii 39 it is from the source used also in Luke xiii 35: ἐπὶ τῷ ὀνόματί μου in Matt. xviii 5 is from Mark ix 37, and in Matt. xxiv 5 it is from Mark xiii 6.

² In Westcott & Hort's edition the words are regarded as based on Jer. xiv 14, עִנְיָן 15.

προφήτου λήμψεται, καὶ ὁ δεχόμενος δίκαιον εἰς ὄνομα δικαίου μισθὸν δικαίου λήμψεται· καὶ ὅς ἂν ποτίσῃ ἓνα τῶν μικρῶν τούτων ποτήριον ψυχροῦ μόνον εἰς ὄνομα μαθητοῦ, ἀμὴν λέγω ὑμῖν, οὐ μὴ ἀπολέσῃ τὸν μισθὸν αὐτοῦ. Here we can hardly translate εἰς ὄνομα προφήτου and εἰς ὄνομα δικαίου otherwise than 'in the name of a prophet' and 'in the name of a righteous man'. And we are confirmed in so rendering the words when we observe that the remainder of the passage appears to be an adaptation of Mark ix 41, ὅς γάρ ἂν ποτίσῃ ὑμᾶς ποτήριον ὕδατος ἐν ὀνόματι ὅτι Χριστοῦ ἐστέ, ἀμὴν λέγω ὑμῖν ὅτι οὐ μὴ ἀπολέσῃ τὸν μισθὸν αὐτοῦ. It would seem that St Matthew preferred the simpler phrase 'in the name of a disciple' to St Mark's phrase 'in the name that ye are Christ's'; and also that he preferred to say εἰς ὄνομα rather than ἐν ὀνόματι.

(2) Matt. xviii 20, οὗ γάρ εἰσιν δύο ἢ τρεῖς συνηγμένοι εἰς τὸ ἐμὸν ὄνομα, ἐκεῖ εἰμὶ ἐν μέσῳ αὐτῶν. With the former example of St Matthew's usage before us, we need feel no hesitation in accepting the familiar rendering of these words, 'where two or three are gathered together in my name'.

(3) The third passage is that which is now under discussion, Matt. xxviii 20, βαπτίζοντες αὐτοὺς εἰς τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ τοῦ υἱοῦ καὶ τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος. Why should we not here also render εἰς τὸ ὄνομα as 'in the name'? It must at least be admitted that there is a strong *prima facie* case in favour of this translation¹.

¹ It has been suggested by more than one recent writer that the lost ending of St Mark's Gospel contained an account of our Lord's promised meeting with His disciples in Galilee, and that this was the source whence St Matthew drew the great missionary charge and the command to baptize. If this be the case—and there is much to be said in its favour—we must nevertheless be on our guard against supposing that St Matthew would be likely to embody this final charge in the exact phraseology of St Mark. The analogy of the rest of his Gospel points to the probability that he would modify St Mark's language considerably by the introduction of phrases of his own. As a matter of fact we find in these verses more than one expression which has a parallel in other passages which are peculiar to his Gospel. Thus the collocation ἐν οὐρανῷ καὶ ἐπὶ γῆς occurs in a peculiar portion of St Matthew's version of the Lord's Prayer (vi 10); and the phrase ἡ συντέλεια τοῦ αἰῶνος is also peculiar to his Gospel. Supposing therefore that St Mark had recorded a command to baptize, whether in the triple Name or in the name of Christ, we may not assume that he would have used the construction εἰς τὸ ὄνομα which is not found elsewhere in his Gospel: we should rather assume that he used the construction with ἐν, and that St Matthew had here also preferred the alternative construction with εἰς.

We find further support for the view that the two constructions, *ἐν τῷ ὀνόματι* and *εἰς τὸ ὄνομα*, are identical in meaning, when we turn to the Acts of the Apostles. The following four passages speak for themselves:—

Acts ii 38, *Μετανοήσατε, καὶ βάπτισθήτω ἕκαστος ὑμῶν ἐν τῷ ὀνόματι Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ εἰς ἄφεσιν τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν ὑμῶν.*

Acts viii 16, *Μόνον δὲ βεβαπτισμένοι ὑπῆρχον εἰς τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ κυρίου Ἰησοῦ.*

Acts x 48, *Προσέταξεν δὲ αὐτοὺς ἐν τῷ ὀνόματι Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ βαπτισθῆναι.*

Acts xix 5, *Ἀκούσαντες δὲ ἐβαπτίσθησαν εἰς τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ κυρίου Ἰησοῦ.*

Here at any rate there can be no doubt that *βαπτίζειν εἰς τὸ ὄνομα* is synonymous with *βαπτίζειν ἐν τῷ ὀνόματι*.

We have one further example of *βαπτίζειν εἰς τὸ ὄνομα* in St Paul's opening appeal to the Corinthian Church. The names of Paul, Apollos, Cephas, even of Christ Himself, had been used as the badges of party difference. Had the Christ then been broken into fragments? Had Paul taken His place on the cross, or as the Name of their baptism? *Μὴ Παῦλος ἐσταυρώθη ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν, ἢ εἰς τὸ ὄνομα Παύλου ἐβαπτίσθητε;* He was thankful that he himself had so seldom administered the rite—*ἵνα μή τις εἴπῃ ὅτι εἰς τὸ ἐμὸν ὄνομα ἐβαπτίσθητε* (1 Cor. i 13 ff). In reading the earlier verses of this chapter it is impossible not to observe the frequency of the Apostle's references to our Lord, and the accumulation of His titles. In *vv.* 1–9, besides *Ἰησοῦς Χριστός* or *Χριστὸς Ἰησοῦς* (three times) we have *v.* 2, *σὺν πᾶσιν τοῖς ἐπικαλουμένοις τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ ἐν παντὶ τόπῳ αὐτῶν καὶ ἡμῶν*, *v.* 3, *κυρίου Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ*, *v.* 7, *τὴν ἀποκάλυψιν τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ*, *v.* 8, *ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ*, *v.* 9, *ἐκλήθητε εἰς κοινωνίαν τοῦ υἱοῦ αὐτοῦ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν*. This unusual iteration is explained when we read the next verse with its appeal for unity based on the sacred Name: *Παρακαλῶ δὲ ὑμᾶς, ἀδελφοί, διὰ τοῦ ὀνόματος τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ*. The name of the Lord Jesus Christ was the symbol of their fellowship. This name, and not the name of Paul, was the name in which they had been baptized.

If we may now be allowed to assume that there is no reason to reject on philological grounds the traditional rendering of

βαπτίζοντες αὐτοὺς εἰς τὸ ὄνομα as 'baptizing them in the name', we may proceed to make some enquiry as to the theological significance of the relation thus indicated between baptism and the divine Name.

First, let us observe certain passages in which the primary meaning of baptism, that of cleansing from the sin of the past, is predominant. In St Paul's account of his conversion as given by St Luke in Acts xxii we read (v. 16), καὶ νῦν τί μέλλεις; ἀναστὰς βάπτισαι καὶ ἀπόλυνσαι τὰς ἁμαρτίας σου ἐπικαλεσάμενος τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ. Here is the simplest possible description of baptism, as a release from past guilt by means of a sacramental rite consisting of (a) ceremonial washing with water and (b) an invocation of the divine Name. It is instructive to compare with it 1 Cor. vi 11, καὶ ταῦτά τινες ἦτε· ἀλλὰ ἀπελούσασθε, ἀλλὰ ἡγιασθήτε, ἀλλὰ ἐδικαιώθητε ἐν τῷ ὀνόματι τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ καὶ ἐν τῷ πνεύματι τοῦ θεοῦ ἡμῶν. Though the word baptism is not used, the rite is clearly referred to. It is a cleansing from past guilt and a consecration for the future—a hallowing in the holy Name. The same combination of cleansing and hallowing is expressed in Eph. v 25, ἵνα αὐτὴν ἁγιάσῃ καθαρίσας τῷ λουτρῷ τοῦ ὕδατος ἐν ῥήματι. The 'word' which is here brought into connexion with 'the washing of water' is, according to the most probable interpretation, the same confession or invocation of the divine Name to which reference is made in Rom. x 9, ἐὰν ὁμολογήσῃς τὸ ῥῆμα ἐν τῷ στόματί σου ὅτι κύριος ἰησοῦς (cf. 1 Cor. xii 3). It would seem as though from the earliest days baptism was accompanied by a confession of the Name on the part of the baptized as well as by an invocation of the Name on the part of the baptizer. The interrogatory creed and the triple formula of baptism still represent to us at the present day this twofold conjunction of the Name with the symbolic cleansing by water.

The relation thus established between the baptized person and the name of the Lord Jesus brought with it a permanent obligation. He had confessed a new Master; he had been admitted a disciple 'in His name'. With the privileges of discipleship he had accepted also its responsibilities: he was to do all things henceforth 'in His name': πᾶν ὅτι ἐὰν ποιῇτε ἐν λόγῳ ἢ ἐν ἔργῳ, πάντα ἐν ὀνόματι κυρίου Ἰησοῦ (Col. iii 17).

Here there is a simple and perfectly intelligible explanation, derived from the New Testament itself, of the expression 'baptized in the name of the Lord Jesus'. There is nothing subtle or abstruse in this interpretation; and whatever further meaning we may be justified in finding in the phrase, this at least must not be excluded or neglected.

When, however, we return to the fuller formula of St Matthew's Gospel, we are bound to recognize the fact that Western Christendom has seen in the command to baptize 'in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Ghost' a solemn authorization of the Church to act in the divine Name in conferring the sacrament of baptism. On the analogy of baptism she has employed the same words in connexion with other sacred acts, such as the conferring of holy orders and of absolution. The sense in which she has used them cannot be more vividly explained than by recalling our own formula of absolution in the Order for the Visitation of the Sick: 'Our Lord Jesus Christ, who hath left power to his Church to absolve all sinners who truly repent and believe in him, of his great mercy forgive thee thine offences: And by his authority committed to me, I absolve thee from all thy sins, In the Name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost.' Are we right, if we exclude from the scope of Matt. xxviii 19 the similar meaning with which the Church has been accustomed to say, 'I baptize thee in the Name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost'?

The command to baptize in St Matthew's Gospel is made to rest on the fact that 'all power (*or* authority) in heaven and on earth' has been committed to the Risen Lord. On this ground is based the great commission to make disciples by baptism, and to teach them to observe the commands of Him who thus becomes their recognized Lord. The supreme authority of the Risen Christ is the authorization of His Church to act in the Name of the Supreme, who is now fully manifested, or soon to be fully manifested, as the Father and the Son and the Holy Ghost: and ever behind them in their exercise of this delegated authority, in their use of the Supreme Name, is the promised presence of the Lord Himself. Read in their context, then, the words may fairly be held to justify the use which has so commonly been made of

them, as connoting the fullest authority in the performance of the most sacred acts¹.

Moreover, not only do the words 'in the Name', when thus employed, suggest that the user of the divine Name is in some way a representative of the divine Being whose Name he is permitted to use: they have also, or at least in the early days they undoubtedly had, a further significance. The Name of God among the Jews was a thing of dread, an instrument of awful power. That such divine power could be brought into play by the use of the Name of the Lord Jesus was clearly the belief of the early Christians. We need not go beyond the Acts of the Apostles for ample evidence of this. St Peter says to the lame man, 'In the name of Jesus Christ of Nazareth, walk': and he explains to the multitude that 'His name hath strengthened' the man (ἐστερέωσεν τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ). Later, when he is asked 'In what power or in what name did ye this?' he replies that it was 'in the name of Jesus Christ of Nazareth', and he adds the familiar words, οὐδὲ γὰρ ὄνομά ἐστιν ἕτερον ὑπὸ τὸν οὐρανὸν τὸ δεδομένον ἐν ἀνθρώποις ἐν ᾧ δεῖ σωθῆναι. In the issue their adversaries can do no more than charge them with threatenings μηκέτι λαλεῖν ἐπὶ τῷ ὀνόματι τούτῳ μηδενὶ ἀνθρώπων. The power of the Name they cannot deny; all they can hope is that they may deter them from uttering it: καὶ καλέσαντες αὐτοὺς παρήγγειλαν καθόλου μὴ φθέγγεσθαι μηδὲ διδάσκειν ἐπὶ τῷ ὀνόματι τοῦ Ἰησοῦ. When on a subsequent occasion they were beaten for their disobedience, and again commanded μὴ λαλεῖν ἐπὶ τῷ ὀνόματι τοῦ Ἰησοῦ (v 40 f), they departed rejoicing 'that they had been counted worthy to suffer dishonour on behalf of the Name' (ὑπὲρ τοῦ ὀνόματος ἀτιμασθῆναι).

An equally striking illustration of this mode of thought is to be seen in Acts xix 13 ff. Certain Jews at Ephesus, discovering the virtue which the Christians found in the Name of the Lord Jesus, attempted to use it in their own exorcisms: ἐπεχείρησαν . . .

¹ The Jew was familiar with the thought of the setting of the divine Name upon persons for their hallowing or benediction. The words of the Aaronic blessing in Num. vi are followed by the command: 'And they shall put my name upon the children of Israel, and I will bless them'. This conception permanently survives in the solemn enunciation of the Threecfold Name in the liturgical benediction, 'The blessing of God Almighty, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost . . .'

ὀνομάζειν ἐπὶ τοὺς ἔχοντας τὰ πνεύματα τὰ πονηρὰ τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ κυρίου Ἰησοῦ, λέγοντες Ὁρκίζω ὑμᾶς τὸν Ἰησοῦν ὃν Παῦλος κηρύσσει. This unauthorized use of the Name was attended by condign punishment. Both Jews and Greeks were struck with terror when they heard of the event; and the result is described in the significant words, καὶ ἐμεγαλύνετο τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ κυρίου Ἰησοῦ.

These examples are enough to shew that, according to the conceptions which prevailed in the earliest times, those who were authorized to use 'the Name' were regarded as having at their disposal the supernatural power of the Being whom they so named. The idea was easily capable of abuse in the direction of magical superstition; but we must not on that account hastily discard it. It was part of the inheritance which early Christianity received from Judaism; and we need to recognize the truth that underlies it, if we are to understand the full value of the expression with which we are at present concerned.

To sum up the results which we have now reached: (1) A confession of faith in the Name was a preliminary of baptism: an invocation of the Name was an essential part of the ceremony. The baptized person accepted a new Master: he received remission of sins through His Name: he was 'washed, sanctified, justified' in His Name: he was henceforth to 'do all things' in His Name. This is a plain statement in New Testament language, of the relation established between the baptized person and the Name in which he was baptized¹.

But (2) a consideration of the context of the baptismal commission in Matt. xxviii 19, and also of the conceptions which Jewish thought had come to attach to the use of the divine Name (conceptions shared by early Christian teachers), seems to urge us a step further. In pursuance of the commission to

¹ As regards the relation established between the baptized person and the divine Name, we may add that according to Hebrew ideas the invocation of the divine Name by a person on his own behalf, or by another for him, involved the twofold result, (1) that he was thereby placed under the divine protection, and (2) that he received a divine consecration which brought with it a perpetual obligation. While on the one hand the Name of God was his defence, on the other hand he incurred the gravest responsibility if by his action the Name of God was brought into contempt. This latter idea finds illustration when St James, speaking of the rich men in the Christian congregation, says: οὐκ αὐτοὶ βλασφημοῦσιν τὸ καλὸν ὄνομα τὸ ἐπικληθὲν ἐφ' ὑμᾶς;

make disciples by baptizing in the Threefold Name, the baptizer acted authoritatively in that Name: he had a right to invoke the Name, and to bring into play the power which accompanied the naming of the Name. This thought is not exclusive of the former: it comes naturally into view when we regard the act from the point of view of the baptizer, as before we regarded it from the point of view of the baptized.

It may well be that with these suggestions we have not yet exhausted the meaning of the great words which we have been considering; but enough, I hope, has been said to shew that what appears to be the most natural translation of the Greek is capable of reasonable and adequate interpretation, if we approach it in the light of the prevalent conceptions of the earliest age.

There are a few examples in St Paul's epistles of the construction βαπτίζειν εἰς which ought to be considered, however briefly, in this connexion, although the word *ὄνομα* does not enter into the combination.

In two important passages St Paul uses the expression βαπτισθῆναι εἰς Χριστόν. In Gal. iii 26 ff we read: Πάντες γὰρ υἱοὶ θεοῦ ἐστέ διὰ τῆς πίστεως ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ· ὅσοι γὰρ εἰς Χριστὸν ἐβαπτίσθητε, Χριστὸν ἐνεδύσασθε· οὐκ ἐν Ἰουδαίῳ οὐδὲ Ἑλλήνι, οὐκ ἐν δούλῳ οὐδὲ ἐλεύθερῳ, οὐκ ἐν ἄρσεν καὶ θήλυν· πάντες γὰρ ὑμεῖς εἰς Χριστὸν Ἰησοῦ. The thought of this passage is closely parallel to that of 1 Cor. xii 12 f: Καθάπερ γὰρ τὸ σῶμα ἐν ἐστὶ καὶ μέλη πολλὰ ἔχει, πάντα δὲ τὰ μέλη τοῦ σώματος πολλὰ ὄντα ἐστὶν σῶμα, οὕτως καὶ ὁ Χριστός· καὶ γὰρ ἐν ἐνὶ πνεύματι ἡμεῖς πάντες εἰς ἓν σῶμα ἐβαπτίσθημεν, εἴτε Ἰουδαῖοι εἴτε Ἕλληνες, εἴτε δούλοι εἴτε ἐλεύθεροι, καὶ πάντες ἐν πνεύμα ἐποτίσθημεν. In each passage the Apostle contrasts with the diversity of their former condition the unity of the one Man, the one Body, into which all alike have been introduced by their baptism. His language is peculiarly his own. He conceived of the unity of the Christian society under the figure of the human body. Sometimes he regarded Christ as the head of the body: sometimes again he considered the head and members together as 'the Christ'—Christ was more than any part, He was the whole of which Christians were the parts; to be in the body was to be 'in Christ'. This conception

underlies both these passages: baptism as the rite of initiation into the Christian society was at once the means of entry into the one Body and into Christ: the baptized were made members of the Christ, they were all one man in Christ.

In Rom. vi 3 f St Paul argues that Christians 'have died to sin': *ἡ ἀγνοεῖτε ὅτι ὅσοι ἐβαπτίσθημεν εἰς Χριστὸν Ἰησοῦν εἰς τὸν θάνατον αὐτοῦ ἐβαπτίσθημεν; συνετάφημεν οὖν αὐτῷ διὰ τοῦ βαπτίσματος εἰς τὸν θάνατον, ἵνα ὥσπερ ἠγέρθη Χριστὸς ἐκ νεκρῶν διὰ τῆς δόξης τοῦ πατρὸς, οὕτως καὶ ἡμεῖς ἐν καὶνότητι ζωῆς περιπατήσωμεν.*

The thought of this passage is that union with Christ involves union with each condition into which Christ passed—death, burial, resurrection. Baptism, as the initial act of union with Christ or entry 'into Christ', is an entry 'into His death': it involves, as a consequence, burial with Christ and resurrection to a new life in Christ. A similar thought is reached by a different path in Col. ii 11 f. In Christ we were circumcised with a spiritual circumcision—a kind of death, a putting off of the body—in the circumcision of Christ, in fact, in baptism, which was our death and burial leading to our resurrection.

Thus the expression 'baptized into Christ' is to be interpreted as meaning introduced by baptism—the initial rite of Christian discipleship—into the relation which St Paul denotes by the words 'in Christ'. If the Apostle is thinking of Christ as of Him who died and was buried and rose again for us, then to be baptized into Christ is to be baptized into His death with its consequences of burial and resurrection. If he is thinking of Christ as God's New Man, then to be baptized into Christ is to be baptized into the one Body, the human unity constituted in Christ. When he is using such language, the primary sense of baptism as a cleansing by water from the sins of the past is not alluded to: he is thinking of baptism as the beginning of a new relation to Christ, he is considering its result and not the symbolism of its method.

In 1 Cor. x 1 ff St Paul compares the Christian dispensation to the Mosaic, and finds analogies to the two great Christian sacraments in the history of Israel. To have been under the Cloud and to have passed through the Sea was a kind of baptism, uniting the Israelites with their leader Moses—*πάντες εἰς τὸν Μωυσῆν ἐβαπτίσαντο*. A spiritual meat and a spiritual drink

were also provided for them—the latter from a Rock which followed them as they journeyed through the desert: ἡ πέτρα δὲ ἦν ὁ χριστός. This is highly figurative language; but the phrase 'baptized into Moses' offers no special difficulty when we regard it as formed upon the phrase which we have been considering, 'baptized into Christ'.

For the sake of completeness it has seemed necessary to refer to these Pauline phrases, although they bear no direct relation to the phrases βαπτίζω εἰς τὸ ὄνομα, βαπτίζω ἐν τῷ ὀνόματι. They are concerned with the result of baptism, not with its method or process. We must not argue from them as to the meaning of the preposition εἰς in the baptismal commission recorded by St Matthew. That must be interpreted, as we have seen, by St Matthew's own usage and by the instances of εἰς τὸ ὄνομα in the Acts of the Apostles.

The result of this discussion, if its arguments be accepted, is to confirm the rendering of St Matthew's words which has been given to them by every branch of the Christian Church which has had occasion to translate them into its own language. The persistent tradition of the Western Church which has rendered εἰς τὸ ὄνομα by *in nomine* was departed from by the eccentricity of Tertullian, whose acquaintance with Greek often led him to desert the current versions of his day and give independent translations of New Testament passages: not only does he write *in nomen Patris*, &c., but he even offers the paraphrase *in Patrem et Filium et Spiritum sanctum*. I am not aware of any other examples of this attempt at literalism: if there be any, they can but serve to emphasize the rule to which they are exceptions.

I cannot leave this subject without emphasizing a warning which it suggests. It is an excellent illustration of the thesis that modern translators as well as modern critics must have regard to ancient tradition. It needs to be remembered that early versions were made by men whose practical object was simply to express in another language the sense of the Greek with which they were familiar in the common intercourse of daily life. These translators have no concern for grammar and its rules. In the syntax of a complicated sentence they easily come to grief; but they know well enough what is the phrase of one

language which corresponds to the phrase of another. Hence they are often what is called 'loose'; but as a rule they give the sense, especially where no obvious difficulty exists. They shew us what the Greek words meant to persons who spoke Greek of much the same type every day.

The reason why our Authorised Version is so often right where the Revised Version has gone astray—as in the passage which we have been considering—is to be found in the neglect of this witness of tradition. To guard myself against the charge of presumption in this expression of a conviction which I have long held, I will call in evidence one of the acutest of living students of the Greek language. 'When the Jacobean version was revised', says Dr W. G. Rutherford¹, 'even more than when it was made, the character of New Testament Greek was ill understood. The Jacobean translators, depending like their predecessors largely upon Latin renderings, had too little Greek to form theories of interpretation. They had not contrived to convince themselves that the same Greek word, whatever its context, must invariably be rendered by the same English word. They had as little respect for Attic idiom as St Paul himself; nor were they tempted to mar their English by any perverse wish to twist it into conformity with idioms which may have once belonged to the Greek language, but need not on that account belong to the Greek of the New Testament, and certainly do not belong to English. . . . The Greek of the New Testament may never be understood as classical Greek is understood—it contains too many alien elements,—but it has at least begun to be studied from the proper point of view. Even when the Jacobean version was revised many just conclusions, gravely affecting interpretation, had been established, although most of them seem to be ignored by the revisers, who in some places actually distort the meaning in defiance of these conclusions by translating in accordance with Attic idiom phrases that convey in later Greek a wholly different sense, the sense which the earlier translators in happy ignorance had recognized that the context demanded. Since the Revised Version was completed, great strides have been made in the knowledge of New Testament Greek. The observations of Viteau

¹ *Epistle to the Romans* Pref. pp. x ff.

and more especially of Blass have furnished a sound foundation for further research, and before scholars are done with this fascinating study they will extinguish many misconceptions and will succeed in demonstrating that, different as it is from classical Greek, the singular speech in which the oracles of God are enshrined has nevertheless a precision and a force of its own.'

J. ARMITAGE ROBINSON.

NICETA AND AMBROSIASTER. I.

NOTHING so forcibly illustrates the supreme importance, in the history of Christian literature, of the century that intervened between the council of Nicaea and the council of Ephesus, as the number and interest of those who may be called the secondary writers of the period: and the Cambridge University Press has earned itself an honourable distinction by the prominence into which it has helped to recall, within these last few years, more than one half-forgotten commentator or historian. Mr Burkitt led the way in 1894 with his admirable edition of the *Rules* of the Donatist exegete Tyconius. Dom Butler's *Lausiac History of Palladius*, commenced in 1898 and completed in 1904, was commended to the readers of the JOURNAL in a notice in the April number (*J.T.S.* vi 321-355). And the two new publications which the reviewer has now to face, Mr Souter's *Study of Ambrosiaster* and Dr Burn's edition of the treatises and collected fragments of Niceta, deal with authors of the same half-century as Tyconius and Palladius, and with authors who, like Tyconius and Palladius, deserve to be better known than they have been, and, like them, will largely owe their recognition and reinstatement to the labours of their Cambridge editors.

I.

Dr Burn has already established a secure reputation amongst theological scholars by the excellent work which he has done on the history of the Western Creeds: and regarded as a contribution to a lost chapter of theological literature, his edition of the writings of Niceta¹ meets a real need and demands the expression of a real gratitude. It is something to have brought together into a single volume a dozen treatises which lie scattered up and down the different tomes of the Latin *Patrologia*: it is

¹ *Niceta of Remesiana: his Life and Works*. By A. E. Burn, D.D., Trinity College, Cambridge. Cambridge University Press, 1905.

something too to have found for most of them fresh manuscript authority: it is still more to have vindicated them beyond all reasonable doubt for Niceta of Remesiana against the rival claims of Nicetius, bishop of Trèves in the sixth century, and of Nicetas, bishop of Aquileia in the middle of the fifth. All this Dr Burn has done, and done well; but he would himself be the first to admit that his strength does not lie in the direction of pure scholarship, and it cannot be denied that the text of the present edition is very far from being final.

Beyond even the other writers named above, Niceta may be said to have been re-discovered by the present generation. Antiquity soon lost sight of him: the revival of historical studies at the Renaissance passed him by, and even the industry of the Benedictines of St Maur failed to disinter him from the oblivion of a thousand years. Of his personal history the only channel by which any knowledge has come down to us is his acquaintance with St Paulinus of Nola, who mentions him in one of his letters and addressed to him the seventeenth and part of the twenty-seventh of his Odes. All that we learn of his writings is contained in a few lines of the *de Viris Illustribus* of Gennadius of Marseilles and a single laudatory reference by Cassiodorus. Niceta's lot was cast in the frontier province of Dacia, early overrun and absorbed by the barbarian invaders, so that the very name of his see-town soon faded out of memory: Remesiana passed, in the hands of scribes, into Romatiana and even into Rome, while his own name was easily corrupted or confused into Nicetas, Nicetus, or Nicetius¹.

¹ The curious form Niceta seems indubitably genuine. Not much stress can perhaps be laid on the evidence of Paulinus because of the exigencies of his metre—he uses both Niceta and Nicetes in the nominative; and the present text of Cassiodorus (when shall we have a critical edition of the *de Institutione diuinarum litterarum*?) gives, for the genitive, Niceti. But one at least of the oldest MSS of Gennadius has the nominative Niceta; and the same form is preserved in a Munich *ordo catechizandi* of the ninth century, and in the Irish *liber Hymnorum* when attributing to Niceta the authorship of the *Te Deum*. See Burn, pp. xxxiv, ci 137, 155, 156.

One might perhaps compare the following instances from the Old Latin bible: 'Acha' for 'Αχέζ (Cyprian *Testimonia* ii 9 [codd. A*L*] = Is. vii 10): 'Iona' for 'Ιωνῆς (& in Matt. xii 40: Cyprian *Test.* ii 25 [codd. LX]): add 'Iuda' the patriarch for 'Ιωδᾶς in a quasi-citation of Priscillian in Orosius's *Commonitorium* § 2, where the only ancient MS reads 'tradidit . . . quod esset Ruben in capite Iuda in pectore Leui in corde'.

The modern Slavonic counterpart may be seen in the Montenegrin name Nikita.

But the same geographical situation which was fatal to his fame in the centuries that succeeded him constitutes part at any rate of his interest and attractiveness to ourselves. If in the second and third centuries Rome was the crucible in which the Greek and Latin elements in Christianity met and fused, we have to look elsewhere for the continuance of the process when the Roman Church had become wholly latinized. Even in southern Italy and Sicily the Greek element was perhaps not prominent until the conquests of Justinian. Conversely, Latin at Constantinople was the tongue rather of statesmen and lawyers than of theologians. It is in fact in the Illyrian and Dacian borderlands that we find, in the period of the great councils, the clearest traces of the inter-penetration of the Greek- and Latin-speaking churches. The basis of civilization in these regions was wholly Roman, and their language was Latin: but their political affinities, from the middle of the fourth century onwards, were so much with the Eastern court and the Eastern empire, that the influence of Greek theology made itself felt there more easily than in most other parts of the West. Niceta himself was definitely a Western churchman: his only travels, so far as we know them, were to Rome, he wrote only in Latin, and it is only Latins who cite him. But the authors whom he uses (and his literary dependence on his predecessors is one of the most interesting features of his writings) are, on the other hand, more often Greek than Latin. Against the clear use of St Cyprian—possibly also of Tertullian and Novatian, less probably of St Hilary—we have to set indubitable points of contact with the Greek Testament, with St Basil, and with St Cyril of Jerusalem, while there are also less certain links with St Irenaeus, St Gregory Thaumaturgus, and St Gregory Nazianzen¹. And the liturgical employment of

¹ Cyprian *ad Donat.* § 16 = *de Psalmodyae bono* § 13 (Burn 81. 3: 'beatus Cyprianus'): but why does Dr Burn twice follow the reading of the later of his two MSS against St Cyprian's text?

de dom. or. § 4 = *de Spiritu sancto* §§ 10, 12 (Burn 28. 7, 22: see p. cxlvi [Burkitt]):

de mortal. § 26 = *Te Deum* lines 7-9 (Burn pp. cix, 84).

Novatian *de Trinitate* = *de ratione fidei* § 6 (Burn 16. 15, 17: see pp. cxlvi, cxlvii [Burkitt]).

2 Corinthians i 3 (Greek) = *de Spiritu sancto* § 16 (Burn 32. 6).

Cyril Hier. *Cat.* iv 9 = *de Symbolo* §§ 3, 4 (Burn pp. lxxi, 41).

Basil Hom. i on Fasting = *de Vigiliis* § 9 (Burn 66. 11: 'quidam uir inter pastores eximius').

Psalms and Vigils, to the defence of which two of his treatises are devoted, seems clearly to have been an innovation brought to the West from the East.

The literary history of the writings included in Dr Burn's edition illustrates effectively enough the ignorance which enveloped the name and fame of their real author. Not a single one of them is here published for the first time¹; yet not one has been published before as under the authorship of Niceta of Remesiana. They straggled into print, from time to time, either as claimed by one or other of Niceta's homonyms, the bishops of Trèves and Aquileia, or as waifs in that vast crowd of homeless wanderers which found shelter and protection under the aegis of the name of a Jerome, an Ambrose, or an Augustine. Thus the two tracts *de Vigiliis* and *de Psalmodye bono* were published by d'Achéry in his *Spicilegium* (vol. 3, ed. i, A.D. 1659) as works of Nicetius of Trèves². The *de Symbolo* appeared at Padua in 1799³ as a work of Nicetas of Aquileia: and cardinal Mai's *editio princeps* in 1827 of the three treatises, *de diversis orationibus, de ratione fidei, de Spiritu sancto*, made use of the same attribution. The *Te Deum* was of course generally ascribed to St Ambrose. The name of either St Ambrose or St Jerome is attached in the majority of MSS to the *de lapsu virginis*, and it was early printed among the works of both those fathers: while in 1810 it was vindicated, together with the *de Symbolo*, for Nicetas of Aquileia by Peter Braida, canon of Udine, *S. Nicetae Episcopi Aquileiensis opuscula duo*. Finally, the *de ratione paschae* was included in Florez's edition (A.D. 1759) of the writings of St Martin of Bracara⁴.

Greg. Thaum. *ἐκθεσις νικητος* = *de Symbolo* § 2 (Burn 40. 8).

Greg. Naz. *Orat.* 35 = *de ratione fidei* § 6 (Burn 15. 25)†

All these references are given by Dr Burn, or by Prof. Burkitt in his exhaustive note 'on the Biblical text used by Niceta', pp. cxliv-cliv: I should like to add St Irenaeus to the list, for I cannot help thinking that a phrase like 'Dominus dives in orationibus [read surely 'operationibus'] nec ullius indigens' (*de Vigiliis* § 6 = Burn 62. 20) is an echo of the language of that father.

¹ Except, indeed, an alternative *Epistula de lapsu virginis* (pp. 131-136); but this there does not seem to be any real reason at all to connect with Niceta: see below, p. 216.

² Burn, p. xi, gives the date as 1723: but that is a comparatively late edition of the *Spicilegium*.

³ The name of the editor is not given by Dr Burn, p. xi.

⁴ In vol. xv of *España Sagrada*, appendix iii p. 413.

however, has not only gathered together these scattered fragments into a single *corpus* as the writings of Niceta; but his researches, and those of his unwearied adviser Dom Morin, have in many cases enabled him to produce new readings of the text, or even new recensions of it. Mai's (Vatican) recension of the *de Spiritu* was of the fifteenth century: Morin has a recension at Cologne of the ninth. A British Museum MS of the thirteenth century becomes now the leading witness for the *de Symbolo*. Of the *de Vigiliis* the original recension is printed, from a late Cambridge MS, for the first time, with the companion treatise *de Psalmodyae bono* Dom Morin has printed the original recension some few years before. The *de ratione paschae* is hardly dissimilar: for a ninth-century MS at Milan, transcribed by Dom Morin and first published as a continuous text in Dr Burn's edition, presents what is mainly a more primitive form than that printed by Mai (independently) by Bruno Krusch¹.

I exceed the limits of an article if one were to attempt to do justice to the internal arguments which support the conclusions in favour of Niceta's authorship of these treatises. There are of course the general indications of such as the knowledge of apocryphal writings like the *Abraham* (*de psalm.* § 3: Burn 70. 11) and the story of *laps. virg.* §§ 10, 11: Burn 115. 12 and note to l. 6), the acquaintance with Greek fathers stopping short at Basil and St Gregory. There is the evidence of common expressions: one might instance 'stare in terra' found at the beginning of the *de Psalmodyae bono* and at the end of the *de pascha* (68. 7: 110. 17). But Dom Butler has reminded us in a recent number of the JOURNAL (vi 595) of the primitive character of evidence of this sort and of the limited use which a certain class of critics are accustomed to make of it; and Niceta's works are not devoid of external evidence scanty indeed, but sufficient for a starting-point.

The name of Niceta of Remesiana Gennadius knew, and he speaks of a 'libellus ad lapsam virginem', a set of six 'libelli'

¹ *in christlich-mittelalterlichen Chronologie: der 84 jährige Ostercyclus und* (Leipzig, 1880), pp. 328-336, under the title 'Tractatus Adthanasii'. The readings of the Milan MS at the foot of the page.

of instruction for catechumens ('competentes'), of which he has happily preserved the subjects: (i) the moral temper in which baptism should be approached; (ii) the errors of paganism; (iii) faith in the one God, 'de fide unice maiestatis'; (iv) against astrology; (v) on the Creed; (vi) on the Paschal Lamb, 'de agni pascalis victima'. In the library of Cassiodorus, the brief and lucid treatise of Nicetas (Nicetus) on the Faith was contained in a single codex with 'the writings of St Ambrose addressed to the emperor Gratian' ¹. An *ordo catechizandi*, found in different recensions at Rouen, Munich, and Vienna, contains quotations headed 'Niceta in libro primo ad competentes', 'in libro secundo ad competentes', 'in libro quinto ad competentes'. Among catalogues of ancient libraries, that of Bobbio possessed 'librum instructionis Nicetae episcopi'; in that of Lorsch there was a 'liber Niceti de aequalitate Dei patris et Dei filii, et eiusdem de Spiritu sancto'; in that of Pompuse 'Nicetae episcopi de ratione fidei 1, eiusdem de Spiritu sancti potentia lib. 1, eiusdem de diuersis appellationibus domino nostro Iesu Christo conuenientibus'. None of the manuscripts thus catalogued appears to be extant; but the Pompuse entry is the missing link which enables us to connect with Niceta three treatises which appear in the same order, under the general title *de ratione fidei*, but without any author's name, in a fifteenth-century MS at the Vatican ².

In the case of other of the treatises one or more of the extant MSS prefix actually some form of the name Niceta. Thus for the *de Symbolo* (book v of the Instructions *ad competentes*) the Chigi MS gives 'Explanacio symboli beati Nicete Aquileiensis episcopi habita ad competentes'; the oldest MS of the *de Vigiliis* and *de Psalmodiae bono*—Vat. Pal. 210, saec. vii—has the titles 'de vigiliis servorum Dei Nicete episcopi', 'de psalmodiae bono eiusdem Nicetae' ³; an Irish ascription of the *Te Deum* to

¹ i. e. the five books *de Fide* and the three *de Spiritu sancto*.

² Vat. lat. 314. That Dr Burn is right in claiming all three pieces for Niceta I do not doubt: whether the two first of the three—the *de ratione fidei* and *de Spiritu sancto*—constitute between them, as he thinks, the third book 'de fide unice maiestatis' of the *Instruction to Catechumens* is less certain, but at the same time less important.

³ It is interesting to note that the scribes of later MSS of the same (Gallican) family, to whom the name of the bishop of Trèves was doubtless better known, substitute Nicetius, just as the (Italian) Chigi MS of the *de Symbolo* identified our Nicetas with the bishop of Aquileia.

Niceta has already been cited, but other MSS, not all of them Irish, offer variants of the same tradition¹; while the superscription of the *de lapsu virginis* is in two of the oldest MSS 'epistola Nicetae episcopi', 'epistula Nicaeti episcopi'.

All this historical matter seems to me to have been excellently well unravelled by Dr Burn: it is only when we come to close quarters with the text that the defects of this edition reveal themselves to our notice. In the following paragraphs a summary account will be given of each treatise in turn: with regard to some of them there will be special points to make, but two remarks are called for upon the book as a whole, although naturally they apply most to those parts on which previous editors have done least work. If there is one thing which every editor of an ancient text ought to study with scrupulous care, it is the punctuation. We cannot most of us attain success in the path of emendation; but as much could probably be done for the improvement of texts by right punctuation as by the most brilliant conjectures, and in this matter Dr Burn has left only too much to be done by his successors. A second duty incumbent on the editors of patristic texts is to look out for, and as far as possible trace to their source, the innumerable phrases of scriptural origin which lie scattered up and down the pages of the fathers; and here again the future student of Niceta has been allowed too large an opportunity.

1. The *de diuersis appellationibus* is a brief tract or sermon upon the titles of our Lord. Dr Burn rightly compares the similar but independent lists in Germinius of Sirmium (c. A.D. 360), in the *de Fide Orthodoxa*, now attributed to Gregory of Elvira, and in the Damantine decree of A.D. 382: all four fall clearly into place as episodes of the same controversy against Arianism, and even, it would seem, of the same stage in it. For the text, Dr Mercati supplies a collation of a second Vatican MS, four centuries older than that preferred by Mai, which in the main guarantees the correctness of the *editio princeps*, but adds two new titles, 'Veritas' and 'Vita' (p. 3. 2, 3), omitted in the other MS (and in Mai) by *homoeoteleuton*. Another certain correction might have been extracted from it in 3. 1, 'Sacerdos dicitur . . . quod per nos dies singulos offerre dignatur' in place of the

¹ Burn, pp. c, ci.

'offerri' of the editions, for our Lord could only be called Priest as 'offering', not as 'being offered'. The punctuation of 2. 9-11 might be improved, and the following biblical references should be added: 2. 13, 14, Wisd. viii 1; 2. 18, Col. i 16, 17; 2. 19, Is. ix 6; 2. 25, Eph. v 2; 3. 3, 2 Tim. i 10; 3. 6, Acts iii 16; 3. 10, Prov. xxx 19 [xxiv 54]; 3. 13, Jer. ii 13; 3. 14, 15, Eph. ii 14-16; 4. 13, Matt. xvii 5; 4. 17, Matt. v 6; 5. 6, Ps. vii 12, 2 Tim. iv 8. The tract contains besides two echoes of the Creed, 2. 21 'propter nos homines homo nasci', and 3. 18 'et uiuos iudicaturus et mortuos'—a fresh argument for Niceta's authorship, since we find him elsewhere unusually fond of employing Creed phrases, e. g. *de ratione fidei* § 3 (12. 22, 26) 'de nullis exstantibus factum', 'alterius substantiae', § 4 (13. 16) 'unius substantiae'; *de Spiritu sancto* § 4 (23. 9) 'ex aliqua materia aut ex nihilo factus'¹.

2. The *de ratione fidei* and *de Spiritu sancto* are a couple of sister treatises, directed respectively against Arianism and Macedonianism: and Dr Burn holds that between them they represent the Trinitarian 'librum quem de fide conscripsit', described by Cassiodorus (whose encomium their simple and easy style would amply justify), or in other words the third book of the *Instructions*. The printed text of both is in the main quite satisfactory: but the following suggestions may be offered. In *de rat. fidei* § 2 (Burn 11. 26) for 'ac si totum confundit cum' restore the 'ac sic totum confundit cum' of Mai, comparing 12. 19 'sic . . . quia', 12. 21 'sic . . . dum'; § 6 (15. 16) 'esurisse dormisse lacrimasse refertur tunc tristis usque ad mortem'², read perhaps 'fuisse' for 'tunc'. In *de Spiritu* § 5 (24. 24), where one MS has 'in spū potestatis' and the other 'in xps potestate', read 'in Spiritus (sp̄s) potestate', comparing 25. 3 'potestas Spiritus'; § 7 (25. 26) for 'an dubium est alieni' (a misprint?) restore the 'an dubium est alicui' of Mai; § 14

¹ These allusions stand quite apart from the two express quotations of sections of the (Nicene) creed, pp. 13. 4, 19. 3. With regard to the phrase 'ex aliqua materia' = ἐξ ἐτέρας ὑποστάσεων, I may note that, among all the Latin versions of the Nicene Creed known to me, 'aliqua' is only found once, in the Creed appended to the Canons of Nicaea by some MSS of the Isidorian version (the Hispana and the codex Veronensis), and 'materia' also only once, in the Creed similarly appended to the Canons in the Gallican version (*Ecclesiae Occidentalis Mon. Inscr. Ant.* i 174).

² 'Vigilius Tapsensis' *de Trinitate* lib. x, who borrows (without acknowledgement) a whole page from Niceta, and in part rewrites it, gives 'tristasse usque ad mortem'.

(30. 18) for 'sicut probatur' of Burn and the earlier MS the sense demands 'sic probatur' with the later MS and Mai; conversely in the quotation of Acts xiii 2, § 15 (31. 13), there seems no reason to retain the unique reading 'et dicit Spiritus sanctus' when the older MS has 'dixit'. Attention might have been called in the notes to two remarkable phrases in the *de Spiritu*: § 2 (19. 3) 'in Nicaeno tractatu positum est secundum Symboli formam', where Symbolum, 'the Creed' *par excellence*, means the Apostles' Creed, and 'Nicaenus tractatus' the Nicene; § 7 (26. 14) 'per Verbum substantivum', i. e. apparently 'the Personal Word' λόγος ἐννπόστατος, as in Philaster *de haeresibus* lxiv '[Paul of Samosata] qui Verbum dei, id est Christum deum dei filium, substantivum ac personalem et sempiternum esse cum patre denegabat'¹.

3. In the *de Symbolo* we have one of the earliest and most interesting explanations of the Apostles' Creed, at a stage intermediate between its 'Old Roman' and its present form: Niceta appears, for instance, to be the first expositor who includes the clause 'Communione sanctorum', which he interprets as equivalent to, and explanatory of, communion with the 'Holy' Catholic Church (*sanctam, sanctorum*). This Creed commentary is excellently represented in Dr Burn's edition: doubtless it lay very near his heart, and one wonders whether it was not the originating cause of the whole undertaking. It has been preserved in so many MSS that questions of text almost reduce themselves to a choice between one or other of them: and here more readings might perhaps have been adopted from Dr Burn's new authority, the British Museum MS, e. g. 47. 19 *mutilabo* (*mutatiabo* the Chigi MS and Mai: *mutabo* Burn and the rest), 48. 19 *Catafriguarum* (with the Chigi MS also²), 50. 11 *cor-*

¹ Add biblical references, 11. 8, Jo. xiv 27; 11. 9, Rom. xi 20; 15. 17, Matt. xxvi 38; 16. 2, 3, Luc. viii 25; 17. 1, Phil. ii 6, 7; 17. 15, Phil. ii 11; 23. 15, 1 Pet. iii 10 (Ps. xxxiv [xxxiii] 13); 23. 21, Jo. xiv. 17; 26. 2, Rom. v 14; 28. 13, 1 Cor. ii 11; 29. 10, Is. lvii 15; 34. 9, Wisd. i 7; 37. 19, [Heb. xii 14¹] 1 Cor. xiv 1. Punctuation: 11. 21, substitute with Mai interrogation for full stop; 14. 1, 12, 17. 6, substitute commas for semi-colons; 17. 17, 24, substitute commas for full stops; 17. 27, dele comma; 24. 5, 12, commas for full stops; 33. 8, comma after, not before, 'quiddam'. On page 28 the new chapter should have been marked at l. 13, not at l. 8.

² The other family of MSS brings the tract to a premature close at 48. 11.

ruptivum in 1 Cor. xv 53¹ (*corruptum* the Chigi MS, followed by both editors), and, it goes without saying, *tamquam* in 52. 2²: conversely in 48. 9 'perhibetur et scriptum est' is a mere scribe's blunder, and ought to have been replaced by 'perhibetur ut scriptum est' of the other family of MSS. Once only is there ground for quarrel with the punctuation of the editor, and that in a sentence where the text is uncertain, 42. 6-8: Dr Burn prints 'si enim falsa incarnatio est, falsa erit et salus hominibus. quod si vera in Christo est, aequae incarnatio est in ipso. utrumque existens: homo quod videbatur, Deus quod non videbatur'; but 'est in ipso' must certainly be taken with what follows, and probably we ought to read either 'quod si vera in Christo, est vera aequae incarnatio, est in ipso utrumque existens' (so in substance Mai), or else 'quod si vera in Christo, in Christo est aequae incarnatio, est in ipso utrumque existens'³.

In editing all the pieces so far dealt with Dr Burn had for his precursor cardinal Mai's *SS. Episcoporum Nicetae et Pauli scripta e Vaticanis codicibus edita* (Rome A. D. 1827). For all but one of them he has been able to use fresh authorities: and the net gain towards the restoration of the *ipsissima verba* of Niceta is very considerable. But Dr Burn's services are more considerable still in the two interesting tracts of which we have now to speak: though as less has been done on them hitherto, much remains over to do even after the present edition.

4. The two sister discourses *de Vigiliis* and *de Psalmodiae* both are addressed to the defence of a liturgical innovation, the introduction of night services with psalm-singing—'psalmi', 'orationes', 'interpositae lectiones', 79. 6—on Saturdays and Sundays. All the parallel pieces of evidence, in the history of the church of Antioch, in the writings of St Basil, St Augustine, and John Cassian, combine to establish the last quarter of the fourth century as their probable date, and therewith serve to

¹ 'Corruptivum' is the reading of Tertullian and Cyprian.

² It is hard indeed to say why Dr Burn, against the older MS and the example of Mai, introduces a monstrosity like *tamquam* into his text. He withdraws the form explicitly in his *corrigenda* in two other instances, 47. 12 and 80. 12.

³ Of biblical references add 44. 16, 17, Acts ii 24; 44. 17, 18, Wisd. xvi 13; 45. 8, 9, Matt. xxv 46; 45. 11, Jo. xv 26; 46. 13, Eph. i 14; 46. 14, Jo. xvi 13; 47. 12, Matt. xviii 17; 48. 7, 8, Eph. i 13, iv 4, 5; 50. 19, 20, Marc. viii 38; 51. 11, Luc. xx 36; 51. 14, Jo. xvii 3; 51. 23, 2 Tim. iii 14; 52. 16, Eph. i 13.

support the claim of Niceta as their probable author. Both discourses are preserved together under the name Niceta (or Nicetius¹) in a group of French and Rhenish MSS ranging from the seventh century to the twelfth: each is also preserved separately in a longer recension and in later MSS under the name of Jerome. Yet not the least doubt can exist that the Jerome recension is the original, and that the other has been simply but skilfully formed out of it by omitting all that seemed personal, or superfluous, or (in the eyes of a later generation) of questionable value: Dom Morin suggests, and the suggestion seems a probable one, that this later text owes its origin to Caesarius of Arles at the beginning of the sixth century. The fuller form, which Dr Burn is the first to print, is so replete with interest that his readers will gladly accord him all the indulgence due to an *editio princeps*: but it cannot be denied that the crop of 'corrigenda' is considerable. The following scriptural references are left unnoticed: 58. 1, Ps. vi 6 (7); 61. 19, 20, Luc. ii 36, 37; 64. 11, 2 Cor. xi 27; 65. 2, Eph. vi 17; 66. 4, 1 Cor. xiv 15; 63. 4, Eph. v 8, 1 Th. v 5; 74. 9, Ps. civ (ciii) 30; 75. 10, Ps. l (xlix) 14; 77. 12, Matt. xxvi 30 (Marc. xiv 26); 79. 15, 16, 1 Cor. xiv 15; 80. 11, Gal. i 10; 81. 12, Ps. cl 5; 82. 18, Ps. lxxxiv (lxxxiii) 5. The punctuation should be altered in the following places: 61. 5, substitute comma for the full stop which separates from its subjunctive; 64. 21, comma for semi-colon; 65. 16, 17, add comma after *inania*, and substitute comma for semi-colon after *edit*; 69. 2, add comma after *proferam*; 71. 1, 73. 3, substitute commas for the full stops which separate the subordinate from the principal clause; 72. 15, add comma after *contribuit*; 75. 6, introduce sense by transferring the comma from *conscientia* to *Iudebatur* (comparing 75. 12, 77. 1); 75. 20, colon for full stop; 78. 11, rescue Niceta from the imputation of a false concord ('ministerium . . . ingentem') by putting the comma not after *ingentem*, but before it, 'ingentem magnam', i.e. 'vastly great'²; 80. 22, dele comma after *sonum*; 81. 20, add comma after *cele-*

¹ Compare what was said above, p. 208 n. 3, on the appearance of this name in Gallican MSS.

² As however I have not succeeded in finding any evidence for an idiom of this sort, it would probably be better to remove 'magnam' from the text altogether as a gloss on 'ingentem', which to some copyist or reader may easily have seemed too vulgar an epithet to stand in the text.

bratur; 82. 2, the words 'et quotiens volueris orare privatim'^{go} with what precedes, not with what follows, so that the comma before it must be removed and a colon inserted after *privatim*.

The text of these two treatises has not been so well preserved as that of the *libelli Instructionis*, and a wider field seemed to lie open for conjectural emendation. But, as a matter of fact, the only two suggestions I have to offer on the first half of the *de Vigiliis* are based on Dr Burn's apparatus of variants: in 57. 3 'nostri essent quia sumus utique christiani', read *quod* for *quia* with the 'Niceta' family, and punctuate 'nostri essent quod sumus, utique christiani', 'they would belong to us and be what we are, that is of course Christians': and in 60. 10 'ne vespertinas tantum horas noctis aestimes appellatas', read *noctes* with three MSS for *noctis*—Niceta is taking up the 'in noctibus' of Ps. cxxxiv (cxxxiii) 2 quoted immediately before. For the second half of the *de Vigiliis* and for the whole of the *de Psalm. bono*, such collectanea as I had put together are superseded for the moment by the fortunate discovery in the Vatican library of a new and valuable authority for the text. Dr Mercati hopes to transcribe this MS for publication in an early number of the JOURNAL: and it would be premature to criticize a text for which the apparatus is incomplete. As a specimen, however, of the assistance that may be expected from it, I will print the opening sentences of the *de Psalm.* as they stand in Dr Burn's edition and in the new Vatican MS respectively¹.

Burn, pp. 67, 68.

MS Vat.

Qui promissum reddit debitum soluit. memini me pollicitum, cum de gratia et utilitate uigiliarum dixissem, sequenti sermone in hymnorum laude et mysterio esse dicturum, quod nunc hic sermo Deo donante praestabit. nec sane potest tempus aliud aliter inueniri quam istud. a filiis lucis nox praeuidere dicitur, quo silentium et quies ab ipsa nocte praestatur, cum hoc ipsud celebratur

Qui promissum reddit debitum soluit. memini me pollicitum, cum de gratia et utilitate uigiliarum dixissem, sequenti sermone hymnorum et laudum ministerio esse dicturum: quod nunc hic sermo Deo donante praestabit. nec sane potest tempus aliud aptius inueniri, quam quo filiis lucis nox pro die ducitur, quo silentium et quies ab ipsa nocte praestatur, quo hoc ipsud celebratur quod

¹ It must be understood that this passage was not chosen as an average specimen of Dr Burn's text, but rather as what appeared to be the most corrupt part of it.

quod cupit sermo narrare. apta
est adoratio militi quando stat in
procinctu. sola nautis conuenit
cantilena cum remis incumbunt,
mare uerrentibus aptissima est.
et nunc huic conuentui ad hymno-
rum mysterium congregato ipsius
operis sicut praediximus adloquar.

cupit sermo narrare. apta est
adortatio militi quando stat in pro-
cinctu sollicitus: nautis conpetit
cantilena cum remis incumbunt
mare uerrentibus: aptissima est
et nunc huic conuentui ad hymno-
rum ministerium congregato ipsius
operis sicut praediximus adlocutio.

In puzzling over Dr Burn's text three things had become clear: (i) that *mysterio*, *mysterium*, ought to be corrected, by comparison with 77. 11, 78. 6, 11, into *ministerio*, *ministerium*; (ii) that *adoratio militi* could not stand, but must be altered into either *adiuratio* or *adhortatio*; (iii) that *mare uerrentibus* went with *remis*, and *aptissima est* with what followed. All this—but how much more than this!—is given us by the new text.

5. Of the *Te Deum* I have neither the knowledge nor the space to speak in detail. But we remember that the *de Psalmodiae bono* is a defence of the introduction of a special service of singing into Church worship: we find that Paulinus of Nola emphasizes hymn-writing as the conspicuous merit of his friend Niceta: we know that tradition points to the end of the fourth century as the date of composition of this greatest hymn of the Western Church: and we are then confronted with MSS which actually prefix to the *Te Deum* the name of Niceta or Nicetus. So indefinitely numerous are the writings attributed to the great Latin Fathers, that experience teaches us that the title 'Ambrose', 'Augustine', or 'Jerome' constitutes of itself hardly even a presumption of authenticity: but the case is different with an unknown writer and an unfamiliar name, and it may be anticipated that the ascription of the *Te Deum* to Niceta, brought into new prominence by the efforts of Dom Morin and Dr Burn, will gradually win its way to universal acceptance.

6. Nor need we delay over the *de pascha*. It is beyond question an interesting and primitive treatise, well worth the attention which Dr Burn has given it: its claim, however, to rank among the works of Niceta is conjectural, and the arguments which support the claim are subjective, so that it was rightly classed among the *opera dubia*. But it would be a highly useful task for some younger scholar of chronological tastes to amal-

gamate in a single volume all the more ancient pieces, Greek and Latin, which deal with paschal computations and paschal controversies: they cannot be studied profitably in isolation, and the collection in Bruno Krusch's *Studien zur christlich-mittelalterlichen Chronologie*, invaluable for its particular subject ('the 84 year Easter-cycle and its sources'), lacks most of the Greek and the earliest Latin material.

7. That a tract *ad lapsam virginem* was among the works of Niceta we knew on the testimony of Gennadius: and more than one of the older critics had already identified it with an epistle 'de lapsu Susannae devotae et cuiusdam lectoris', which is found now under the name of Ambrose, now under that of Jerome, but also in a small group of MSS—including, however, the oldest of all—under that of Nicaetus or Niceta. I do not really know why Dr Burn did not rank it among the undoubted works of our author: and I am sure that Dom Morin shewed less than his customary acumen when he brought forward, as an alternative candidate for the place, an unpublished letter from the great Corbie MS of Canons (Paris, lat. 12097: saec. vi). Dr Burn accords to this latter document—though some words in the preface suggest that he did not do so without misgivings—an equal position with the other claimant among the *opera dubia*: but one could not easily believe that 'persona regalis' (133. 9), which Morin interprets of Theodosius I, means anything but a Frankish king¹.

The treatise which I take leave to regard as the genuine Niceta offers in its history and transcription a curious parallel to the *de Vigiliis* and *de Psalmodiae bono*. In either case a shorter recension is extant under the name of Niceta, a longer under the name of some better known father, Jerome or Ambrose²: but in either case the longer recension, in spite of its falsified title, is undoubtedly the original. In the case of the tracts on Vigils and Psalm-singing, Dr Burn rightly printed the longer recension

¹ For 'in eo uoto uestroque commodo' (133. 4: a misprint?) read 'meo uoto uestroque commodo'.

² In the April number of the JOURNAL (vi 433) Mr Souter published a list of twelve MSS giving the authorship of St Ambrose, and fifteen that of St Jerome. None are older than the ninth century, while the Murbach MS of the 'Niceta' recension (now no. 68 in the library at Epinal) is at any rate earlier than the middle of the eighth.

in the text: it is unfortunate that he should have adopted the converse arrangement in the *de lapsu*, for time after time one has to look to the apparatus at the foot of the page (where Dr Burn repeats the longer recension from the editions of St Ambrose) for a clause or a paragraph necessary to complete the sense. Of course there are numerous details in which Dr Burn's MSS, being doubtless older than any of the fuller recension hitherto employed, enable us to correct the printed text¹: but I do not think there is a single instance where any substantial addition of the longer recension can be shewn to be alien to the true form of the text. And the editor practically throws up his case when he prints the last three pages of the treatise, which are altogether absent from his MSS, continuously with the rest of the text².

The real interest of the shorter recension, apart from its preservation of the author's name, lies in the remarkable colophon with which the truncated text concludes: 'Hanc epistolam sanctus emendavit Ambrosius quia ut ab ipso auctore fuerat edita non erat ita, quoniam ab imperitissimis fuerat uiciata. Emendavi Mediolano.' Now it seems as impossible to refuse all credence to this note as it is to accept it as it stands. On the one hand, St Ambrose was an elder contemporary and a not very distant neighbour of Niceta—the fixed points in the latter's life range from 398 to 414, while Ambrose died in 397—and if he had wanted a corrected copy of Niceta's writings would naturally have applied to him in person. On the other hand, the formula 'Emendavi Mediolano' (Mediolani?) has all the ring of genuineness: compare the 'Emendavit Iustinus Romae' found in one family of the MSS of Epp. 28 and 37 of St Cyprian, or the still more famous subscription of the ex-prefect Nicomachus, early in the fifth century, to the second pentad of Livy, 'Nicomachus Flavianus v. c. III praef. urbis emendavi apud Hennem.' I would suggest the following solution of the difficulty. Some time in the fifth century a scholar of the name of Ambrose edited at Milan this treatise of Niceta, and appended to his edition the customary record of his work, 'Ambrosius emendavi

¹ Thus in 116. 12 read with them *ut quid* for *et quid*, and in 123. 3 *haec* for *hae*.

² I am so sure that no one who reads the text and apparatus carefully together will question this conclusion, that I do not burden the pages of the JOURNAL with unnecessary proofs.

Mediolani.' A later scribe or editor, supposing that no Milan Ambrose could be other than the Saint, and puzzled to know why St Ambrose should be 'emending' Niceta, offered the explanation contained in the extant colophon. If this be so, credit whatever need be attached to anything beyond the name 'Ambrose', the locality of 'Milan', and the fact of 'emendation'.

The biblical references are more than usually incomplete in this tract: add 112. 11, Eph. ii 17; 113. 8, Jer. xxx 15?; 114. 1, 1 Cor. xiii 6; 112. 15, Prov. vii 24; 113. 24, Eph. ii 2; 114. 18, Wisd. i 5; 116. 12, Ps. xiv (xiii) 5; 117. 13, Rom. xii 1; 1 John ii 2; 118. 15, cf. 1 Tim. vi 12; 118. 20, 2 Cor. iii 3; 121. Rom. vi 21; 121. 12, Ps. xlv (xliv) 11; 122. 12, Lam. ii 1; 122. 18, Rom. ii 24; 123. 4, Luc. v 32; 123. 12, Apoc. iii 1; cf. Ps. lxix (lxviii) 29; 124. 11, Ps. xxii (xxi) 14 [15]; 125. 1 Cor. iv 3; 126. 2, Rom. xv 16; 126. 4 (compare too 129. Matt. xxvi 24, Mc. xiv 21; 127. 8, Tobit iv 9; 128. 2, Matt. x 13, &c.; 129. 1, 2, Lam. i 21; 129. 6, 7, Jer. xx 14; 129. 17, Is. xlviii 22; 129. 23, 24, cf. Ps. cvii (cvi) 42; 129. 29, Ps. 5 [6]; 130. 10-12, Jonah ii 5; 130. 18, 19, Ps. cxlvi (cxlv) 7, 131. 6, 7, Prov. v 22. Even where the references are marked at the foot of the page, the words quoted are not infrequently left in roman type—on what principle I have been unable to discover. On the other hand the punctuation is not often amiss: yet in 114. 21, 118. 2, 4, 125. 17, substitute commas for semi-colons, and similarly in the *apparatus criticus* p. 12 seventh line, comma for full stop before 'ille qui non mentitur' and p. 125, third and ninth lines, commas for semi-colons.

But if the present edition can hardly be called, from a textual point of view, final, it is for all that unlikely that the future will produce any editor of Niceta whose services would outweigh those of Dr Burn. The best is too often the enemy of the good, and though a more finished piece of work might have been produced if the five years, which we are told in the preface were spent over this edition, had been doubled, I do not think that anyone will regret that that course was not taken. How much patristic literature is there of which we should be only too thankful to possess as compact and serviceable a presentation as Dr Burn has given us of the writings of Niceta! Gratitude

is our last, as it was also our first, feeling: criticism, so far as is necessary, may be sandwiched in between. And the reviewer may be permitted in conclusion to express the earnest hope that Dr Burn, even in the midst of new and engrossing moral duties, will find the time and the courage to deal with others of the neglected fragments of Christian antiquity.

C. H. TURNER.

WHO SPOKE THE *MAGNIFICAT*?

DR BURN'S edition of the works of Niceta, the author of the *Te Deum*, has once more raised the question which forms the subject of this paper. Niceta wrote, among other things, a tract *De Psalmodiae Bono*, and in this he distinctly assigns the *Magnificat* to Elisabeth. His words are:—

'Ergo in euangelio inuenies primum Zachariam patrem magni Iohannis post longum illud silentium in hymni uice prophetasse. Nec Elisabeth, diu sterilis, edito de repromissione filio Deum de ipsa anima magnificare cessauit' (Burn, p. 76 f).

'Cum Elisabeth Dominum anima nostra magnificat' (Burn, p. 79).

Niceta, therefore, is to be added to the small group of textual 'authorities' which read in Luke i 46 *et ait Elisabet* where our Greek MSS have *καὶ εἶπεν Μαριάμ*.

Strictly speaking, the evidence of Niceta does not add material weight to the testimony for 'Elisabeth'. The reading 'Elisabeth' is found in *a*, *b* and *l**, i. e. in the leading Latin texts of North Italy, and also in the Latin of Irenaeus 235. These make up a typical 'European' group, just the company with which we should expect to find Niceta in agreement. Their united testimony shewed the reading 'Elisabeth' to belong to a very early stage of the European branch of the Old Latin version, and the accession of a fourth-century Father like Niceta cannot take us beyond this conclusion. At the same time I still think, as I wrote in Dr Burn's Introduction (p. cliii), that 'Niceta's authority may remove some of the more general objections to the unfamiliar reading. That the author of the *Te Deum* saw nothing incongruous in regarding the *Magnificat* as the utterance of Elisabeth shews that such an opinion is not incompatible with the strictest orthodoxy or with the fullest sense of the requirements of Christian worship.' I did not mean by these words that I thought Niceta a particularly expert biblical critic, but I do think his witness goes for something in the question of taste. There is a famous example of what I meant in another vexed

question. The 'medical' interpretation of *κάθαρσις* in Aristotle's definition of Tragedy has been held to be an unpoetical, and therefore an inadmissible, view. Against this it is enough to point out that an interpretation which was poetical enough for Milton is poetical enough for ordinary mortals. Similarly in the case of the *Magnificat*, a view of its origin which was seemly enough for the author of the *Te Deum* may be proved to be incorrect, but it is not open to the charge of being either an unseemly or an unworthy view.

It will probably be agreed by all who study the question that the actual occurrence of *Helisabeth* in Irenaeus 235 carries with it a very strong presumption that when we read in Irenaeus 185 *exultans Maria clamabat pro Ecclesia prophetans 'Magnificat . . .'* the word *Maria* has been substituted by copyists for *Helisabeth*. The general sense of the whole passage is the same as in 235, viz. that the true seed of Abraham exulted in the prophetic spirit to see the coming of the Christ who had been promised to the Fathers. Moreover, we know that on the preceding page (Irenaeus 184) an ancient Western reading has been corrected out of our present Latin text, for whereas the present Latin has *Hic est filius meus* for Matt. iii 16, the Oxyrhynchus fragment of Irenaeus, an almost contemporary witness, reads *ὃν εἶ ὁ υἱὸς μου*. It is a pity that the fragments do not include the quotation from Luke i 46.

But the evidence of Tertullian is clear for 'Maria': *Exultat Elisabeth, Ioannes intus impulerat; glorificat dominum Maria, Christus intus instinxerat* (*De Anima* 26). This African testimony is borne out by *e*, and with these go all Greek and all Syriac texts of Luke i 46. Such a consensus of authority is practically fatal to the claim of 'Elisabeth' to be considered the original reading; yet if 'Mary' were genuine the actual occurrence of 'Elisabeth' in the European branch of the Old Latin would be inexplicable. Now if the original text of the Gospel had *καὶ εἶπεν Μεγαλύνει κ.τ.λ.*, without either name, all the evidence falls into line. On the one hand, many texts ascribed the Hymn to Mary on the ground of the supposed appropriateness of Luke i 48 to the mother of our Lord. On the other, the text which underlies the European Latin—I will venture still to add, with greater literary tact—perceived that the pronoun in Luke i 56 ('Mary remained with *her*') should refer to the person who utters

the Hymn, and therefore that person must be Elisabeth. This point was evidently seized by the Syriac versions, for the Peshitta as well as the Sinai Palimpsest renders *ἔμεινεν δὲ Μαριάμ σὺν αὐτῇ* by 'Now Mary remained *with Elisabeth*'. But the Greek of i 56 has retained the tell-tale *αὐτῇ*, a word which I think enough, even without the evidence of Irenaeus and Niceta, to shew that St Luke intended us to understand that the *Magnificat* was spoken by Elisabeth and not by Mary.

The substance of the preceding paragraphs forms the conclusion of the note upon Niceta's Biblical text which I wrote for Dr Burn's book. He very kindly allowed me thus to express my opinion, although I was unable to convert him to my view. Following my note comes a note by the Bishop of Salisbury, who is an unhesitating defender of the ascription of the *Magnificat* to the Virgin Mary. Some of his arguments are referred to below, but I mention the note here because on the textual question I am delighted to find myself in agreement with the Bishop. He says: 'I have been for some time of opinion that the best explanation of the various readings "Mary" and "Elizabeth" is that both are glosses, intended to clear up the sense of a phrase which some readers or scribes found ambiguous. The original reading then would have been simply *καὶ εἶπεν . . .*' The conclusions of a single scholar do not, of course, decide the issue; the testimony of the Bishop of Remesiana does not make 'Elisabeth' genuine, and the opinion of the Bishop of Salisbury does not make it and 'Mary' a gloss. But in a matter which does to some extent affect the feelings of many Christian worshippers I am anxious to shew that I am not defending a paradox out of mere perversity, and that the direct evidence for the ascription of the *Magnificat* to the Virgin is not so strong as might at first sight appear.

Let us go on then to ask the Bishop of Salisbury's question: 'If the reading simply was *καὶ εἶπεν Μεγαλύνει ἡ ψυχὴ μου τὸν Κύριον* κ.τ.λ., which of the two names "Mary" or "Elizabeth" is to be supplied by the reader from the context?'

The answer falls into two parts. There is the question whether the *Magnificat* itself is more appropriate in the mouth of Mary or of Elisabeth; and there is the question whether the course of the conversation between the two Saints makes it more appro-

to regard Luke i 46-55 as the continuation of the words of the previous speaker or as the reply of the other.

Let us take the second point first. The whole conversation, with the proper names, runs in skeleton as follows:—

Luke i 40 Mary . . . entered into the house of Zacharias and greeted Elisabeth.

And it came to pass when Elisabeth heard the greeting of the babe leaped in her womb, and Elisabeth was filled with a holy spirit,

45 And . . . said, 'Blessed art thou among women . . .'

55 And she said, 'My soul doth magnify the Lord . . .'

Now Mary remained with her three months.

Does the literary habit of St Luke or the general march of the narrative suggest a change of speaker at v. 46? I think not.

St Luke is quite remarkably fond of inserting *καὶ εἶπεν* or *εἶπεν* between the speeches of his characters, without a change of speaker. This is often the case in the longer discourses of our Lord, where one parable or saying follows another without a break, e.g. Luke xv 11 (*εἶπεν δέ*). We find this even in cases such as Luke xi 5, where *καὶ εἶπεν πρὸς αὐτούς* follows immediately upon what he said to them, "When ye pray, say so-and-so"¹. In these instances, however, it may be said that the *εἶπεν* marks a fresh sentence or a fresh section; but St Luke's practice is not confined to such cases. In at least three instances the *εἶπεν* or *ἐλεγεν* comes in the middle of what is represented as continuous discourse. I give them in full:—

Luke iv 23, 24. And he said unto them: 'Doubtless ye will say of me this parable, "Physician, heal thyself: whatsoever we heard done at Capernaum, do also here in thine own country".' And he said (*εἶπεν δέ*): 'Verily I say unto you, No man can do these things here, but only in his country . . .'

Luke xviii 1-6. And he spake a parable . . . saying: 'There was in a city a judge . . . and he said within himself, "Though I am not God, . . . yet . . . I will avenge [this widow]".' And the Lord said (*εἶπεν δὲ ὁ κύριος*): 'Hear what the unrighteous judge saith . . .'

Luke xxi 9, 10. ' . . . when ye shall hear of wars and tumults,

do not count Luke xii 18, because the rich fool is having a dialogue (*διελογί-σθαι*) with himself.

be not terrified: for these things must needs come to pass first; but the end is not immediately.' *Then said he unto them* (τότε ἔλεγεν αὐτοῖς), 'Nation shall rise against nation. . . .'

The last instance is specially interesting from the point of view of the literary method of St Luke, for there is no question but that both verses form part of the same discourse and are addressed to the same audience. Moreover, in this case we actually possess the source of St Luke's words, viz. Mark xiii 7, 8. These verses are repeated almost verbally by St Luke, but he separates them by τότε ἔλεγεν αὐτοῖς, to which there is nothing corresponding in St Mark or in the parallel passage Matt. xxiv 6, 7. St Luke's little interpolation seems merely designed to throw a certain emphasis upon the words to which they are prefixed¹.

Somewhat similarly St Mark's ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς συκῆς μάθετε τὴν παραβολήν becomes in Luke xxi 29 καὶ εἶπεν παραβολὴν αὐτοῖς "Ἴδετε τὴν συκὴν κ.τ.λ.

From these instances it will be seen at once that we have no reason to demand a fresh speaker from the occurrence of the words καὶ εἶπεν in Luke i 46. The verses i 42-45 are Elisabeth's direct reply to Mary's salutation, mentioned in i 40; the following verses i 46-55 (i.e. the *Magnificat* itself) are not conversation but pious meditation: the transition from one to the other is marked by καὶ εἶπεν, indicating not a change of speaker, but of the mode of speech.

This usage is by no means confined to St Luke's Gospel: good instances are common enough elsewhere. Thus in John i 50 f, 'Jesus answered and said unto him [i.e. Nathanael], "Because I said . . . thou shalt see greater things than these." And he saith unto him, "Verily, verily . . ."' Here the two sayings are absolutely continuous and addressed to the same individual. And again in Mark vii 8, 9, we read (our Lord is speaking): "Ye leave the commandment of God, and hold fast the tradition of men." And he said unto them (καὶ ἔλεγεν αὐτοῖς), "Full well do ye reject the commandment of God . . .". But indeed we need not

¹ The above instances are all taken from our Lord's sayings. It is only natural that most of the examples should occur in His words, because He is the chief speaker all through. But the same way of writing is found in the story of the Penitent Thief (Luke xxiii 42). *En revanche*, a speaker in a real dialogue is sometimes not formally introduced each time by the Evangelist, as in Luke vii 41. Both in vii 41 and in xxi 10 most Western texts avoid the difficulties.

go further than 1 Kings xxii, the very same chapter to which the Bishop of Salisbury refers us. In v. 28 we read, 'And Micaiah said, "If thou return at all in peace, the LORD hath not spoken by me." And he said, "Hear, ye peoples, all of you"'¹.

But the Bishop of Salisbury urges that if the *Magnificat* were not spoken by Mary, 'the question of Elizabeth and her glowing words of address to her cousin received, so far as we know, no answer or acknowledgement.' It seems to me that this is rather a prosaic way of looking at the tale as told by St Luke. I cannot see that the 'question of Elizabeth' is a genuine interrogation, or that Mary had any answer to give. 'Whence is this to me, that the mother of my Lord should come unto me?' Well, but is the *Magnificat* any answer to this question? I fully recognize that St Luke gives us the account of a conversation, and also that a 'salutation' requires an acknowledgement. But the whole of Elisabeth's words are the acknowledgement of Mary's salutation, which is expressly mentioned in vv. 40 and 41.

If we assign the *Magnificat* to Elisabeth, the 'conversation' of the two holy women has a striking parallel in Luke ii 25-35, i.e. the 'conversation' of Mary and Simeon. In both cases Mary's interlocutor is said to have a holy Spirit, in both cases the whole of the words recorded is assigned to the interlocutor, and the words themselves consist partly of pious meditation, partly of words addressed exclusively to Mary.

We have now to consider whether the actual contents of the *Magnificat* are specially appropriate to Mary. It is not conclusive to point to v. 48^b, for the custom of calling the Mother of our Lord 'the Blessed Virgin' is derived directly from the wording of this verse. I am surprised to find the Bishop of Salisbury saying that 'the word *μακάριος* is not so common as to be used in such a connexion without emphasis'. Surely *μακαρία* is almost a technical term for a 'happy mother'. Either the adjective itself, or the appropriate part of the verb *μακαρίζειν*,

¹ The question at issue is one of style, not of authenticity, so that the mere occurrence of the last clause in the Massoretic Text is sufficient for my purpose. They occur again in 2 Chron. xviii 27. I firmly believe them to be original; but they are omitted in the Greek of 3 Regn. xxii 28, and the words *And he said* are omitted in the Greek of 2 Chron. xviii 27, probably because they seemed unnecessary. There are several instances of arbitrary curtailment in the Greek of 3 Regn. xxii, e.g. at the beginning of v. 27.

is the proper word to use in congratulating a mother or a grandmother¹. By a kind of oxymoron, used to produce an unexpected effect, *μακαρία* is predicated of the barren or the unmarried (Wisd. iii 13, Luke xxiii 29, 1 Cor. vii 40), but these three passages are almost enough by themselves to prove that the word was ordinarily used of the happiness of mothers in their children.

There is an obvious example of this in Luke xi 27. A still more instructive instance is to be found in Gen. xxx 13, the Greek of which has, I believe, helped to colour the wording of Luke i 48. At the birth of Asher, who was counted as a child to Leah, she said *Μακαρία ἐγώ, ὅτι μακαρίζουσίν με πᾶσαι αἱ γυναῖκες*. I cannot help believing that these very words were in St Luke's mind, and that just as Leah is here making a play of words on the name of Asher, so Luke i 49, 50 is a prophetic reference to the name John which was about to be given to the son of Elisabeth. *John* means 'Jahwe has shewn mercy'; it is therefore exceedingly appropriate that Elisabeth should say: 'They will call me happy like Leah, and therefore the son that is to be born will derive his name from the Holy Name of the God of Israel and at the same time commemorate His mercy.' Somewhat similarly Zacharias, the father of John, when filled with a holy Spirit, speaks in i 72 of the 'mercy' of the Lord God of Israel, and in the following verse we may detect in the mention of the 'oath' which He swore to Abraham an allusion to the name of John's mother, Elisabeth.

The rest of the *Magnificat*, so far as it can be said to be specially appropriate at all, fits Elisabeth's position better than Mary's. 'My soul doth *magnify* the Lord' is re-echoed in i 58, where at the birth of John Elisabeth's kinsfolk heard that the Lord had *magnified* His mercy towards her. That 'her spirit *rejoiced* (*ἠγαλλίασεν*)' is itself an echo of the leaping *for joy* (*ἐν ἀγαλλιάσει*) with which Elisabeth's unborn son welcomed the Mother of his Lord. The words 'For he hath regarded the lowliness of his handmaiden' are a direct adaptation of Hannah's prayer in 1 Regn. i 11, and therefore more appropriate in Elisabeth's mouth than in any other.

That the latter part of the *Magnificat* is really appropriate

¹ e. g. 4 Μacc. xvi 9 οὐδὲ μάμμη κληθεῖσα μακαρισθήσεται.

either to Mary or to Elisabeth in the historical setting of St Luke's narrative is a paradox which I am not prepared to maintain, but it is certainly not more appropriate to Mary than to Elisabeth. It consists of adaptations of Old Testament phrases taken from various parts of the Bible¹, the general effect being much the same as Hannah's Song, itself a very curious psalm for the occasion of its utterance. But the Septuagint lay before St Luke as it lies before us, and the wording of Hannah's Song is enough to explain the mention of Dynasts and Thrones, of the Hungry and the Rich. And in the LXX, as indeed the Bishop of Salisbury points out, Hannah's speech to Eli is immediately followed by Hannah's Song with only *καὶ εἶπεν* in between; I cannot but think that this was in St Luke's mind when he placed the *Magnificat* immediately after Elisabeth's reply to Mary's greeting. In direct imitation of 1 Regn. ii 1 St Luke inserts *καὶ εἶπεν* between the two parts of Elisabeth's utterances.

At the conclusion of my note in Dr Burn's edition of Niceta I expressed the opinion that the *Magnificat* was more appropriate in the mouth of the matron Elisabeth than in that of the Virgin Mary, and I ventured to adapt the famous phrase of St Ignatius (*Magnes.* § 8) in which Jesus Christ is called God's Word that came forth from Silence (*αὐτοῦ Λόγος ἀπὸ Σιγῆς προελθὼν*). My view that the *Magnificat* is intended by St Luke to be the Song of Elisabeth may be mistaken; but I cannot think that to be a serious error in orthodoxy, which I share with Irenaeus, or a serious error in taste, which I share with the author of the *Te Deum*².

F. C. BURKITT.

¹ e.g. Luke i 54* is taken from Isaiah xli 8 f (LXX): notice the use of *ἀντιλαμβάνεσθαι*.

² It was only after this article was in type that I was able to read Professor Harnack's brilliant article, called *Das Magnificat der Elisabeth*, in the *Sitzungsberichte* of the Berlin Academy for 1900, pp. 538-556. Harnack's general conclusions agree almost exactly with the view I have ventured to defend. 'So schrieb er [Lukas] einfach: *καὶ εἶπεν*. Dieses konnte zu der Annahme verführen, als trete ein neues Subject ein, und hat leider sehr frühe zu ihr geführt: in den Hauptstrom der Überlieferung wurde *Μαρία* aufgenommen; nur auf einer schmalen Linie erhielt sich die richtige Auslegung 'Ελισάβετ und drang ebenfalls in den Text ein' (p. 542). The chief difference between Harnack's interpretation of the evidence and that given above concerns Irenaeus 185. Professor Harnack thinks that St Irenaeus really read 'Mary' in Luke i 46, and that 'Elisabeth' in Irenaeus 235 is due to the Latin translator. But I venture still to adhere to my own view and to believe that Irenaeus regarded *Elisabeth* as a type of the ancient Jewish Ecclesia prophesying by a Divine Spirit about the Christ.

DOCUMENTS

CODEX TAURINENSIS (Y). III.

I 1 ΛΟΓΟΣ ΚΥ' ΟΣ' ΕΓΕΝΗΘΗ ΠΡ' ΙΩΗΛ ΤΟΝ ΤΟΥ ΒΑΘΟΥΗΛ:

2^a ἀκούσατε ταῦτα οἱ πρεσβύτεροι καὶ ἐνωτίσασθε πάντες οἱ κατοικοῦντες
τὴν γῆν· εἰ γέγονε τοιαῦτα ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις ἡμῶν ἢ ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις τῶν
3 πατέρων ὑμῶν· ³ περὶ αὐτῶν τοῖς τέκνοις ὑμῶν διηγήσασθε καὶ τὰ τέκνα
4 ὑμῶν τοῖς τέκνοις αὐτῶν καὶ τὰ τέκνα αὐτῶν εἰς γενεὰν ἐτέραν· ⁴ τὰ κατέ-
λοιπα τῆς κ . . . φαγεν ἢ ἀκρὶς καὶ τὰ κατάλοι . . . κατέφαγεν ὁ βροῦχος
5 καὶ τὰ . . . οὐχὺν κατέφαγεν ἢ ἐρυσί . . . ⁵ μεθύοντες ἐξ οἴνου αὐτῶν
6 . . . ἤσατε πάντες οἱ πίνον . . . ἐξήρται ἐκ στόματος . . . ἀρά· ⁶ ὅτι
ἔθνος ἀνέβη ἐ . . . καὶ ἀριθμητὸν οἱ ὁ . . . λέοντος· καὶ αἱ μύλαι αὐτοῦ
7 ὥς σκύμνου αὐτοῦ· ⁷ ἔθετο τὴν ἀμπελὸν μου εἰς ἀφανισμόν καὶ τὰς σκῆ-
μου εἰς συγκλασμόν· ἐρευνῶν ἐξερεύνησεν αὐτὴν καὶ ἔρριψεν· ἐλεύκανε τὰ
8 κλήματα αὐτῆς· ⁸ θρηνήσει πρὸς με ὑπὲρ νύμφην περιεζωσμένην σάκκον

Inscr Iωηλ δ BNAQ 1. εγενθη] εγενετο 22 36 62 86 τον] + uion Aq Σθ
Quint Sext (αι:ς Ιωηλ? Syro-Hex) 2. ακουσατε] + δη A Q 233 την
γην] την οικουμενην 147 γεγορε] -γεν BNAQ τοιαυτα] τοιαντας N* (-τα N)
ημων] υμων B^{ab} NA Q* (ημων B* Q^{ms}) 22 vestris OL^w η] και Q* (η Q^{ms}) 233 (aut
OL^w) υμων] ημων N* (υμων N^{a-b}) Q^a (vestrorum OL^w) 3. περι] υπερ BNAQ
48 97 228 233 super OL^w τοις τεκνοις 1^o—τοις τεκνοις 2^o] οτι 153 διηγησασθε]
διηγησασθαι 62 εις γενεαν ετεραν] nationibus aliis OL^w 4. βρουχος] βουχ^{ος}
N* (βρουχος Nⁱ forte c.b) βρουχος Q* bruchus OL^w ερυσι(βη)] ερισυβη A 153 (ερυσιβη
BNQ L) erysibee OL^w 5. εξ οινου αυτων] 4 in Syro-Hex αυταν] των sup
ras B^{ab} vestro OL^w OL^a . . . ησατε παντες οι πινον . . .] οτι 153 . . . ησατε]
θρηνειτε 95 185 πινον(τες)] πινοντες 22* (πινοντες 22^a) εξηρται] εξηρθη B^{na} vid
48 233 εξηχθη] (?) εξηχθη] N* (εξηρται N^{a-b} A Q) ρ ras 22 εκ στοματος] εκαστος 153
εκ του στ. A 6. οτι] οτι OL^a εθνος 1^o] οτι OL^a αριθμητον] αναριθμητον
BNAQ 22 και αι μυλαι αυτου ως σκυμνου] και μυλαι σκυμνου αυτου Aq και αι μυλαι
ως λεοντος Σ και αι μυλαι αυτου σκυμνον Θ ως σκυμνου αυτου] οτι ως BNAQ 48 97
233 οτι αυτου BNAQ (αυτου σκυμνου Nⁱ sign trans postea ras) 48 97 233 sicut catuli
leonis OL^w (leonum OL^a) 7. εθετο] εθεντο 233 συγκλασμον] συγκ. B* Q*
(συγκ. B^{ab} Q*) γλυκασμον 36 συγκλεισμον 147 ερευναν] ερευνον N* (-ων N^{a-b})
εξερευνησεν] εξηρευν. 22 αυτην] οτι A Q* (hab Qⁱ ms) 233 OL^w OL^a ερριψεν]
ερριψεν B* (ερρ. B^{ab}) ελευκαρε] -γεν BNAQ 22* (-γε 22^a) pr et OL^a τα] οτι NA
8. θρηνησει] θρηνησον BN (-σει N^{a-b} vid postea ras) A Q 36 48 97 153 228 233 -ση 147
(lugeat OL^w) προς με] οτι 36 οτι προς OL^w υπερ νυμφην] ως παρθενον 86^{ms} υπερ

9 ἐπὶ τὸν ἄνδρα αὐτῆς τὸν παρθενικόν· 9 ἐξῆρται θυσία καὶ σπονδὴ ἐξ οἴκου
 10 κῦ· πενθεῖτε οἱ ἱερεῖς οἱ λειτουργοῦντες θυσιαστηρίῳ· 10 ὅτι τεταλαιπώρηκε
 πεδία πενθείτω ἡ γῆ· ὅτι τεταλαιπώρηκε σῖτος ἐξηράνθη οἶνος ὠλιγώθη
 11 ἔλαιον 11 κατησχύνθησαν γεωργοί· θρηνεῖτε κτήματα ὑπὲρ πυροῦ καὶ
 12 κριθῆς ὅτι ἀπόλωλε τρυγητὸς ἐξ ἄγρου· 12 ἡ ἄμπελος ἐξηράνθη καὶ αἱ
 συκαὶ ὠλιγώθησαν ῥοὰ καὶ φοῖνιξ καὶ μῆλον καὶ πάντα τὰ ξύλου ἄγρου
 13 ἐξηράνθησαν ὅτι κατήσχυναν χαρὰν οἱ υἱοὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων· 13 περιζώσασθε
 καὶ κόπτεσθε οἱ ἱερεῖς θρηνεῖτε οἱ λειτουργοῦντες θυσιαστηρίῳ· εἰσέλθετε
 14 ὑπνώσατε ἐν . . . τες θῶ ὅτι ἀπέσχηκεν ἐξ . . . α καὶ σπονδὴ· 14 ἀγιάσ . . .
 θεραπείαν· συναγάγετε . . . τας κατοικοῦντας τὴν γῆν εἰς οἶκον θῷ ἡμῶν·
 15 καὶ κεκραῖατε πρὸς κῦ ἐκτενῶς 15 οἶμοι οἶμοι οἶμοι εἰς ἡμέραν ὅτι ἐγγὺς
 16 ἡμέρα κῦ· καὶ ὡς ταλαιπωρία ἐκ ταλαιπωρίας ἦξει· 16 ὅτι κατέναντι τῶν
 ὀφθαλμῶν ὑμῶν βρώματα ἐξήρθη καὶ ἐξ οἴκου θῷ ὑμῶν εὐφροσύνη καὶ
 17 χαρά· 17 ἐσκήρθησαν δαμάλεις ἐπὶ ταῖς φάτναις αὐτῶν· ἡῤωτιάσε σιτοδο-

I. 17^a. Chrys. *Ad Pop. Antioch.* iii 4

νυμφὴν περιζωσμενὴν] περιζ. υπερ ν. 62 147 9. εξηρται] εξηλθε Ν* (εξηρται Ν^{ca} (vid) c.b)
 πενθεῖτε] πενθητε 62 147 πενθεῖτε ad fin com] om 153 oi iereis] om oi
 BNA 147 oi 2°] om 51 22* (hab 22^a) θυσιαστηριῳ] pr πιπι Q^{ms} + κυριου A (in
 charact. min.) 48 228 θυσιαστηριῳ κυριῳ 86^{ms} Θ + ⲙⲁⲩⲁⲧⲉ Syro-Hex^{ms} 10. τετα-
 λαιπώρηκε 1°] -κεν Y* 22* (ν gas Y* 22^a) πεδία] pr τα BNA Q 22* (om
 22*) 36 48 153 228 233 πενθείτω] πενθητω 51 τεταλαιπώρηκε 2°] -κεν
 BNA Q 22* (-κε 22^a) ὠλιγώθη] ολιγ. Ν^{ca} (ωλιγ. Ν* c.b) 11. κατησχυν-
 θησαν] εξηρανθησαν BN* c.b (κατησχυνθ. Ν^{ca}) A Q 36 (κατησχυνθ. 36^{ms}) 48 153 228
 (κατησχυνθ. 228^{ms}) 233 κατισχυνθη (sic) 62 arefacti sunt OL^w κατησχυνθησαν
 γεωργοι] κατησχυναν γεωργους Aq κατησχυνθησαν Σ γεωργοι] pr oi A Q 153
 θρηνεῖτε] θρηνεῖτε Ν* (θρηνεῖτε Ν^{ca}, c.b) κτήματα] κτητορες Σ ⲙⲁⲩⲁⲧⲉ Syro-Hex^{ms}
 ἀπολώλε] -εν BA Q 22* (-ε 22^a) ἀπελώλεν Ν τρυγητος] θερισμος 86^{ms} αγρου]
 + quoniam lignum non attulit fructum OL^w 12. αἱ] om 95 185 ροα] ροια
 95 185 ροια 228 ξυλου] ξυλα του B^{ab} (ξυλου B) NA Q ligna OL^w εξηρανθησαν δ
 εξηρανθη Ν? 97 153 228 κατησχυναν] ησχυναν BNA Q 48 86^{ms} (κατησχυναν δ
 superscr in textu 86) 97 153 228 233 κατισχυναν 62 13. περιζώσασθε] + σακκον
 36 + σακκον supra lin 228 + vos OL^w κοπτεσθε] + vos OL^a oi 2°] om 153
 oi λειτουργουντες— . . . τες] om 147 εισελθετε] -θατε BNA 233 om 153 θω]
 dmo OL^w (deo OL^a) απεσχηκεν] επεσχ. Ν* (απεσχ. Ν^{ca}) 14. θεραπείαν]
 -αν Ν ⲙⲁⲩⲁⲧⲉ Syro-Hex (παν)τας] παντας Σ παντες Θ κατοικουντας] pr
 του 51 62 86 95 147 185 την] om BNA Q 48 233 θῷ] κῦ Ν^{ca} κῦ θῷ Ν^{ca}, b A
 153 233 του θῷ 62 86 147 domini dei OL^a υμων] ημων 36 86 153 228 nostri OL^a
 και] om 36 62 κεκραζατε] -ετε 48 153 228 κραζατε 185 εκτενω] adnot θ' monos
 τον οβελ[ισκον] ειπεν ομ[οιως] τ[οι]ς ο' Q^{ms} 15. οἶμοι 1° 2° 3°] oi emoi 22* (ras e
 22^a) vae mihi OL^a οἶμοι οἶμοι οἶμοι εἰς ἡμεραν] ⲙⲁⲩⲁⲧⲉ Syro-Hex
 οἶμοι 3°] superscr 228 eis] superscr 228 ημεραν] + domini OL^a ημερα]
 pr η NA Q 48 51* (om 51*) 62 86 147 228 16. οτι] om BN (hab sub
 in charact. min. A) Q 22 48 153 233 εξηρθη] εξωλεθρευθη BN
 (εξηρθη [εξηρανθη postea ras] Ν*) A Q 36 48 233 Σ εξηρανθη 62 95 147 185
 εξωλεθρευθη εξηρθη 228^a (εξωλοθρευθη 228*) και 1°] om BNA Q 36 48 97 228
 233 υμων 2°] ημων 36 51 153 17. εσκηρθησαν δαμαλεις επι ταις
 φατναις αυτων] ηυρωτιασε σιτοδοχεια απο των χρισματων αυτων Σ ⲙⲁⲩⲁⲧⲉ .l

χεία ἀπὸ τῶν χρισμάτων αὐτῶν ἠφανίσθησαν θησαυροὶ κατεσκάφθησαν
 18 ληνοὶ ὅτι ἐξήρθη σίτος· ¹⁹ τί ἀποθήσομεν ἑαυτοῖς; ἐκλαυσε βουκόλια
 βοῶν ὅτι οὐχ ὑπῆρχε νομὴ αὐτοῖς καὶ τὰ ποίμνια τῶν προβάτων ἠφανίσθη
 19 ¹⁹ πρὸς σε κέ βοήσομαι ὅτι πῦρ ἀνήλωσε τὰ ὠραῖα τῆς ἐρήμου καὶ φλόξ
 20 ἀνήψε πάντα τὰ ξύλα τοῦ ἀγροῦ· ²⁰ καὶ τὰ κτήνη τοῦ πεδίου ἀνέβλεψε
 πρὸς σε· ὅτι ἐξηράνθησαν ἀφείσεις ὑδάτων καὶ πῦρ κατέφαγεν τὰ ὠραῖα
 II 1 τῆς ἐρήμου· ¹ . . . σιών κηρύξατε ἐν ὄρει . . . σαν πάντες οἱ κατοικοῦντες
 2 πάρεστιν ἡμέρα κυ· ² . . . οὐς καὶ γνώφον· ἡμέρα νεφέλης καὶ ὁμίχλης
 ὡς ὄρθρος χυθήσεται ἐπὶ τὰ ὄρη λαὸς πολλὸς καὶ ἰσχυρὸς· ὅμοιος αὐτῷ οὐ
 γέγονεν ἀπὸ τοῦ αἰῶνος· καὶ μετ' αὐτὸν οὐ προστεθήσεται ἕως ἐτῶν εἰς
 3 γενεὰς γενεῶν· ³ τὰ ἔμπροσθεν αὐτοῦ πῦρ ἀναλίσκον· καὶ τὰ ὀπίσω αὐτοῦ
 ἀναπτομένη φλόξ· ὡς παράδεισος τρυφῆς ἢ γῆ ἔμπροσθεν αὐτοῦ· καὶ
 τὰ ὀπίσω αὐτοῦ πεδίου ἀφανισμοῦ· καὶ ἀνασωζόμενος οὐκ ἔσται ἀπ' αὐτοῦ·
 4 ⁴ ὡς ὄρασις ἵππων ἢ ὄρασις αὐτῶν· καὶ ὡς ἱππεῖς οὕτως καταδιώξονται·
 5 ⁵ ὡς φωνὴ ἀρμάτων ἐπὶ τὰς κορυφὰς τῶν ὄρεων ἐξαλοῦνται· καὶ ὡς φωνὴ

18^a Chrys. *Ad Pop. Antioch.* iii 420^a *De Sicc.* 18. 20

* ܠܝܢܐܝܝܢ ܠܡܥܡ ܥܕܢ ܠܝܢܐܝܝܢ ܠܡܥܡ ܥܕܢ Syro-Hex εσκιρτησαν—φατναι
 αυτων] Chrys = Y δαμαλεις] -λις N* (-λεις N^{c,b}) A φατναι] παθναις N* (φατναις
 N^{c,a}, c,b) ηρωτιασε σιτοδοχεια απο των χρισματων αυτων] om BNAQ (ηρωτιασε
 sub * 22) 48 153 233 ηρωτιασε (sic) sub * 97^a (om 97^a) η βρωτια σε (sic) σιτοδοχεια
 απο των χρησματος αυτων 228^{ms} (om 228^a) ηφανισθησαν] ηφανισθη 153 ληνοι
 θησαυρων Aq θησαυροι Σ Θ εξηρθη] εξηρανθη BNAQ 11 (exc 22 36 51 97) 18-
 αποθηρομεν εαυτοις] * ܠܝܢܐܝܝܢ ܠܡܥܡ ܥܕܢ Syro-Hex αποθηρομ
 -σωμεν 62 147 εκλαυσε] -σαν BNAQ Chrys (al -σε Chrys) -σεν 22* (-σε 22^a)
 51 95 97 185 βουκολια] βοκολια (κο subscr) 22 υπηρχε] -χεν BNAQ 22* (-
 22^a) αυτοις] αυτων 95 185 τα] om Chrys ηφανισθη] ηφανισθησαν BNAQ
 (ηφανισθη Q*) 11 (exc 36 51 97) 19. ανηλωσε] -σεν BNAQ ανηλωκε 22^a (-σε 22^a)
 αναλωσαι 62 ανηψε] -ψεν BNAQ 20. και τα κτηνη] και τα πεδια 95 18
 παντα τα κτηνη Chrys του πεδιου] του παιδιου N* Q* (του πεδιου N^{c,b} Q*)
 ανεβλεψε] -ψαν BNQ 48 153 228 233 -ψεν A 22* (-ψε 22^a) 36 1 62 86 97 147
 ενεβλεψε 95 185 επρασιωθη Aq οτι] om A αφεσεις] εξοδοι Σ υδατων] ναματα
 Chrys και πυρ ad fin com] om 95 153 185 κατεφαγεν] -γε 22^a (-γεν 22^a)
 II. 1. σιών] Σειων BAQ (Σειων B^b Q*) κηρύξατε] σημανατε Σ Θ (και συνα-
 χθητω]σαν] και συγχυθητωσαν BNQ* (και συνχ. Q*) 48 153 233 ܠܡܥܡܝܢ Syro-
 Hex^{ms} ημερα] pr η NA 51 62 95 147 185 κυ] pr του A 2. ορθρος] pr ο N
 αυτων] αυτου A ου γεγονεν] ουκ ηκουσθη 233 μετ αυτον] οι ο' μετ αυτου Q^{ms}
 μετ αυτων 62 147 228 μετ αυτου Aq μετα τουτο Σ μετ αυτον Θ ܠܡܥܡܝܢ Syro-Hex
 3. τα 1^o] τα δε N^{c,a} (δε postea ras) αναλίσκον] -σκον 147 οπισω] οπισθεν A 86^{ms}
 αυτου 2^o] om 62 147 τρυφης] θυφης N* (τρυφης N^{c,a}(vid) e,b) εμπροσθεν 2^o] προ
 προσωπου BNAQ 36 (εμπροσθεν 36^{ms}) 48 86^{ms} (εμπροσθεν suprascr δ 86) 233 απο
 προσωπου 153 228 οπισω 2^o] οπισθεν BN* (οπισω N^{c,a}) A 48 233 πεδιον] campi
 OL^w ουκ εσται] ουκ εστιν 22 36 51 62 86^{ms} 95 97 147 185 (non erit OL^w) απ
 αυτου] αυτων BNQ 36 48 86^{ms} (ap αυτου 86^a) 153 233 Syro-Hex (ap αυτου Syro-
 Hex^{ms}) om απ A 22 επ αυτου 95 185 ex eis OL^w αναπτομενη] απομνη 22^a (αναπτ.
 22^a) 4. ορασις 2^o] οψις A 233 οψεις Q* (ορασις Q^{ms}) αυτων] αυτων N* (αυτων
 N^{c,b}) ως 2^o] οι A ουτως] οντω N* (-τως N^{c,a}) 5. ως 1^o] pr et OL^w

Φλογὸς πυρὸς κατεσθιούσης καλάμην· καὶ ὡς λαὸς πολλὸς καὶ ἰσχυρὸς
 6 παρατασσόμενος εἰς πόλεμον· ὁ ἀπὸ προσώπου αὐτοῦ συντριβήσονται λαοί·
 7 πᾶν πρόσωπον ὡς πρόσκαυμα χύτρας· ὡς μαχηταὶ . . . ἄνδρες πολε-
 μισταὶ ἀνα . . . καὶ ἕκαστος ἐν τῇ αὐτοῦ ὁδῷ . . . μὴ ἐκκλίνῃ τὰς τρίβους
 8 . . . πρὸ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ αὐτοῦ οὐκ ἀφ' . . . ρυνόμενοι ἐν τοῖς . . . καὶ
 9 ἐν τοῖς βέλεσιν αὐτῶν πεσοῦνται· καὶ οὐ μὴ συντελεσθῶσι· ὁ τῆς πόλεως
 ἐπιλήψονται καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν τειχέων αὐτῶν δραμοῦνται· καὶ ἐπὶ ταῖς οἰκίαις
 10 ἀναβήσονται· καὶ διὰ θυρίδων εἰσελεύσονται ὡς κλέπται· ὁ πρὸ προσώπου
 αὐτοῦ συγχυθήσεται ἡ γῆ καὶ σεισθήσεται ὁ οὐρανός· ὁ ἥλιος καὶ ἡ σελήνη
 11 συσκοτάσουσι καὶ τὰ ἄστρα δύσουσι τὸ φέγγος αὐτῶν· ὁ πᾶς δώσει
 φωνὴν αὐτοῦ πρὸ προσώπου δυνάμεως αὐτοῦ· ὅτι πολλή ἐστιν σφόδρα
 ἡ παρεμβολὴ αὐτοῦ· ὅτι ἰσχυρὰ ἔργα λόγων αὐτοῦ· διότι μεγάλη ἡμέρα
 12 τοῦ κυ· μεγάλη καὶ ἐπιφανὴς σφόδρα καὶ τίς ἔσται ἱκανὸς αὐτῇ; ὁ καὶ νῦν
 λέγει πᾶς ὁ θεὸς ὑμῶν ἐπιστράφητε πρὸς μὲ ἐξ ὅλης τῆς καρδίας ὑμῶν καὶ
 13 ἐν νηστεία καὶ ἐν κλαυθμῷ καὶ ἐν κοπετῷ· καὶ διαρρήξατε τὰς καρδίας
 ὑμῶν καὶ μὴ τὰ ἱμάτια ὑμῶν· καὶ ἐπιστρά . . . ὅτι ὑμῶν ὅτι ἐλεήμων
 14 καὶ . . . κρόθυμος καὶ πολυέλεος . . . ταῖς κακίαις· τίς οἶδεν εἰ . . . σει

II 11^{ay} Chrys. *Contra Anom.* xii 3

13^a *Ad Pop. Antioch.* iv 1

τεροί] om OL^a καὶ 3^o] om N 153 7. καὶ] om 95 185 ἐν τῇ αὐτοῦ ὁδῷ δ . . .]
 ἐν τῇ ὁδῷ αὐτοῦ BNA Q 48 62 86 147 153 228 233 ἐκκλινῇ] ἐκκλινώσιν BNQ^a
 (ἐκκλινούσι Q^a) L (exc 22 51 97 153) ἐκκλινούσιν A κλινούσι 153 τας] τους A
 8 . . . πο του ἀδελφου αὐτου ουκ ἀφ(εξεταί)] καὶ ἕκαστος τον πλησιον αὐτου ου θαψεί Σ
 . . . απο του ἀδελφου αὐτου . . . Θ ἀδελφου] πλησιον Q^{ms} 228 ἀδελφον 153 αὐτου]
 αὐτων Q^a ουκ ἀφ(εξεταί)] ܘܠܝܢ ܠܝܢ Syro-Hex^{ms} καὶ ου μὴ συντελεσθῶσι
 ου διακοφουσιν Σ καὶ ου συντριβησονται Θ συντελεσθῶσι] -σιν BN^a (συντελεσῶσιν
 N^{ab}) συντελεσῶσιν A Q^a τῷδ (συντελεσῶσι Q^a 153 228^a) 9. ἐπιληψονται] ἐπιληψί.
 BNA αὐταν] om BNA Q 48 62 86 147 153 228* (hab 228^a) 233 δραμοῦνται]
 διαδραμοῦνται 62 86 147 καὶ 2^o] om 22 51 95 153 185 228 ταις οικίαις] τας
 οικίας A Q L (exc 48 62 147) τας θυρίδας 62 86 147 10. αὐτου] αὐταν N^a
 (αὐτου N^{ab} Θ Syro-Hex) A Q 51 153 233 συγχυθήσεται] συσχ. N ο ἥλιος—
 συσκοτάσουσι] om 228* (hab 228^{ms}) pr et OL^a συσκοτάσουσι] -σιν BNA συσκοτα-
 σῶσιν Q^a (-σι Q^a) σκοτάσουσι 36 τα] om 22 48 153 δύσουσι] -σιν BNA ου
 δῶσουσιν καὶ τὰ ἄστρα ου δῶσουσιν Q^a ου δῶσουσι Q^a 86 + nec dabunt OL^a φέγγος]
 φέγγος A 11. πᾶς] pr o 153 δυνάμεως] exercitus OL^a ὅτι 1^o—παρεμβολή
 αὐτου] om 22 228 (hab 228^{ms}) σφόδρα 1^o] om 36 ὅτι ἰσχυρὰ ἔργα λόγων αὐτου] ὅτι
 ἰσχυροὶ οἱ ποιοῦντες τον λογον αὐτου Σ διότι] ὅτι N^a (διότι N^{ab}) et OL^a ἡμέρα]
 2^o η N 22 του κυ] om του Q^a (hab Q^a) 48 62 86 147 153 233 μεγάλη 2^o]
 om A 48 pr et OL^a ܘܠܝܢ ܠܝܢ Syro-Hex ἔσται ἱκανος αὐτῇ] ܘܠܝܢ ܠܝܢ
 ܠܝܢ Syro-Hex ἔστιν ἱκανος αὐτῇ N^a (ἔσται . . . N^{ab}) 95 185 ἱκανος ἔστιν αὐτῇ A
 erit sufficiens illi OL^a 12. νῦν] + haec OL^a + sic OL^a ὑμῶν 1^o] ἡμῶν 36^a
 (ὑμῶν 36^a) 53 228 (vester OL^a OL¹) ἐπιστράφητε] pr καὶ 36 της] om Q^a (hab
 Q^{ms}) 233 καὶ 2^o] om A L (exc 48 228) 86 νηστεία] -στία N^a + καὶ ἐν σαρκὶ 228
 καὶ ἐν νηστεία] simulque et ieiunio OL^a OL¹ (al om simulque et OL^a OL^a)
 ἐν 2^o 3^o] om OL^a OL¹ 13. καὶ διαρρήξατε—ἱμάτια ὑμῶν] Chrys = Y διαρρήξατε]
 διαρρξ. BN (διαρρξ. N^{ab}, e^b) καὶ μὴ τὰ ἱμάτια ὑμῶν] om 95 185 καὶ ἐπιστρά . . .
 ἐν ὑμῶν] om 185 ταις] om Q^a (hab Q^{ms}) 153 ταις κακίαις] + ἡμῶν supra lin 97 +

15 καὶ ὑπολείπεται ὅπῃ καὶ σπονδὴν κῶ τῷ θῷ ἡμῶν; ¹⁵ σαλπίζετε
 16 σάλπιγγι ἐν σειῶν· ἀγιάσατε νηστείαν· κηρύξατε θεραπείαν· ¹⁶ συναγάγετε
 λαὸν ἀγιάσατε ἐκκλησίαν ἐκλέξασθε πρεσβυτέρους συναγάγετε νήπια
 θηλάζοντα μαστοὺς ἐξελεθῶν νυμφίος ἐκ τοῦ κοιτῶνος αὐτοῦ καὶ νύμφη
 17 ἐκ τοῦ παστοῦ αὐτῆς· ¹⁷ ἀνὰ μέσον τῆς κρηπίδος καὶ τοῦ θυσιαστηρίου
 κλαύονται οἱ ἱερεῖς οἱ λειτουργοῦντες τῷ κῶ καὶ ἑροῦσι φεῖσαι κῆ τῶ
 λαοῦ σου καὶ μὴ παραδῶς τὴν κληρονομίαν σου εἰς ὄνειδος τοῦ μὴ κατάρχει
 18 αὐτῶν ἔθ . . . μὴ εἴπωσιν ἐν τοῖς ἔθνεσι ποῦ ἐστὶν ὁ . . . ¹⁸ καὶ ἐζήλωσε κῶ
 19 τὴν γῆν αὐτοῦ κ . . . τοῦ λαοῦ αὐτοῦ· ¹⁹ καὶ ἀπεκρίθη κῶ καὶ εἶπεν τῷ
 λαῷ αὐτοῦ ἰδοὺ ἐγὼ ἐξα τὸν σῖτον καὶ τὸν οἶνον καὶ τὸ ἔλαιον καὶ
 20 ἐμπλησθήσεσθε αὐτῶν· κα κέτι εἰς ὀνειδισμόν ἐν τ ²⁰ . βορρᾶ
 ἐκδιώξω ἀφ' εἰς γῆν ἀνδρῶν· κ τοῦ εἰς τὴν θάλα πῖσω
 αὐτοῦ εἰς . . . καὶ ἀναβήσεται ἡ σαπρία αὐτοῦ· καὶ ἀναβήσεται ὁ βρόμος
 21 αὐτοῦ ὅτι ἐμεγάλυνε τὰ ἔργα αὐτοῦ· ²¹ θάρσει γῆ χαίρε καὶ εὐφραίνου· ὅτι
 22 ἐμεγάλυνε κῶ τοῦ ποιῆσαι· ²² θαρσεῖτε κτήνη τοῦ πεδίου· ὅτι βεβλάσθη
 τὰ πεδία τῆς ἐρήμου· ὅτι ξύλον ἤνεγκε τὸν καρπὸν αὐτοῦ· ἄμπελος
 23 συκὴ ἔδωκεν τὴν ἰσχὺν αὐτῶν· ²³ καὶ τὰ τέκνα σειῶν· χαίrete καὶ εὐφ
 νεσθε ἐπὶ κῶ τῷ θῷ ἡμῶν· διότι ἔδωκεν ὑμῖν βρώματα εἰς δικαιοσύνην

15^b Chrys. *De Virg.* xxx 16 *De Virg.* xxx 16^b *Ad Pop. Antioch.* i
 20^a In *Psal.* lxxxviii § 4 23^c *De Sicc.*

irrogatas OL^c malitiam inrogatam OL¹ 14. καὶ υπολείπεται] υποληφεται 86 κ
 υποληφεται 228 ἡμῶν] ὑμῶν 22 48 86 95 185 233 15. σαλπίζετε] ¹⁵ σαλ
 15. σαλπίζετε] ¹⁵ σαλ Syro-Hex σειῶν] Σειῶν B^b Q^a (Σειῶν B^a Q^a) ἀγιάσατε
 ad fin com] Chrys = Y νηστείαν] νηστειαν B^a (νηστειαν B^{ab}) + et OL^c θεραπείαν
 -πιαν N 16. λαὸν] ῥρ τον A λαὸν ἀγιάσατε] om Chrys ἐκλέξασθε] ἐκλεξατε
 Chrys ἐξελεθῶν ad fin com] Chrys = Y ἐξελεθῶν -θατω BN^c (postea
 -θετω) Q^a κοιτῶνος] νυμφῶνος Q^a (κοιτῶνος Q^{ms}) 86^{ms} αὐτοῦ] om Q^a (hab
 Q^{ms}) αὐτῆς] de Q^a non liq (αὐτῆς Q^a) 17. ἀνα μέσον τῆς κρηπίδος] ἀναμεσον
 τῆς θυρίδος (superser ab al man) 36 τῆς κρηπίδος] ¹⁷ τῆς κρηπίδος
 17. ἀνα μέσον τῆς κρηπίδος] ¹⁷ τῆς κρηπίδος Syro-Hex καὶ 1^o] om BNAQ 22 48 153 228 233 τῶ κῶ] om
 τῶ BNAQ 95 185 233 ἐροῦσι] -σιν BNAQ παραδῶς] δῶς BNAQ 95 (exc
 36 51 97) εἰς ὄνειδος] εἰς ἐρήμον 86^{ms} μὴ καταξαι αὐτῶν] om μὴ BNAQ 95
 (exc 22* [om 22^a] 51 95 97 185) καταξε αὐτοὺς N^a (καταρξε [-ξαι N^c b] αὐτῶν N^c a, b)
 ἐθνεσι] -σιν Y^a (ν ras Y^a) BNAQ 18. καὶ ἐζήλωσε] -σεν BNAQ 22* (-σε 22^a)
 καὶ ζήλωσει θ τὴν γῆν αὐτοῦ] τὴν γῆν αὐτῶν 147 ῥρ ἐπὶ supra lin 97^a κ . . . ad fin
 com] om 147 του λαοῦ] om 153 19. εἶπεν] -πε 22* (-πεν 22*) ἐγὼ] om
 62 147 ἐμπλησθήσεσθε] -σθαι 147 20. γῆν] τὴν N^a (γῆν N¹) αὐτοῦ]
 αὐτῆς 62 147 καὶ ἀναβήσεται 1^o—καὶ ἀναβήσεται 2^o] om 97 ἡ σαπρία] om
 η BA (hab A^a) 233 ἐμεγάλυνε] -νεν BN 22 ἐμεγαλυνθη A Q 95 185
 228 21. θάρσει γῆ] θαρση (sic) η γῆ 62 147 ἐμεγάλυνε] -νεν BNAQ 22*
 (-νε 22^a) 22. ὅτι βεβλάσθη—ἐλαβετε com 5 cap seq] leguntur in mg 97
 βεβλάσθη] -κεν BNAQ 22* (-κε 22^a) τα πεδία] η νομῆ Σ τα] om BNQ^a
 (hab N^c b Q^a) ὅτι 2^o] καὶ 233 et OL^{tert} ἤνεγκε] -κεν BNAQ ἔδωκε 86^{ms} 233
 ἀμπελος καὶ συκὴ] ἵρ BN 48 23. καὶ 1^o] om 147 σειῶν] σιῶν B^b NAQ^a 22
 (Σειῶν B^a Q^a) ἐπὶ εν Q^a κῶ τῶ θῷ] τῶ κυρίῳ θεῷ BN κῶ θῷ Q^a (κῶ τῶ θῷ
 Q^{ms} vid) om τῶ 48 233 τῶ οικῶ 95 185 διότι] om N^c b 95 (exc 48 233) βρώματα]

24 καὶ βρέξει ὑμῖν ὑετὸν πρόμιον καὶ ὄψιμον καθὼς ἔμπροσθεν· 24 καὶ πλησθή-
 25 σονται αἱ ἄλλω . . . ὑπερεκχυθήσονται αἱ ληνοὶ οἶνου . . . 25 . . . αἱ ἀνταποδώ-
 σαι ὑμῖν ἀντὶ τῶν . . . ἐν ἡ ἀκρις καὶ ὁ βροῦχος καὶ ἡ . . . πη· ἡ δύναμις
 26 μου ἡ μεγάλη . . . ὑμῶν· 26 καὶ φάγεσθε ἐσθίον . . . σθε καὶ αἰνέσετε τὸ
 27 ὄνομα . . . ἦσε μεθ' ὑμῶν θαυμά . . . θῇ ὁ λαὸς μου εἰς τὸν . . . 27 . . . τι
 μέσῳ τοῦ ἡλ . . . ὑμῶν· καὶ οὐκ ἔστιν ἔτι . . . κατασχυνθῇ ἔτι ὁ λαὸς
 28 μου εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα· 28 καὶ ἔσται μετὰ ταῦτα καὶ ἐκχεῶ ἀπὸ τοῦ πνεύματος
 μου ἐπὶ πᾶσαν σάρκα· καὶ προφητεύσουσιν οἱ υἱοὶ ὑμῶν καὶ αἱ θυγατέρες
 ὑμῶν· καὶ οἱ πρεσβύτεροι ὑμῶν ἐνύπνια ἐνυπνιασθήσονται· καὶ οἱ νεανίσκοι
 29 ὑμῶν ὁράσεις ὄψονται· 29 καὶ ἐπὶ τοὺς δούλους μου καὶ ἐπὶ τὰς δούλας ἐν
 30 ταῖς ἡμέραις ἐκείναις ἐκχεῶ ἀπὸ τοῦ πνεύματος μου· 30 καὶ δώσω τέρατα
 31 ἐν τῷ οὐνῳ καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς αἷμα καὶ πῦρ καὶ ἀτμίδα καπνοῦ· 31 ὁ ἥλιος
 μεταστραφήσεται εἰς σκότος καὶ ἡ σελήνη εἰς αἷμα πρὶν . . . τὴν ἡμέραν κυ
 32 τὴν μεγάλην κ . . . 32. ἔσται πᾶς ὃς ἂν ἐπικαλέσῃτα . . . θήσεται· ὅτι ἐν
 τῷ ὅρει σιῶν καὶ . . . ἀνασωζόμενος καθότ . . . λυζόμενοι οὓς ὁ κῶ προσ . .

24^a Chrys. 28 *Contra Jud.* v Theod. *Interpret. Ep. ad Rom.* iii *In Is.* ii

29 Chrys. *Contra Jud.* v 30 *In Pascha* vi 2 31 *Ibid.* vi 2 *De Bapt. Chr.* ii

32^b *De Pat. et de Consumm.*

ῥ τα ΒΝΑ Q 48 153 233 βραματα Ν* (βρωματα Ν^{a,b}) τον υποδεικνυντα Σ βρεξει]
 επεβρεξει Chrys υμιν] εις υμας Chrys προμιον] προιμον B^b Q^a 22 Chrys
 24. και πλησθησονται—ελαιου] om (adscript in mg cum υπερεκχυθησονται pro υπερεχυ-
 θησονται) 86 πλησθησονται] εμπλησθ. Α πληθυνθησονται υμων Chrys υπερεκχυθη-
 σονται] υπερχυθησονται ΒΝ υπερεκχυθησονται Α Q* (-χυθησεται Q^{ms}) 31 (exc 48 233)
 om Chrys 25. ανταποδωσει]-σω ΝΑ 22 ανταποδω 95 185 η δυναμις] ῥ και Ν*
 (improb και Ν^a) om η (adscr supra lin) 36 26. και φαγεσθε] om 233 εσθιον(τες)]
 εσθοντες Q 86^{ms} 153 om 233 υμων] + εις ΒΝΑ Q 48 233 ημων 95 185 27. Totum
 comma deest 62 147 μεσω] ῥ εν 22 (και ου μη) κατασχυνη ad fin com] om
 153 κατασχυνη] κατασχυνηθωσιν ΒΝ* (-χυνη Ν^{a,b}) 48 86^{ms} ετι] om Ν* (ετι
 Ν^a Ν^{a,b} vid.) ουκετι Α Q 233 om 95 185 ο λαος] ῥ pas Α Q 233 μου] + ετι 95 185
 28. και 2^o] om Ν^{a,b} Α Q* (hab Q^a) 95 OL^a OL^{tert} εκχεω—θυγατερες υμων] Theod
 = Y απο του πνευματος μου] το πνευμα μου Αq Σ σαρκα] σαρκαν Ν υμων 1^o
 om OL^a OL^{tert} και αι θυγατερες ad fin com] και αι θυγατερες ορασεις οψονται και οι
 νεανισκοι υμων ενυπνια ενυπνιασθησονται Chrys και αι θυγατερες υμων] om 153
 υμων 2^o] eorum OL^a OL^{tert} και οι πρεσβυτεροι υμων] om 147 ενυπνια] ενυπνα
 Ν* ενυπνιοις Ν^{a,b} Α Q 233 ορασεις] -σις Ν* (-σεις Ν^{a,b}) ορασει (sic) add s ab man
 rec 29. και 1^o] + γε Ν^a Ν^{a,b} Α 31 (exc 48 51 97 233) Chrys μου 1^o] om Ν*
 (hab Ν^a Ν^{a,b}) OL^{tert} σου 153 δουλας] + μου Ν^a Α Q 31 (exc 48) OL^{tert} Chrys + σου
 153 εν ταις ημεραις ad fin com] πριν η ελθειν την ημεραν κυριου την μεγαλην και
 επιφανη Chrys μου 2^o] + και προφητευσουσι 36 86 95 185 228 30. τω] om 22
 48 97 ουνω] + ανω Ν^{a,b} 22 (ab man rec) 36 (supra lin) 153 228 Chrys επι της
 ης] ῥ σημα Ν^{a,b} ῥ σημεια 22 (supra lin ab al man) 36 153 228 Chrys + κατω 22 (supra
 lin ab al man) 36 153 228 233 Chrys σημεια κατω επι της γης 86 31. Chrys = Y
 την 1^o] om ΒΝΑ μεγαλην] -λη Α 32. πας] om 36 228 os αν] εαν Ν 233 οταν
 147 επικαλεσητα(ι)] -σεται 62 -σηται 147 σιων] Σειων Β* Q* ανασωζομενος]
 ο εφειγων Σ (και εναγγε)λιζομενοι ους ο κῶ προσ(κεκληται)] και εν τοις καταλελειμ-
 μениς ους κυριος καλεσει Αq Θ (εναγγε)λιζομενοι] -ζομενος Ν Q^a (-ζομενοι Q^a vid.)
 62 147 153 ο] om ΒΝΑ Q 31 (exc 22 36 51 97 228) ο κῶ προσ . . .] tr 62

- III 1. 1. γὰρ ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις ἐκείναις . . . ἐκείνῳ ὅταν ἐπιστρέ . . . ὅσα καὶ
 2 ἰλῆμ. 2 συνα . . . κατὰξω αὐτὰ . . . διακριθήσομαι . . . λαοῦ μου καὶ
 τῆς πάρησαν ἐν τοῖς ἔθνεσι καὶ τὴν γῆν μου καταδιείλαντο
 3 5 καὶ ἐπὶ τὸν λαόν μου ἔβαλον κλήρους καὶ ἔδωκαν τὰ παιδάρια πόρνας
 4 καὶ τὰ κοράσια ἐπώλουν ἀντὶ οἴνου καὶ ἔπινον 4 καὶ τί ἐμοὶ καὶ ὑμῖν τίρος
 καὶ σιδὼν καὶ πᾶσα γαλιλαία ἄλλοφύλων; μὴ ἀνταπόδομα ὑμεῖς ἀντα-
 ποδιδοτέ μοι; ἢ μνησικακεῖτε ὑμεῖς ἐπ' ἐμοί; ὁξέως καὶ ταχέως ἀνταποδώσω
 5 τὸ ἀνταπόδομα ὑμῶν εἰς κεφαλὰς ὑμῶν 5 ἀνθ' ὧν τὸ ἀργύριόν μου καὶ τὸ
 χρυσίον ἐλάβετε καὶ τὰ ἐ . . . μου καὶ τὰ καλὰ εἰσηνεγάτε . . . ὑμῶν
 6 6 καὶ τοὺς υἱοὺς ἰούδα . . . ἰλῆμ ἀπέδοσθε τοῖς υἱοῖς . . . σ' ἐξώσῃτε αὐτοὺς
 7 7 ἔκ . . . ἰδοὺ ἐγὼ ἐξεγείρω αὐτοὺς . . . ὅσθι αὐτοὺς ἐκεῖ καὶ . . . ἀποδομα
 8 ὑμῶν εἰς . . . 8 . . . δώσωμαι τοὺς υἱ . . . ας ὑμῶν εἰς χεῖρ . . . ὥσονται
 9 αὐτοὺς . . . μακρὰν ἀπέχον ὅτι κῶ ἐλάλησε 9 κηρύξατε ταῦτα ἐν τοῖς
 ἔθνεσιν· ἀγιάσατε πόλεμον ἐξεγείρατε τοὺς μαχητάς· προσαγάγετε καὶ
 10 ἀναβαίνετε πάντες ἄνδρες πολεμισταί 10 συγκόψατε τὰ ἄροτρα ὑμῶν εἰς
 ῥομφαίας καὶ τὰ δρέπανα ὑμῶν εἰς σειρομάστας· ὁ ἀδύνατος λεγέτω ὅτι
 11 ἰσχύω ἐγώ 11 συναθροίξεσθε καὶ εἰσπορεύεσθε πάντα τὰ ἔθνη κυκλόθεν
 12 καὶ συνάχθητε ἐκεῖ· ὁ πρῶτος ἔστω πολεμιστής 12 ἐξεγειρεσθῶ καὶ ἀναβαί-

III. 1. οταν] ως αν 95 185 2. συνα(ξω)] ρr και B N A Q L (exc 51 95 97 185)
 (και) καταξω αυτα] οι ο' καταδιωξω Q^{ms} καταταξω 62 147 3. 1. 2. 3. 4. 5. 6. 7. 8. 9. 10. 11. 12. Syro-Hex
 1. 2. 3. 4. 5. 6. 7. 8. 9. 10. 11. 12. Syro-Hex^{ms} αυτα] αυτους 86^{ms} διακριθησομαι] διακριθη-
 σονται 51 διαφαιρηθησομαι (sic) 62 εθνεσι] -σιν Y* 22* (v ras Y* 22*) κατα-
 διειλαντο] -οντο N* (-αντο N^a) Q^a 36 62 95 147 185 228 3. OL^w = Y και
 επι τον λαον—πορνας] και περι του λαου μου ον διεμεριζον εν κληρω και εδιδουν κορασιω
 αντι πορνης Αq και τα κορασια] om 185 αντι οινου και επινον] και επινον ωρω
 147 οινου] ρr του 36 48 233 επινον] επιον N^a vid (επιον Nⁱ) 228 4. και τι
 εμοι και υμιν] και τι (+ και A Q^a) υμεις εμοι B N A Q 48 86 233 et adhuc vos mihi OL^w
 και τι υμεις εμοι Αq αλλα και τι υμεις εμοι Σ και ετι υμεις εμοι Θ σιδων] Σειδων B
 (Σειδων B^b) γαλιλαια] γαλιλαια B (γαλιλαια B^b) ρr η 62 θινες Αq ορια Σ αυτα
 ποδιδοτε] ανταποδιδοτε B^b (vid) ανταπεδιδοτε 153 επ] om 62 147 153 ανταποδωσω
 om 62 το] om 62 εις κεφαλαις υμων] om 86 5. χρυσιον] + μου B N A
 (om Q^a) L (exc 51 95 153 185 228) μου 2^o] om 95 185 και 2^o] om Q^a 48 22
 233 καλα] + μου A 233 εισηνεγατε] εισενεγατε N^a (mox repos εισηνεγατε
 6. και τους υιους] και τους θησαυρους 86^{ms} απεδωσθε] απεδωτε 228 εξωσθη
 εξωσθηται 47 7. ιδου] ρr και 48 228 233 (om και Nⁱ rurs repos) εξεγερω
 εξεγερω 62 95 147 185 228 8. (και απο)δωσομαι τους υιους υμων]] om 86
 (απο)δωσομαι] αποδωσω 95 185 υμων] om Α απεχον] απεχων 62 147 ελαλησε]
 -σεν Y* B N A Q 22 (-σε Y^a) 9. προσαγαγετε] ρr και B A Q (om Nⁱ mox repos)
 10. υμων 1^o] ημων N^a (υμων c^a, c^b) σειρομαστας] σειρομαστρας B* (-μαστας B^b)
 συρομαστας 185 ο αδυνατος] ο δυνατος N^a Q^a (adnot a αδυνατος Q^{ms}) ο δυνατος 86
 11. 12. Syro-Hex + 1. 2. 3. 4. 5. 6. 7. 8. 9. 10. 11. 12. Syro-Hex^{ms}
 ισχυω εγω] ισχυαγω N^a (ισχυω εγω Nⁱ (vid) c^a) ισχυεγω Α 11. συναθροιξεσθε] συνα-
 θροιξετε 22* (-σθε 22*) συναθροιζεται 62^{ms} vid συναθροισατε 147 και συναχθητε ad fin
 com seq] om 153 συναχθητε] συναχθησετε N^a (-χθητε N^a, c^a, c^b) συναχθησεται 86
 o] om 233 πρως] πρως B N A Q 36 (πρως 36^a) 48 86 153 228 233 πολεμιστης]
 μαχητης B N A Q 36 (πολεμιστης 36^a) 48 153 228 233 12. εξεγειρεσθω] -σθωσαν
 B N Q 36 48 97 153 228 233 εγειρεσθωσαν Α και] om B Q 48 αναβαινεσθε]

νεοσθε πάντα τὰ ἔθνη εἰς τὴν κοιλίαν ἰωσ . . . ἐκεῖ καθὼ τοῦ διακρίναν
 13 πᾶ κυκλόθεν· ¹³ ἔξαποστείλατε . . . παρέστηκεν ὁ τρυγητὸς
 14 τεῖτε· διότι πλήρης ἦ λ . . . τὰ ὑπολήνια. ὅτι ἐπ αὐτῶν· ¹⁴ ἦχοι
 15 ἐξήχη . . . δίκης ὅτι ἐγγὺς ἦμ . . . λάδι τῆς δίκης ¹⁵ . . . συσκοτάσουσι·
 16 καὶ γος αὐτῶν· ¹⁶ ὁ δὲ κ ἐξ ἡλῆμ δώσει . . . ται ὁ οὐνὸς καὶ
 ἡ γῆ· ὁ δὲ κσ φέεισται τοῦ λαοῦ αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐνισχύσει κσ τοῖς υἱοῦς ἡλ·
 17 ¹⁷ καὶ γνώσεσθε ὅτι ἐγὼ κσ ὁ θς ὑμῶν κατασκηνῶν ἐν σείων ἐν ὅρει ἁγίῳ
 μουν· καὶ ἔσται ἡλῆμ ἁγία καὶ ἀλλογενεῖς οὐ διελεύσονται δι' αὐτῆς οὐκέτι·
 18 ¹⁸ καὶ ἔσται ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἐκείνῃ ἀποσταλάξει τὰ ὄρη γλυκασμὸν καὶ οἱ
 βοννοὶ ῥνῆσονται γάλα καὶ πᾶσαι αἱ ἀφέσεις ἰοῦδα ῥνῆσονται ὕδατα καὶ
 πηγῇ ἐξ οἴκου κῦ ἐξελεύσεται καὶ ποτιεῖ τὸν χειμάρρουν τῶν σχοίνων·
 19 ¹⁹ αἰγυπτos εἰς ἀφανισμόν ἔσται καὶ ἡ ἰδομαία εἰς πεδί . . . μοῦ γενήσεται
 20 ἐξ ἀδικιῶν νιὸν ἰου ἔχον αἷμα δίκαιον ἐν τῇ γῇ· ²⁰ υδαία εἰς
 21 τὸν αἰῶνα καὶ ἡλῆμ εἰς γενεὰς γενεῶν· ²¹ . . . αἷμα αὐτῶν καὶ οὐ
 μὴ ἀτασκηνώσει ἐν σιών·

-ῖτων BNA Q 36 48 97 153 228 233 -ντω 22 51 62 86 95 147 185 καθιω
 καθεσω Q^a 233 διακριναι] διακριθηναι Q 13. παρεστηκεν] παρυσιν 153 ο] om
 BNQ η λ[ηνος] ο ληνος 228 οτι επ...] οτι πεπληθυνται BNA Q 48 233 οτι
 επληθυνθη E (exc 48 233) 86 14. ηχοι εξηχη(σαν)] Syro-Hex^{ms}
 + هكلا هكلا هكلا هكلا .! Syro-Hex^{ms} εξηχη(σαν)] E (exc εξηχηθησαν 62 εξηχυνθη
 147^{vi f id}) (εν τη κοιλαδι της) δικης 1^o] om 147 (εν τη κοι)λαδι της δικης 2^o] της
 συνομης Aq Σ Quint της κρισews θ علكا هكلا .! Syro-Hex^{ms} οτι
 τγγω ad fin com] om 62 153 ημ...] ρη NA 95 147 185 15. συσκοτασους]
 -σειν BNA Q σκοτασουσι 36 (φεγ)γος luminaria OL^w 16. ενισχυσει] v ras B^b
 επεσχυει B* fort ενισχυση 147 κσ 2^o] om BNA 22 48 153 228 (hab OL^w)
 17. και 1^o] om OL^r (hab OL^w) γνωσεσθε] επιγνωσεσθε BN* (γνωσεσθε N^{c,b}) AQ
 22 48 233 γνωσεσθα 62 (cognoscetis OL^w) οτι] διοτι BN (οτι N^{c,b}) AQ 22 48 233
 + sum OL^w OL^r o θα] om o 153 κατασκευων] pr o BNA Q 48 233 κατα-
 σκων 153 εν σεϊων] om 62 147 εν σεϊων εν ορει αγιω μου] εν ορει αγιω μου εν
 σεϊων 153 σεϊων] Σεϊων B^b (Σεϊων B*) NAQ 22 εν 2^o] om A 48 51 86 233 OL^r
 hab OL^w μου] om 22 36 48 ιηλμ ιερουσαλημ 22 ιηλ 185 αγα] pr polis
 c,a,b (rurs ras) ου διελευσονται] ουκ εισελευσονται 97 228 18. αφεσεις] αφισεις
 (-σεις N^{c,b}) κυ] om OL^r κυριον (κυ ab man rec) 22 εφελενεται] πορευεται
 8 τον χειμαρρον των σχοινων] την κοιλαδα των ακανθων Σ + هكلا .! .! .! .! .!
 Syro-Hex^{ms} χειμαρρουν] οι δ' χειμαρρον Q^{ms} 19, 20.] Desunt 95 185 19. η
 δουμα] η Ιουδεια N* (η Ιδουμεια N^{c,a}-μαια N^{c,b}) om η 86 γενησεται] εσται BNAQ
 8 228* (γενησεται sup ras 22b*) 233 γενηται 36 97 εφ αδικων υιων ιου(δα ανθ αν
 φε)χεον αιμα δικαιον] Hecce? Ecce? Ecce? Ecce? Ecce? Ecce? Ecce? Ecce?
 Ecce? Syro-Hex^{ms} (εφ)χεον] εφεχεαν BNA Q E (exc 22 36 51 97 228)
 20. (ιο)υδα] Ιουδεια N αιωνα] αιωναν N* 21. σεϊων] Σεϊων B*N Q* (Σεϊων B^b Q*)
 Suber Ιωηλ BNAQ (+ ισχυς κυ παρ Εβραιους Β' Q*) ιωηλ στιχων CΛΗ ιωηλ
 ερμενευται αγαπητος κυ ην δε εκ της φυλης ρουβειμ 22

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NOTES AND STUDIES

THE CODEX CORBEIENSIS (*ff*). II.*Relation of ff to other Old Latin Texts.*

For the purposes of our study we have ready to hand the tables of readings in *Old Latin Biblical Texts*, No. ii. On p. cxcii sqq. a list of readings is given in which *a* and *n* (or *a*, *e* and *n*) agree against all (or most) other authorities.

The list of these readings is as follows :—

- | | | |
|------|----------------|--|
| (1) | St John xix 28 | ait <i>a e n</i> . |
| (2) | „ 29 | optulerunt <i>a n</i> . |
| (3) | „ 31 | quoniam cena pura erat <i>a e n</i> . |
| (4) | „ 31 | ne <i>a n</i> . |
| (5) | „ 31 | tollerentur de cruce <i>a n</i> . |
| (6) | „ 34 | percussit <i>a n</i> . |
| (7) | „ 36 | ab eo <i>a n</i> . |
| (8) | „ 39 | venerunt ergo <i>a n</i> . |
| (9) | „ 39 | aloe <i>e n</i> (<i>a</i> defective). |
| (10) | „ 40 | corpus ihm <i>a e n</i> . |
| (11) | „ 40 | adligaverunt <i>a n</i> . |
| (12) | „ 40 | est consuetudo <i>a n</i> . |

The corresponding readings of *ff* are (1) *ait*, (2) *obtulerunt*, (3) *quoniam parasceve cenam paraverant* (a corrupt conflation of two readings: *parasceve = f* and *pura erat*), (4) *ne*, (5) *tollerentur*, (6) *percussit*, (7) *ab eo*, (8) *venerunt ergo*, (9) *aloe*, (10) *corpus ihu*, (11) *adligaverunt*, (12) *est consuetudo*.

Thus out of the twelve readings there is agreement with *ff* in eight (for *aloe* and *aloē* are both opposed to *aloes*); and as to the four remaining instances, *ff* has in one a conflated reading that contains the text of *a e n*, in one a mere variation of the letters *b* and *p* (*optulerunt* is actually found in *ff* in St Luke), whilst the addition of *de cruce* in *a* and *n* is a gloss which *ff* agrees with *e* in omitting, and, finally, *corpus ihm* is a scribe's error. The conclusion to be drawn from this is that in the Gospel of St John *a n ff* contain a common element, which is only partly shared by *e*. Some MSS (such as *L*) contain in part an ancient

text and in part a Vulgate text. The text of *ff*, however, is homogeneous throughout. The conclusion arrived at from an examination of St John is borne out in the other Gospels. It may be put to the test by examining the following texts, *a b d f f l*, in the first twenty-two verses of the first chapter of St Mark, the verses for which the fragment *t* is extant (*e* is not available). On collating with Wordsworth and White's edition of the Vulgate *a* is found to have 98 variations, *b* 61, *d* 72, *t* 49, *l* 24, and *ff* 100.

With *a* alone *ff* has the following readings:—

- v.* 5 regio iudeae (*a* iudaeae) . . . *b d l t* iud. regio.
- v.* 5 omnes hierosol. . . . *b d l t v g* hierosol. universi.
- v.* 6 indutus . . . *b d l t v g* vestitus.
- v.* 9 ab iohannem . . . *b d t* (*l* om.) ab iohannen.
- v.* 18 relictis omnibus . . . *b d l t* relictis retibus.

With *a* and *d* alone:—

- v.* 7, 8 *transpose* ego quidem baptizo vos (vos baptizavi *a*, vos baptizo *d*) in aquam (aqua *a d* and + in paenitentiam *a*).
- v.* 8 illis diebus . . . diebus illis *b l t*.
- v.* 9 ipse (om, vero) . . . ille autem *b t* . . . ille vero *l v g*.

With *d* alone:—

- v.* 7 veniet . . . *a b l v g* venit.

With *t* alone:—

- v.* 7 fortior me . . . post me fortior me *a d* . . . fortior post me *b*.

With *t* and *d*:—

- v.* 11 vox (om. facta est) . . . venit vox *a* . . . vox facta est *b l v g*.

With *b* and *t*:—

- v.* 14 om. regni.

With no consentient *ff* exhibits the following readings:—

- v.* 1 ante te et ante fac. . . . *a b d l t* ante faciem.
- v.* 1 viam tuam ante te . . . *a b d l t* om. ante te.
- v.* 6 edens . . . edebat *a b l* (aedeat *d t*).
- v.* 7 in aquam . . . in aqua *a b d l t*.
- v.* 8 vos baptizo . . . baptizo vos *b d l t*.
- v.* 11 carissimus . . . *a b d l t* dilectus.
- v.* 12 tulit . . . duxit *a* . . . expulit *b l t* . . . eiecit *d*.
- v.* 15 adimpleta . . . *a b d t* impleta . . . *l v g* impletum.
- v.* 15 in evangelium . . . in evangelio *a d t* . . . evangelio *b v g*.
- v.* 16 iactantes . . . *a b d l t v g* mittentes.
- v.* 19 aptantes¹ . . . reficientes *a* . . . componentes *b d* (com- *l t*).
- v.* 21 ingressus sabbatis . . . (*b d t*) *l* sabbatis (-o) ingressus . . . *a* var.

The greater part of these appear to be alternative translations of the same fundamental Greek text.

¹ *d* has *aptaverunt* lampadas suas in St Matt. xxv 7.

The result of this analysis is to shew that in St Mark the texts of *a* and *ff* depart more widely from the wording of the Vulgate than does the text of *d* or of *b* or of *t*; whilst *l* is almost pure Vulgate. It is seen that *t* exhibits an Old Latin text with a strong Vulgate admixture; and *b* and the Vulgate are much more closely related than might have been expected.

Interpolations often afford valuable clues as to the relations of MSS to one another. There are two especially noteworthy interpolations in *ff*—the long interpolation in St Matt. xx which is found in eight other Old Latin MSS, in the Syriac of Cureton (not in Syr^{sin}), was known to Hilary, and was paraphrased by Juvenius. This addition, therefore, goes back to the most ancient times, and were it found in any other Greek MS besides D would have a strong claim to be considered authentic.

The second (a shorter interpolation) is found elsewhere only in *a* and *d*. It occurs in St John vi after verse 56. The form in *a* *ff* is precisely identical, except that *a* reads *eo* for *illo*. The form in *d* is longer. Dr Scrivener refers to Victorinus (A.D. 303) as citing this interpolation as genuine Scripture.

But the importance of the interpolation is that it establishes another bond of affinity between our MS and *a* and *d*.

Peculiar readings of a and ff. *a* *ff* share many peculiar readings. In St John *a* and *ff* alone read *gesta* for *facta* (i 28); alone add *invitata* in ii 1; with *d* alone add *et* (*ff* om.) *dixit illis* (supported by *N*) in vi 70; alone read *interdie* in xi 9, *filius* in xi 52, *unus adstans ex ministris* in xviii 42, *polluerentur* in xviii 28, and *praecingit* in xxi 18. With *n* both *a* and *ff* read *percussit* in xix 34; with *e* they read *recubuerat* in xxi 20, and in the same verse they alone read *et conversus*. We might also add that *a* and *ff*, with but few consentients, both add *ecce qui tollit peccatum mundi* in i 36. They alone read *ihs* in ii 23; with *d* they have *accepit* in iii 33; with *l* the form *samaritana* (*ff* *sammaritana*) in iv 7. Their agreement in the other Gospels is not less than in St John. Thus in St Luke vii 15 *a* *ff* alone repeat *iuvenis*, and in St Matt. xxvi 36 read *gedsamani* (= *b*).

Both *a* and *ff* have the custom of indenting quotations from the Old Testament. This indentation prevails more in *ff* than in *a*; and is sometimes found in *ff* wrongly applied.

Noteworthy Readings common to d and ff.

Taking St Mark for our comparison of the readings of *ff* and *d*, we find both add *quod fecerat occulto*, with *a i r*, in v 33; both add *vade in domum tuam et* in viii 26; both supply *in atrium* in xv 1, in which they are supported by *ac* and Origen. Finally *d* and *ff* alone read *angelus*.

in xvi 6; and both are guilty of the same curious blunder, *herodes* for *herodias* in vi 19. The texts of *ff* and *d* in St Mark are more closely allied than they are in the other Gospels.

In St John x 10 *d ff* alone omit *et abundantius habeant*; in xi 34 *d ff* are the sole witnesses for *posuisti*. It is also worthy of note that both *d* and *ff* read *domino* in full in St Matt. xviii 31, and in full in that place alone.

Readings common to b, e, and ff.

With *b* and *e*¹, *ff* has many readings in common, more especially in St Luke.

In St John and St Luke *b* touches *e* with one hand and holds *ff* with the other. Again in St Mark (but not so closely as in St Luke) *b e* are in several readings united, but without *ff*.

The common strain (not a large one) in these three early MSS is brought out by such readings as *gubitis* for *cubitis*, in St John xxi 8, and *praesbiterium*, St Luke xxii 66, which they probably took from a remote common ancestor. Again, in St Luke xxiv 13 we find

cleofas et ammaus *b* Ambrst.

ammaus et cleopas *e ff*.

In St Mark iii 11 *b e ff* have *sed et spirit*. But in this Gospel, though *b* so often unites with *e*, we rarely find the combination *b e ff*.

In St Luke xiv 5 *e ff* read *bus*. Bianchini gives *bos* as the reading of *b*, where *bus* might have been expected.

In their orthography *b e ff* preserve to us the curious old forms—*prode est*, *prode erit*, and *prode estis*. *prode est* occurs twice in *e* (St Luke ix 25 and St John vi 63), once in *b* (St Matt. xvi 26), once in *ff* (St Matt. xvi 26 = *b*). The form occurs in *d* only in the two places where it is found in *e*, and in the former of the two, i.e. St Luke ix 25, it is read also in *l*. In addition, *ff* alone preserves *prode erit* in St Matt. xv 5, St Mark vii 11 and viii 36; whilst *b* has *prode estis* in St John xii 19.

Peculiar Readings of ff and l.

There is between *ff* and *l* a most interesting affinity in St Luke and St John in that they together preserve a small number of readings found in no other Latin MSS.

These two MSS stand together without other support, or with but little other support, in the following places in St John:—

i 21 >tu hel. es.

27 +de quo dicebam quoniam.

27 +vir (Cyp. +homo).

¹ The migrations between Italy and Africa of the ancestor of *e*, according to Tischendorf, and the emendations it underwent have been so extensive, that we should expect to find *e* the most adulterated of codices (*Evang. Pal. Ined.* p. xix).

- 43 + proficiscens = *aur* (*e* + prodiens).
 50 + propterea = *aur*.
 ii 3 + fili = *e* Ambr.
 8 et fecerunt sicut dixit (*ff* + illis) = *e aur*.
 10 + vero = *aur*.
 iii 12 creditis = *aur*.
 13 + is (*ff* his).
 18 om. autem.
 19 + dei = *aur*.
 iv 7 samaritana (*ff* sammaritiana) = *a*.
 v 6 in languore = *aur*.
 9 > ille homo.
 24 + aeternam.
 28 + dico enim vobis.
 31 ergo (*vg* ego).
 33 + ipsi.
 42 + ipsis.
 45 + ergo = *aur*.
 vi 1 illius tib. = *aur*.
 5 elevasset.
 9 + homines.
 13 superfuerant.
 14 venit = *aur*.
 15 incipiunt venire et rapere eum = *b*.
 15 om. ipse = *b*.
 22 om. abissent = *N*.
 24 + confestim.
 62 quid (*ff* + ergo) cum.
 vii 1 ambulandi = *a*.
 18 suam propriam (propiam *ff*) = *c*.
 23 accepit (adc. *ff*) = *aur*.
 26 + forte = *c*.
 35 incipit ire (*ff* irae).
 51 facit = *q*.
 viii 33 > nemini umq. serv. = *b*.
 33 estis.
 xii 30 + haec vox = Tert.

Post xvi 13 *l* deficit.

An examination of these readings would point to the conclusion that *ff* and *l* in St John were both descended from (or both interpolated from) an ancient MS which had in its text not a few additions of single words. Many of these additions, as *fili* (ii 3) which is shared with *e* and *dei* (iii 19) in common with *aur*, have little to recommend them. In

fundamental text *ff* has a much larger element in common with *b* and *c* than with *l*.

Common element in ff and c. Between *ff* and *c* there are very many striking agreements in the warp and woof of their text; and one is led thereby to conclude that in remote times they had a common or very closely related ancestor. But the text of *c* has been much more emended than that of *ff* in the process of the centuries, and has now a much larger Vulgate element. In the Pericope in St John viii *ff* and *c* have so many readings in common that they must both be derived from a common archetype. But while *ff* and *c* resemble each other in the structure of their sentences and often begin sentences in the same way, viz. St Mark xv 39 *cum autem videret* (*vg* videns autem), xiii 18 *orate ergo* (*vg* vero); the text of *c* very seldom agrees with *ff* in the matter of omissions from the Vulgate. Much of the purely Western element in *c* has been sadly watered down by Vulgate infusions. Nevertheless the two MSS undoubtedly proceed from the same original or from two very closely related originals.

We find *ff* often agreeing with the *bci* group; but, on the whole, *i* is nearer the revised text of Jerome than *b*, and much nearer than *ff*.

Thus *ff* touches all the oldest texts; but it is at the same time in many readings independent of them all.

Relation of ff to e, k and St Cyprian.

The quotations from St Cyprian are taken from *O. L. Biblical Texts* ii p. xc sqq.

Cypr.

St Mark viii 38.

Epist. lxiii 15.

Qui CONFUSUS me fuerit
confundetur (= *vg*) eum
filius hominis.

ff

Qui autem CONFUSUS
me fuerit et meos . . . et
filius hominis confundet
illum.

k

Qui autem me confessus
(= *d*) fuerit et meos . . .
et filios hominis confun-
detur (= *d vg*) illum.

It will be noticed here that *ff* has preserved Cyprian's reading CONFUSUS, which has suffered corruption in both *k* and *d*.

St Mark xi 24, 25.

Testim. iii 42.

Omnia quaecumque
ORATIS ET PETITIS credite
quia accipietis et ERUNT
vobis.

Omnia quaecumque
ORATIS ET PETITIS credite
quoniam accipietis et ERIT
vobis.

Omnia quaecumque
adoratis ET PETITIS credite
quia accipietis et ERUNT
vobis.

If *erunt* is the 'African' form (*d f* have *venient*; *b* *evenient*; *vg* *veniet*) then *erit* is probably another and more literal translation of the same Greek text (*ἐσται*).

St Mark xii 29-31.

Ad Fortun. c. 2. De Eccl. Un. c. 15. Audi Israel, dms ds tuus dms unus est, et diliges dom dm tuum de toto corde tuo et de tota anima tua et de tota virtute tua. Hoc primum et secundum simile huic: diliges proximum tuum tamquam (= vg) te. In his duobus PRAECEPTIS tota lex pendet et prophetiae.

Audi ISTRAHEL dms ds noster dms unus est et diligis dom dm tuum ex toto corde tuo et ex tota animam tuam et ex totis VIRIBUS TUIS et ex tota virtute tua. Hoc est primum mandatum secundum autem simile est huic diligis proximum tuum sicut te ipsum: maius horum PRECEPTORUM aliud non est.

Audi ISDRAHEL dom ds noster unus est et DILIGIT dom dm etsum de toto corde tuo et de TOTIS VIRIBUS TUIS. Haec prima est deinde secunda similis huic diliges proximum tibi eamquam (sic) te: maius his alius mandatum non est.

Here *ff* together with *d* has alone of Latin MSS preserved the second *dms* which is found in St Cyprian. Also *ff* Cyprian support *praecepta* as opposed to *mandatum*. *ff* (*k*) read *diligis* for *diliges*, and *totis viribus tuis* for *tota mente* (= *vg*). Finally *ff* combines with *k* Cyp. in reading *huic* for *illi*.

St Mark xii 38.

e Cavete (= *vg*) AB scribis qui volunt in stolis ambulare et salutationes in foro et SESSIONEM PRIMAM in synagogis . . . et OCCANSIONE (= *a*) longa adorantes hi accipient ABUNDANTIUS. . . .

ff Videte AB scribis qui volunt in stolis ambulare et SALUTARI in foro et in primis cathedris sedere in synagogis . . . OCCANSIONE longa orantes hi accipient maius iudicium.

k Cavite AB scribit qui volunt in stolis ambulare et SALUTARI in foro SESSIONEM PRIMAM . . . ista faciunt in excusatione longa hi accipient abundanti-
UNDANTIUS iudicium.

a ff k combine against *e* in *salutari*; and *a e ff* read *occansione* against *e*.

St Mark xiii 23-26.

sol tenegavit
FULGOREM suum et stellae de caelo cadent et virtutes quae IN CAELIS (= *vg*) sunt MOVEBUNTUR (= *vg*). Et tunc videbunt filium hominis venientem cum¹ virtute MULTA (= *d*) et CLARITATE.

VIDETE
ecce praedixi vobis omnia sed in illis diebus post tribulationem illam sol obscurabitur et luna non dabit lumen suum et stellae quae sunt in caelo erunt CADENTES (= *a*) et virtutes caelorum MOVEBUNTUR. Et tunc videbunt filium hominis venientem cum (= *a*) nubibus cum virtutae MULTA (= *d*) et gloria.

Vos autem VIDETE ecce praedici vobis omnia. in illis diebus post tribulationem sol tenebricavit luna non dabit FULGUREM suum et stellae CADENT fortitudo-
nes IN CAELIS (= *vg*) commovebuntur. Et tunc videbunt filium hominis venientem in nube cum virtute magna et CLARITATE.

k e have in common *fulgorem* and the 'African' word *claritate*; but *ffa k* have *cadentes* against *e*, whilst *ffd k* read *multa* against *k*.

¹ *Nubibus cum* perhaps dropped out by homoeoteleuton.

It is clear that *e* and *k* have a peculiar element in common with St Cyprian; but it is also clear that *ff**d* and *ff**a* have a common element that gathers support from St Cyprian, and clear too that *ff* touches *k* with one hand and *e* with the other, and joins in those readings of *k**e*, which until *ff* was known were thought to be purely 'African'. To illustrate this we will place side by side the text of *e*, *ff* and *k* in St Matt. xiii 47, 48.

Iterum simile est regnum caelorum retiae missae in mari quod ex omni genere piscium colligunt: cum impletum est autem posuerunt illud ad litus et sedentes collegerunt quae optimae sunt in vasa quae autem mala praeiecerunt.

Iterum simile est regnum caelorum reti misso in mare quod ex omni genere piscium colligit cum autem esset impletum eduxerunt id ad litus et sedentes elegerunt optimos in vasis suis malos autem proiecerunt + toras.

Iterum simile est regnum caelorum retiaculum missu in mare quod ex omni genere colligat: eum impletum est autem inposuerunt illud ad litus et sedentes collegerunt quae optuma sunt in vasa quae autem mala reiecerunt.

Out of six 'Africanisms' *ff* has complete agreement in three, and partial agreement in the fourth, reading *id* for *illud*.

But the text of *ff* in St Matthew has other 'Africanisms'. In discussing the 'African' strain in *an*, Dr Sanday speaks with confidence of only two readings in *a* as 'African': "In St Matt. xxviii there are two constructions *acceperunt et* xxviii 12, and *cum vidissent* xxviii 17, which are characteristically 'African', and are shared in each case by *a* with a fragment of *e*."

Now, strangely enough, these two characteristically 'African' constructions are the readings of *ff*.

There is a more important piece of evidence still in favour of regarding *ff* as 'African'. The translation of *δοξάζω* by *clarifico*, from its regular occurrence in *e*, *k*, as well as in the quotations of St Cyprian and other African fathers, has long been a kind of touchstone for testing Latin MSS.

In St John *δοξάζω* occurs twenty-three times, and is variously rendered in 'European' and mixed texts by *glorifico*, *honorifico*, *honoro*, *magnifico*, and even *honorem accipio*. *Clarifico* is the 'African' rendering.

These twenty-three occurrences of *δοξάζω* are rendered in *e* by *magnifico* (2), *glorifico* (10), *honorifico* (2), *honoro* (1), and *clarifico* (8).

In *ff* *clarifico* is read no fewer than twenty-two times (in St John xiv 3 with no other Latin support¹) and is only in one solitary instance displaced by *honorifico* (St John vii 39).

The evidence could scarcely be more conclusive with regard to St John.

¹ Similarly in St John xi 40 *ff* alone of Latin MSS has the 'African' *claritatem* for *δοξα*.

It is worthy of note that *b* in St John reads *clarifico* fifteen times out of twenty-three, whilst in *a* *clarifico* is never found.

The following list of common errors or interpolations peculiar to *e ff*, or found in *e* and *ff* and one other authority, is not without its significance:—

- St John ii 3 vinum non habent fili = *L*.
 8 et fecerunt sicut dixit illis (eis ihs *e*) = *L*.
 9 aquam vinum factum (*sic*) = *L*.
 viii 3 statuisset *for* statuissent¹.
 xvii 7 servavi (servavi *e*).
 11 malachus = *a*.
 xxi 9 gubitis = *b*.
 St Luke i 19, 26 grabiel (gabriel *e*).
 ix 3 petram (=peram).
 xiv 31 militibus *twice* (= milibus).
 xxiv 13 ammaus et cleophas = Ambr.

It is scarcely probable that two translators acting independently, one in Africa and one in Europe, would by a mere coincidence both write *militibus* twice for *milibus*, *petram* for *peram*, or even *statuisset* for *statuissent* in exactly the same verse. The only alternative is that the blunder was imported and substituted for the correct reading. This is hardly likely to have been the case.

The direction in which the data collected would point is towards a common origin of the texts hitherto separately classified as African and European.

The following readings are also worthy of consideration:

- St Mark ix 15 gaudentes *c d ff i k*.
 x 40 aliis paratum est *b ff k*.
 [The scribe read ἀλλοις instead of ἀλλ' οἱς.]
 xii 23 + munda *c k*.
 xv 25 custodiebant *d ff k n r*.
 St Luke ix 25 prode est *d e l*.
 xii 11 excusetis *c e*.
 xii 32 nolite timere (metuere *e*) pusillum gregem *d e i*.
 xiv 22 locutus (for locus) *a e ff l r*.
 xvi 12 meum *e i l*.
 St John iii 17 mitteret *e ff aur*.
 xix 5 om. et dicit eis ecce homo *a e ff r*.
 xxi 24 + de ihs *a e (ihm)*.

¹ The cogency of this particular instance is somewhat lessened by the common confusion in *ff* between the 3rd pers. sing. and the 3rd pers. plur., viz. *intrat* = *intran* and vice versa. Popular speech confused the pronunciation, as is the case to-day with their derivatives *entre* and *entrent*.

Agreement of ff and the best Old Latin MSS with Cureton's Syriac (Syr^{cu}) and the Sinai Palimpsest (Syr^{sin}).

A further proof of the antiquity of the Old Latin text of our MS is its large measure of agreement with the ancient Syriac version. This agreement is most striking in those readings where *ff* with *a* and *b* and the best Old Latin MSS support the Syriac against the testimony of *N* and *B*. An examination of these readings seems to point to the conclusion that the common ancestor of *N* and *B* represented a fuller and smoother text than that vouched for by the consensus of the Old Latin and the Syriac.

St Matt. xii 11 om. *ἐν* cum *A*vid *h* Syr^{cu} et *sin* . . . *ἐν* *N* *B*

13 om. *ὕψους* cum *a b c* Syr^{cu} et *sin* . . . *ὕψους* *N* *B* *h*

xiii 1 om. *τῆς οἰκίας* cum *D a b d e h* Syr^{sin} . . . *τῆς οἰκίας* *N* *B* Syr^{cu}

11 om. *τῶν οὐρανῶν* cum *a b e h* Syr^{sin} . . . *τῶν οὐρ.* *N* *B* Syr^{cu}

13 add. *nequando convertantur* *D a b d e h* Syr^{cu} et *sin* . . . om. *N* *B*

25 om. *αὐτοῦ* cum *e h k* Syr^{cu} et *sin* Iren. . . . *αὐτοῦ αὐ* *N* *B*

55 add. *ἰωσήφ* (after *τέκτονος*) cum *a b g h* Syr^{cu} (et *sin*) . . . om. *N* *B e h* [Syr^{sin} om. *τέκτονος*]

xiv 18 om. *ὧδε* cum *D¹ a b e* Syr^{cu} [Syr^{sin} illegible] . . . *ὧδε* *N* *B*

26 om. *οἱ μαθηταὶ* cum *a b N^{*}* Syr^{sin} . . . *οἱ μαθηταὶ* *N^a B* Syr^{cu}

32 *ἀναβάντος αὐτοῦ* cum *b e* Syr^{cu} . . . *ἀναβάντων αὐτῶν* *a N B* Syr^{sin}

xv 28 om. *αὐτῇ* cum *a b* Syr^{sin} . . . *αὐτῇ* *N B* Syr^{cu} *h e*

xvi 6 om. *ὁρᾶτε καὶ* cum *a b* Syr^{cu} et *sin* . . . *ὁρᾶτε καὶ* *N B (e)*

27 *τὰ ἔργα* cum *a b vg^{aliq} N^{*}* Syr^{cu} (Syr^{sin} deficit) . . . *τ. πρᾶξι* *N B e vg^{aliq}*

xviii 10 add *τῶν πιστευόντων εἰς ἐμέ* cum *b c d g* Syr^{cu} . . . om *a e vg N B* Syr^{sin}

11 *versum habet* cum *a b d vg* Syr^{cu} . . . om. *N B* Syr^{sin} *e*

31 om. *σφόδρα* cum *a b e* Syr^{sin} . . . *σφόδρα* *N B* Syr^{cu} *d*

32 om. *ἐκείνην* cum *a b vg* Syr^{sin} . . . *ἐκείνην* *N B D* Syr^{cu} *e*

xix 4 om. *ἀπ' ἀρχῆς* cum Syr^{sin} . . . *ἀπ' ἀρχῆς a b d e* *N B* Syr^{cu}

9 *μοιχᾶται* sine addit. cum *a b d e N* Syr^{cu} et *sin* . . . *B C Z* additamentum habet

16 *διδάσκαλε ἀγαθέ, τί ποιήσω* (om. *ἀγαθὸν*) cum Syr^{cu} . . . *διδάσκαλε ἀγαθέ, τί ἀγαθὸν ποιήσω b c vg* Syr^{sin} . . . *διδάσκαλε, τί ἀγαθὸν ποιήσω a d e N B*

17 add. *ὁ θεός* cum *b (e) vg* Syr^{cu} . . . om. *a d N B* Syr^{sin}

20 add. *ἐκ νεότητός μου* cum *a b (d) e h* Syr^{cu} et *sin* . . . om. *N B vg*

St Matt. xix 25 add. καὶ ἐφοβήθησαν *a b d* Syrcu Hil. . . . om. **N B**
Syr^{sin} vg

29 om. ἡ πατέρα cum *b d e* Syrcu et sin . . . ἡ πατέρα **N B** vg

xx 28 additamentum longum habet cum *a b c d e* Syrcu Hil.
. . . . om. **N B** Syr^{sin} vg

xxi 12 τοῦ θεοῦ cum *a d e* Syrcu (Syr^{sin} deficit) . . . om. *b* **N B**

26 om. οὖν cum *a b d e* Syrcu et sin . . . οὖν **N B** vg

29 add. in vineam cum *a b d e* Syrcu et sin . . . om. **N B** vg

37 forsitan cum *b c e h* Syrcu et sin . . . om. *a* vg **N B**

41 om. αὐτῷ (post ἀποδώσ.) cum Syrcu et sin . . . αὐτῷ *a b*
e vg **N B**

44 om. versum cum *a b e* Syr^{sin} Iren. . . . habet **N B**
Syrcu vg

xxii 13 ἄρατε αὐτὸν ποδῶν καὶ χειρῶν καὶ cum *a b d e* (Syrcu et ~~sin~~)
Iren. . . . δῆσαντες αὐτοῦ πόδας καὶ χεῖρας **N B** vg

34 ἐπ' αὐτόν cum *b* (*a* deficit) *d e h* Syrcu et sin . . . ἐπὶ
αὐτό **N B** vg

35 add. καὶ λέγων cum *b d* Syrcu et sin . . . om. **N B** *e* vg

xxiii 4 om. καὶ δυσβάστακτα cum *a b e* **N** Syrcu et sin Iren. . .
καὶ δυσβάστ. **B D**

19 om. μωροὶ καὶ cum *a d e* (*b* deficit) **N** Syrcu et sin . . .
μωροὶ καὶ **B C**. Postea Syrcu deficit

In St Mark Syrcu is missing, only the last four verses survive. The
agreement of ff Syr^{sin} against **N B** may be noted in many passages in
this Gospel.

St Mark i 34 om. χριστὸν εἶναι cum *a b d e* **N** Syr^{sin} . . . χριστὸν εἶναι
B C

35 om. ἐννυχα cum *a b d e* Syr^{sin} . . . ἐννυχα **N B** vg

ii 23 om. ὁδὸν ποιεῖν cum *d b e* Syr^{sin} . . . ὁδὸν ποιεῖν *a* vg **N**

26 om. ἐπὶ ἀβιάβαρ ἀρχιερέως cum *a b d e* Syr^{sin} . . . ἐπὶ ἀ
ἀρχι. **N B** vg

27 om. vers. 27 cum *a d e* (Syr^{sin}) . . . habet versum **N**
b vg

iii 7 om. ἡκολούθησεν cum *a b d e* Syr^{sin} . . . ἡκολούθησεν
B vg

iv 4 om. ἐγένετο cum *b d e* vg Syr^{sin} . . . ἐγένετο *a* **N B**

10 οἱ μαθηταὶ αὐτοῦ cum *a b d* Syr^{sin} . . . οἱ περὶ αὐτὸν σὺν
τοῖς δώδεκα **N B** vg

16 om. ὁμοίως cum *a b d* Syr^{sin} . . . ὁμοίως **N B** vg

v 21 om. ἐν τῷ πλοίῳ cum *a b d e* Syr^{sin} . . . ἐν τῷ πλοίῳ
N B vg

21 om. καὶ ἦν cum *b d e* Syr^{sin} . . . καὶ ἦν *a* vg **N B**

- t Mark v 23 om. πολλά cum *b d* Syrsin . . . πολλά *a e* vg. **N B**
 vi 7 om. ἤρξατο cum *a b d e* Syrsin . . . ἤρξατο **N B** vg
 20 ἐποίει cum *a b d latt.* Syrsin . . . ἤπόρει **N B** cor.
 25 om. μετὰ σπουδῆς cum *a b d* Syrsin . . . μετὰ σπουδῆς
 N B vg
 25 om. ἡγήσατο cum *a b d* Syrsin . . . ἡγήσατο **N B** vg
 31 om. ὑμεῖς αὐτοὶ cum *a d* vg Syrsin . . . ὑμεῖς αὐτοὶ (*b*)
 N B
 33 om. καὶ προῆλθον αὐτούς cum *a b d* Syrsin . . . καὶ προ-
 ῆλθον αὐτούς **N B** vg
 53 om. καὶ προσωμίσθησαν cum *a b d* Syrsin . . . καὶ προσ-
 ωμίσθησαν **N B** vg
 56 om. αὐτοῦ (post ἤψαντο) cum *a b* Syrsin . . . αὐτοῦ **N B**
 D vg
 vii 24 om. καὶ σιδῶνος cum *a b d* Syrsin . . . καὶ σιδῶνος **N B** vg
 ix 39 om. ταχὺ cum *a b d k* Syrsin . . . ταχὺ **N B D** (sic) vg
 x 2 om. φαρισαῖοι cum *a b d k* Syrsin . . . φαρισαῖοι **N B** vg
 6 om. κτίσεως cum *b d* Syrsin . . . κτίσεως *a k* vg **N B**
 25 om. εἰσελθεῖν cum *a d k* Syrsin . . . εἰσελθεῖν *b* vg **N B**
 xi 3 τί λύετε τὸν πῶλον cum *a b d* . . . τί (om. λύετε τὸν πῶ.)
 Syr^{sin} . . . τί ποιεῖτε τοῦτο **N B** vg^{aliqua}
 23 om. αὐτῷ cum *b k* Syrsin . . . αὐτῷ *a d* vg **N B**
 28 om. ἵνα ταῦτα ποιῆς cum *a b d* Syrsin . . . ἵνα ταῦτα ποιῆς
 N B vg
 31 om. οὖν cum *a b d k* Syrsin . . . οὖν **N B D** (sic) vg
 xii 2 ἵνα ἀπὸ τοῦ καρποῦ τοῦ ἀμπελῶνος δώσουσιν cum *a b d k*
 Syr^{sin} . . . ἵνα παρὰ τῶν γεωργῶν λάβῃ ἀπὸ τῶν καρπῶν
 τοῦ ἀμπελῶνος **N B** vg
 14 om. δώμεν cum *a b d k* Syrsin . . . δώμεν **N B** vg
 28 om. πάντων cum *a b d k* Syrsin . . . πάντων **N B** vg
 43 om. τῶν βαλλόντων cum *a b d* Syrsin . . . τῶν βαλλόντων
 **N B k vg
 xiii 4 om. πάντα cum *a k* Syrsin . . . πάντα *b d* **N B**
 9 om. βλέπετε δὲ ὑμεῖς ἑαυτούς *a d* (*b* defic.) Syrsin . . . βλέ-
 πετε δὲ ὑ. ἑαυτ. **N B** (*k*) vg
 xiv 10 om. αὐτοῖς cum *a d k* (*b* defic.) Syrsin . . . αὐτοῖς **N B** vg
 65 om. αὐτῷ (post λέγειν) cum Syrsin . . . αὐτῷ **N B k vg
 72 καὶ ἤρξατο κλαίειν cum *a d k* vg Syrsin . . . καὶ ἐπιβαλὼν
 ἔκλαιεν **N B**
 xv 24 om. τίς τί ἄρη cum *d k* (*a b* defic.) Syrsin . . . τίς τί ἄρη
 N B
 35 om. ἴδε cum *d k* Syrsin . . . ἴδε **N B**
 40 om. καὶ (ante Μαρία ἢ Μαγ.) cum *d k* Syrsin . . . καὶ **N B******

In the Gospel of St Luke there is extant for most of the Gospel both *Syr^{sin}* and *Syr^{cu}*.

Dealing only with omissions, and passing by those readings where *ff*, supported by the best Old Latin MSS, unites with *either Syr^{sin} or Syr^{cu}* against *N B*, we will give a list of some variants in which *ff* combines with both *Syr^{cu}* and *Syr^{sin}* against the authenticity of words which both *N* and *B* attest.

- St Luke iii 10 om. οἶν cum *bde*
 16 om. ὁ ἰωάννης cum *abd*
 vii 38 om. ἤρξατο cum *abde*
 46 om. τὴν κεφαλὴν μου cum *a solo*
 viii 5 om. τοῦ οὐρανοῦ cum *abdel*
 18 om. οἶν cum *abcl*
 30 om. εἰσῆλθεν cum *abcdl*
 ix 9 om. δὲ (post τις) cum *blqr*
 37 om. ἐξῆς cum *abdel*
 39 om. κράζει cum *adelr*
 48 om. αὐτοῖς cum *abcdelqr*
 xi 7 om. μου cum *bd* (*a* deficit)
 24 om. τότε cum *dvg*
 26 om. ἐκεῖ cum *abdilq*
 28 om. μενοῦν cum *abdiq*
 44 om. ὥς cum *abcdeilq*
 xii 11 om. ἡ τί cum *abcdeilq*
 18 om. καὶ τὰ ἀγαθὰ μου cum *Nabceilq*
 19 om. ψυχῇ cum *abceilr*
 47 om. ἡ ποιήσας cum *b* (*a* defic.) *eil*
 56 om. πῶς cum *bd* (*a* defic.) *eil*
 xiii 5 om. πάντες cum *il* *solis*
 xiv 2 om. τις cum *bcdilq*
 8 om. ὑπό τινος cum *cdil*
 8 om. ὑπ' αὐτοῦ cum *abcdilq*
 29 om. ἄρξωνται cum *abcilq*
 xv 8 om. δραχμὴν cum *abcdeilqr*
 12 om. αὐτῶν cum *abcelr*
 xviii 40 om. πρὸς αὐτόν cum *adeils*
 xix 25 om. καὶ εἶπον αὐτῷ κύριε ἔχει δέκα μνᾶς cum *abde*
 28 om. ἔμπροσθεν cum *acdilqrs* (*b* defic.)
 30 om. πώποτε cum *acdeilqs* (*b* defic.)
 37 om. δυνάμεων cum *c(d)ils* (*b* defic.)
 xx 25 om. τοίνυν cum *adeilq* (*b* defic.)
 xxi 10 om. τότε ἔλεγεν αὐτοῖς cum *adeilr* (*b* defic.)
 15 om. ἡ ἀντειπεῖν cum *acilqr* (*b* defic.)

- St Luke xxi 30 om. ἡδὴ cum *a de*
 35 om. πάσης
 xxii 20 om. versum totum cum *abdeil*
 23 om. ἐξ αὐτῶν cum *abdeilq*
 xxiii 27 om. πολὺ cum *bcder*
 29 om. ἰδοὺ cum *abdelr*
 xxiv 1 om. ἀρώματα cum *abcdelr*
 3 om. κυρίου cum *abdelr*
 17 om. περιπατοῦντες cum *abcelr*
 21 om. σὺν πᾶσιν τοῦτοις cum *abclr*
 22 om. ἀλλὰ cum *abcr*
 32 om. ἐλάλει ἡμῖν cum *abcelr*

The Syriac Version and the Old Latin Version both date from the second century. Their agreement therefore points to what were the readings of the Greek Text prevalent anterior to the time when these two Versions were made—one in the East and the other in the West. Their common readings are the readings of Greek MSS that were current two centuries at least before our oldest extant Greek codices *N* and *B* were written.

Internal Evidence from examining the work of the scribe of ff.

That the scribe of *ff* made many blunders is very apparent, but that he fabricated any new readings nowhere appears. He seems to have been consistently faithful to his archetype. He is guilty (never, I believe, intentionally) of changing now and then the order of two consecutive words—a blunder that has no serious consequences. In St Mark xvi he writes 'eis cum qui ipso fuerant'; in xv he writes 'lazapmathani' for 'lama zapthani'; in vii 7 he pens 'vano autem colunt docentes me doctrinas'. In St Luke xxii he gives us 'numquid aliquid de vobis fuit'; and a few other such-like mistakes are found in the MS.

As regards harmonizing *ff* shews none of those obvious attempts which are found in both *a* and *b*, while of tampering with or conjecturally emending the sacred text we find not a shred of evidence that our scribe was ever guilty.

On the contrary, a pronounced harmonizing tendency appears in *b*¹; and a fabricating tendency in *e*. Both scribes treat their text with a free hand. The scribe of *b* actually eliminates altogether St Luke ii 34 and substitutes a later verse in its place. Nothing of this nature occurs in *ff*. Again, *b* and *e* both transpose the sacramental verses in St Luke xxii. And in St Mark v 17 the Gadarenes beseech our Lord in *b* 'ut non recederet a regionibus eorum'.

¹ Cf. St John vi 11; St Luke iv 8; St Mark ii 26; St John iii 22 (om. *et baptizabat*).

In *e* the work of the ingenious scribe is apparent almost on every page, and no MS I have ever examined have I found so unreliable for verbal accuracy. The amount of error in *e* is prodigious. Thus, in St Luke xxiv 34, *e* reads 'et visus est simoni et ipse exponebat ei quae', &c., as though our Lord had told Simon the events of the walk to Emmaus. The scribe confuses Cleophas and Cephas. Again, the scribe confuses Simon Peter and Simon the Pharisee in St Luke vii. He also was partial to the name Capernaum, which he substitutes for Nain and also for Corozain. In St Luke xiii 4 the tower in Siloam killed not eighteen but eighteen thousand! Again, in St Luke xix 22 we have the bold alteration in *e*: 'ex ore tuo te condemno quoniam ego austerus sum'. In St Luke xviii 2 we are told by *e*, 'oportet semper operare et non deficiet'. Once more and lastly, in St Luke xi 48 the text of *e* reads: 'nempe consentitis non placere vobis facta patrum vestrorum quia ipsi eos occiderunt vos autem gloriamini,' from which it needs a very spirit of divination, not to mention conjectural emendation, to recover the true text¹.

The conclusion arrived at from a comparison with the Old Latin texts of *b* and *e*, is that the text of *ff* is less emended than either of the others, and at the same time is absolutely free from all those wilful transpositions and alterations which are found to a certain extent in *b*, and to an amazing extent in *e*.

And if of all Old Latin MSS *ff* is the least 'emended', it follows that it is the most valuable of all for the recovery of the words of the Sacred Autographs.

Origin of the Old Latin Text.

Lachmann has expressed his belief that the Old Latin Version originated in Africa, probably at Carthage.

The variations in the Old Latin MSS are due to the fact that the African Text soon became more or less assimilated to the prevailing Greek Text, especially in the case of those MSS which reached Italy. For it is highly probable that the zeal for 'emending' Old Latin MSS by the aid of Greek MSS would flourish much more in Rome and Italy than in the provinces. Augustine states (*De Doctr. Christ.* lib. ii) that to settle the right reading the Greek Text must be referred to; and with little critical sagacity he bids his readers use the 'emended' Latin texts, which he tells us are those written in Italy. For when Augustine says 'interpretatio Itala', he must be understood to mean 'exemplaria Italica'. He himself would seem to have used either Italian MSS or

¹ F. C. Burkitt *de loc.* says: 'This verse contains the African *nempe* for ἀπα, the *non placere nobis* stands for μὴ συνευδοκεῖν (=D), so that *gloriamini* is probably something more than a mere guess. Syr^{cu} also paraphrases Luke xi 48^b.'

ISS of his own country that had been accommodated to Italian MSS. Nam codicibus emendandis,' he says (*ibid.*), 'primitus debet invigilare oollertia eorum qui scripturas nostras nosse desiderant, ut emendatis non-emendati cedant ex uno dumtaxat interpretationis genere venientes (scilicet ex interpretatione Africana). In ipsis autem interpretationibus Itala ceteris praeferatur: nam est tenacior verborum cum perspicuitate sententiae.' Compared with the MSS of other countries the MSS of Italy are those which held most closely to the letter of the then current Greek text.

Again, when Augustine says that the Latin translators cannot be numbered ('ut enim cuique primis fidei temporibus in manus venit Codex Graecus, et aliquantulum facultatis sibi utriusque linguae habere videbatur, ausus est interpretari'), his meaning is not that there were during the second and third centuries in Africa many translators and translations of the whole New Testament, but that those who interpolated the original Version were too many to be counted.

That Italian emending of Latin MSS which Augustine speaks of as being more learned and more recent than the work of the ancient African interpolators was still going on in Italy, and far surpassed what Augustine himself was able to achieve in the same field. In fact, Augustine's great contemporary, Jerome, did no more, as he himself tells us, than stereotype the Italic or emended text which he found prevalent in the Roman Church, and in which he corrected only those readings which were unintelligible, leaving the rest of the text to remain as he found it. The Itala and the Vulgate are thus practically the same text, and both represent the Greek text of the fourth century.

From considerations such as these Lachmann, following Augustine, divides Old Latin Texts into emended and non-emended. He cites as an example of an emended MS the Brescia Gospels (*f*), and a 'regia codex plus mille annorum', which he found at Berlin. He classes with the Italic or emended copies¹.

The Old Latin MSS which Lachmann held in highest estimation and called non-emended were *a*, *b*, and *c*. Except in a few faulty citations was unknown to him.

Lachmann's theory received the approbation of Tischendorf:—

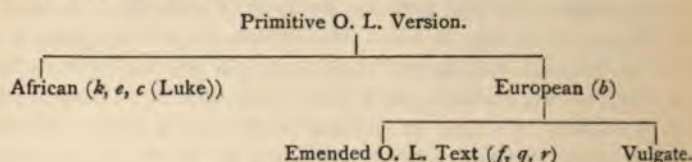
'Quae coniectura egregie inde commendationem habet quod satis convenit cum Augustini circa Italiam interpretationem laude: esse enim in verborum (scilicet graecorum) tenaciorem (quippe rursus ad Graeca

¹ 'De Bobiensi vero quid dicemus nisi hunc quoque suis partibus parum fidelem omnia negligentia perversis ac mutilatis sententiis efficere ut sui potius arbitrii esse quam sibi tradita cum fide reddere videatur? Hunc igitur inter Italicos merito nemus idioticum,' *Nov. Test. Graece et Latine, Carolus Lachmannus recensuit.* introd. p. xvii.

correctam) cum perspicuitate sententiae (expeditus enim Italos Afris scripsisse probabile est).' *Proleg. Evan. Pal. Ined.* p. xvii.

F. C. Burkitt, *Encyclop. Biblica* (art. 'Text and Versions'), 4992-4998, whilst upholding Hort's classification of Old Latin MSS into (a) European, (b) African, claims for both types of text a common origin, 'which at the same time must have been sufficiently remote to allow for the development of their characteristic differences.' He combats the theory that there was an original European version independent of the African text, and speaks of the European text as 'a continuous development, or rather *degeneration*, from the African standard'. Codex *b* is the half-way house between the two types of text. He sums up his conclusions in these words: '*b* is the oldest representative of that *stage* of the European text from which most of the later forms of the Old Latin, and finally the *Vulgate*, are descended.'

His theory may be represented thus:—



Gaul the probable Birthplace of ff.

Concerning the birthplace of our Codex, the present writer is inclined to the belief that our MS was born (where it has long lived) in the West of Europe (probably Gaul), and not in North Italy. With the two North Italian codices it has many affinities; but it has also many and more marked affinities with *c*, and many with *d*. The fact that determines one's verdict is that the scribe of *ff*, as well as the uncials correctors of the MS, were totally ignorant of even the rudiments of the Latin language. Had the Codex been written at Milan, and preserved there, we cannot but believe that it would have been freer from those obvious blunders which are such a feature of the uncial writing in *ff*. Such uncorrected mistakes as *nin* for *non*, *de vobis fuit* for *defuit vobis*, *cum qui ipso* for *qui cum ipso*, *sanatas* for *satanas*, *rabbibarabas* (*d* i St Mark v 41 has a similar monstrosity, *rabbithabita*), *verbunt* for *verbum*, *pedest* for *pedes*, *peccatores* for *peccatores* (here the *t* is erased), all point to an origin remote from Rome and Roman letters.

Another fact of considerable weight is the common phonetic changes in *ff* and Old French. See vii pp. 111, 112. It is possible that the archetype of *ff*, which had a similar text to the archetype of *c*, was a MS brought into the West of Europe from North Italy. Such an origin would explain the small peculiar element found in *ff* and the Venetian

But, on the other hand, it is more likely that *l*, or its archetype, copied in Gaul, and was afterwards carried to Venice.

The absence of all transliterations in *ff*, such as are found in *k* and *e* also in *d*, would point to the fact that the progenitors of *ff* never reached a sphere of Greek influence, such as Rome and Milan. This is an important fact, and establishes the independence of the witness *ff*. The occurrence in *k* of such words as *anastasis*, *discolum* and *eleon* shews that the text of *k* had not escaped from a sphere of Greek influence. The fact that *k* deserts all other old Latin MSS in attesting the concluding verses of St Mark is evidence in the same direction.

The close relations in orthography, and to some extent in grammar, between *ff* and Old French are also a strong reason for believing *ff* to be a true Gallic MS. It is not beyond the bounds of probability that the Old Latin Version originated in Gaul, and was thence—following the lines of commerce—carried to Carthage and to Rome. A remarkable feature of *ff* is that many of its blunders and vulgarisms have survived, scattered over other Old Latin MSS, viz. *ffl* read *ergo* (St John i 3) for *ego*; *ffe* read *petram* (St Luke ix 3) for *peram*; *ffa* interpolate *tata* (St John ii 1); *ffb* read *quod audito* (St Luke xviii 22); *ffc* have *a(m)* (St Luke xiii 35); *ffd* have *herodes* (St Mark vi 19) for *hero-*; *ffi* *sedebant* for *edebant* (St Luke xvii 27); (*ff*) *g hypocrisis*; *ff* employ *propiam* for *proprium*; *bffk* read *aliis paratum est* (St Mark x 40), *bffe* *gubitis* (St John xxi 8); *ffp* *eamus et nos moriamur* (St John xi 16). *ff* R share many old spellings and readings, shewing the parent of the D E L Q R group of Wordsworth and White had strong affinities with *ff*. The Latin Gospels first came to Britain from Ireland (I hope to treat of this more fully in a separate essay); thus *ff* R *inveniet* for *salvam faciet* (St Mark viii 35), and omit *sed* (St John i 1). Was *ff* or its archetype the fountain head whence these blunders and variants arose, or did *ff* gather to itself from collating 'African' and 'European' MSS the blunders peculiar to each type of text? To the present writer the former hypothesis appears the more probable.

Notes on Select Readings.

Interpolations' in *ff* and the best Old Latin MSS:—

St Matt. xvi 2^b, 3 ('The Face of the Sky') = *abcefgg*.

xx 28 ('Ye seek from little to increase') = *abcdehn* Syr^{cu}.

St Luke ix 55 ('Ye know not what spirit') = *abc(d)efpr* Syr^{cu} Cyp.

xxiii 21 ('Breaking the Law') = *bceilq*.

St John iii 6 ('For of flesh . . . for God is spirit') = *aber* Syr^{cu} et sin Tert.

v 4 ('The Angel at the Pool') = *abce* Tert.

(7) St John vi 57 ('If a man take the Body') = *a d*.

(8) vii 53-viii 11 (The Woman taken in Adultery) = *b c d e*.

These 'interpolations' are characteristic of what is called the African text. Their persistence in *ff* is one of the best proofs of the unemendedness as well as of the antiquity of the text of that MS.

The long interpolation in St Matt. xx 28 has a closely allied text in *a b c h n*, whilst *d* and *e* vary considerably from the other MSS and from each other.

In St John v 4 *a b ff* have almost identically the same text; *c* agrees with the Vulgate; the archetype of *e* seems to have been an independent translation from the Greek (*cata* is used for *secundum*).

The Sacramental interpolation in St John vi, found only in *a d ff*, is quoted as Scripture by Victorinus (A.D. 303). It is of limited but ancient attestation. The form in *a ff* is identical; *d* varies and is longer. *A* three have *σῶμα* for *σάρξ*.

Interpolations in Greek MSS rejected by ff and the best MSS of the Old Latin.

St Matt. xxi 44 καὶ ὁ πεσὼν . . . λικμήσει αὐτόν = *N B C Z* . . . om. *a b d e ff* Syr^{eu} Or Iren^{int}.

xxiii 26 καὶ τῆς παροψίδος = *N B C L* . . . om. *a d e ff* Clem Iren^{int}.

St Mark ii 22 ἀλλὰ οἶνον νέον εἰς ἀσκούς καινοὺς = *N B A C L e* . . . om. *a b d i*.

x 2 προσελθόντες φαρισαῖοι = *N B A C L* . . . om. *a b d k (ff)*.

xiv 39 τὸν αὐτὸν λόγον εἰπὼν = *N B A C L* . . . om. *a c ff k*.

St Luke v 39 οὐδεὶς . . . χρηστός ἐστιν = *N B A C L R* . . . om. *a b c d e ff l*.

x 41 f μεριμνᾷς . . . ἡ ἐνός = *N B A C L* . . . om. *a b c d e ff i l*.

xii 19 κείμενα . . . φάγε, πίε = *N B A L* . . . om. *a b c d e ff i l*.

xv 19 ποιήσόν με ὡς ἓνα τῶν μισθίων σου = *N B D U X* . . . om. *a b c e ff i l vg* Syr^{sin} et eu.

xxii 19^b, 20 τὸ ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν . . . ἐκχυννόμενον = *N B C L* . . . om. *a d ff*.

xxii 62 καὶ . . . ἐκλαυσεν πικρῶς = *N B D L T X* . . . om. *a b e ff*.

xxiv 3 τοῦ κυρίου ἰησοῦ = *N B A C L X c g* . . . om. *a b d e ff l*.

6 οὐκ ἔστιν ὧδε, ἀλλὰ ἡγέρθη = *N B A C L* . . . om. *a b d e ff l*.

9 ἀπὸ τοῦ μνημείου = *N B A L* . . . om. *a b c d e ff l*.

36 καὶ λέγει αὐτοῖς εἰρήνη ὑμῖν = *N B A L P X* . . . om. *a b d e ff l*.

40 καὶ τοῦτο εἰπὼν . . . πόδας = *N B A L N X* . . . om. *a b d e ff l* Syr^{sin} et eu.

51 καὶ ἀνεφέρετο εἰς τὸν οὐρανόν = *N^c B A C L X* . . . om. *a b d e ff l N** (Syr^{sin}).

53 προσκυνήσαντες αὐτόν = *N B A C* . . . om. *a b d e ff l* Syr^{sin}.

St John iii 31, 32 ἐπάνω πάντων ἐστίν and τοῦτο = A B L M Δ . . . om. *a b d*
e ff / *N* Syr^{cu}.

xix 5 καὶ λέγει αὐτοῖς ἰδοὺ ὁ ἄνθρωπος = *N* B A L X . . . om. *a e*
ff *r* (*d* defic.).

In St Luke xxiv 12 ὁ δὲ πέτρος . . . τὸ γεγονός *ff* upholds the Txt. Recept. and is supported by Syr^{sin} as well as Syr^{cu}, the Sahidic and Coptic Versions, and by Cyril and Eusebius. Tischendorf, after saying 'patet hunc verum iam saeculo secundo a plerisque testibus lectum esse', proceeds to reject it on the authority of *a b e l*.

St Matthew

xi 28 Lachmann pointed out, in his edition of the New Testament (1832), that Origen three times quotes the verse as 'Venite omnes qui laboratis . . .'. Of all MSS *ff* alone agrees with Origen and omits *ad me*.

It is scarcely likely that any scribe would deliberately expunge these words, whilst the temptation to add them may be paralleled from St John vi 47. [Cf. Rev. xxii 17.]

xii 15 *ff* alone of Latin MSS omits γνοῦς (= X Γ).

xiii 45 Instead of *bonas margaritas a b c h ff* read *bonam margaritam*. The merchant seeks not many pearls, but one.

xviii 17 On the striking omission found in *ff* see *J. T. S.* vii p. 117, 'Errors of Homoeoteleuton'.

xix 4 *ff* Syr^{sin} alone omit ἐξ ἀρχῆς. See note on St John vi 65.

xix 16 (α) διδάσκαλε ἀγαθέ, τί ποιήσω = *ff* Syr^{cu} Ephr^{com}.

(β) διδάσκαλε, τί ἀγαθὸν ποιήσω = *N* B D L *a e*.

(γ) διδάσκαλε ἀγαθέ, τί ἀγαθὸν ποιήσω = C Γ Δ *b c v g* Sah Syr^{sin}.

Cureton believed that the difference between (α) and (β) arose from the original Aramaic. The accession of *ff* to Syr^{cu} makes this theory improbable.

xxii 18 ὑποκριταί is omitted by *ff*. It has been wrongly thrust into St Mark xii 15 in some Greek MSS, and its omission by *ff* renders its authenticity doubtful in St Matthew.

The alternative explanation, that it has been omitted in St Matthew to harmonize with St Mark, is possible; but *ff* has not the harmonizing tendency that is found in *b* and other Old Latin MSS. Vide infra, xxiii 38.

xxiii 35 For *barachiae* of other Latin MSS *ff* has *barachiel*.

xxiii 38 *ff* omits *deserta* alone of all Latin MSS, and is supported in the omission by B L, Syr^{sin}, the best Coptic MS, and by Origen. Tischendorf believed the omission was due to an endeavour to harmonize with St Luke. The new support of Syr^{sin}, however, gives the reading of *ff* a strong claim to be regarded as authentic.

xxiv 19 The form *pelegrinantibus* found here and in St Mark xiii 17

is, I believe, a corruption of *pregnantibus*. For change of *r* to *l* compare *pellegru* = *peregre*, and for insertion of *r* *lithrostromus* = *lithostrotus*.

xxiv 27 *ff* alone of Latin MSS reads *adventu*—'So shall it be at the coming of the Son of man.' There would be strong inducement to correct *adventu* to *adventus*, making it the subject of *erit*.

xxiv 35 This striking and memorable utterance in all other MSS is preserved in each of the Synoptic Gospels in the same form. But *ff*, whilst giving the accepted reading in St Mark and St Luke, has for the second part of the verse in St Matthew:—

verbum autem hoc non preteribit.

This reading has a strong recommendation in that it has not been harmonized with that in the other Gospels.

xxv 40 *ff* agrees with B (Greek) in omitting τῶν ἀδελφῶν μου. *ff*, of other Latin MSS alone supports the omission, but varies in reading from *ff*.

xxv 41 'quae preparavit pater meus diabulo' (om. *et angelis eius*); *ff* is upheld in reading 'preparavit pater meus' by *d* and (with *paravi* for *preparavit*) by *a b c ff₁ g₁ h₁ r*. The reading of *ff*, supported by Iren^o Cyp., and Hil., has every claim to be authentic. τὸ ἡτοιμασμένον clearly a softening of a strong expression, just as the text of *d ff* St Mark v 13 'et statim dñs ihs misit illos in porcos' has been corrected in the Vulgate into 'et concessit eis statim ihs'. This planing process is not unknown to those who have compared the Old Latin with the Vulgate.

The omission of 'et angelis eius' is found alone in *ff*. Here again *ff* would seem to have preserved the true text. Nowhere in the Gospels do we read of the angels of the devil. The addition might easily have been added by a scribe familiar with Rev. xii 7, 9.

xxv 46 For *eis kólasiu aiwóniu* *ff* reads *eis tò pñr tò aiwóniu* (*in ignem aeternum*) and is supported by *a b c h r*. *d g₁* have already altered the rendering into *poenam*, and *fvg* finally give *supplicium*. Neither Tischendorf nor Wordsworth and White have noted this important variation found in the best Old Latin MSS.

It is difficult not to believe that *ff* preserves the apostolic word (πῦρ), which was altered in all Greek MSS into *kólasiu* when the concrete doctrines that culminated in Dante's *Inferno* began to gain ground in the early Church. The Latin Version would in this case as in others have preserved the Text which has been altered in all Greek MSS Cyprian as usual sides with the Old Latin and reads *ambustionem*.

xxvi 9 *ff*, with no support from other MSS, omits πολλοῦ. The omission of πολλοῦ if it had once stood in the text would be improbable in view of the parallel passages in St Mark and St John.

xxvi 52 *ff* adds (after 'omnis enim qui adiciunt gladium') *et gladii*

utentur, which is supported by Hilary, but as far as I know has no other patristic or MS authority. The support given by Hilary to the witness of *ff* here and elsewhere affords another link between our MS and Gaul. Compare St Matt. xxvi 40 where *ff* Hilary expressly read *potuisti*—all other texts *potuistis*.

xxvi 53 (a) 'plus quam duodecim milia angelorum' = *ff* solus.

(β) 'plus quam duodecim legiones angelorum' = *a vg*.

(γ) 'plus quam duodecim milia legiones angelorum' = *b c f g h r Hil*.

(β) Is an agreement with the Greek (λεγιῶνας); (γ) is a manifest conflation of (a) and (β); (a) has the strongest claim to represent the original Old Latin Text.

xxvii 19 *ff* omits 'per visum'. Had the reading of *ff* any support it would have a claim to be regarded as genuine. Why was Pilate's wife dreaming 'hodie' instead of 'hac nocte'? The Coptic Version actually has 'hac nocte', and the Apocryphal Acta Pilati reads νυκτὸς in two MSS and ἐν τῇ νυκτὶ ταύτῃ in two other MSS. In four Greek MSS 'hodie' is omitted as a way out of the difficulty. It is also perhaps significant that in two Greek MSS κατ' ὄναρ is found before σήμερον instead of after it.

xxvii 34 ἔδωκαν αὐτῷ πεῖν οἶνον μετὰ χολῆς μεμιγμένον is the reading of NBDK *a b vg*.

For οἶνον ANTΔ *c f h q* have ὄξος.

The evidence is fairly evenly distributed. *ff* gives the clue to the divergence by omitting οἶνον. It would seem that both οἶνον and ὄξος were attempts to complete the text—οἶνον being taken from St Mark and ὄξος from St Luke.

St John

i 34 Instead of ὁ υἱὸς *c ff* N Syro^u et^{sin} read ὁ ἐκλεκτός. *a b* combine both readings '... electus filius *a* ... filius electus' *b*. The combined attestation of East and West supported by N gives ὁ ἐκλεκτός the greater claim to be regarded as authentic.

ii 3 The longer reading found in N and *a b ff r* is accepted by Tischendorf. It is also attested by the Harklean Syriac. D Syro^{sin} et^{ou} are defective here.

iii 34 The reading of *ff* is unique, and, as explaining the origin of the variant readings, has a good claim to acceptance:

(a) 'non enim ad mensuram dat \overline{ds} \overline{spm} ' = A C² D Δ *a c vg s*.

(β) 'non enim ad mensuram dat \overline{di} \overline{spm} ' = *ff*.

(γ) 'non enim ad mensuram dat \overline{spm} ' = N B² C L *b e f l*.

(δ) 'non enim ad mensuram dat \overline{ds} pater' = Syro^{sin} B* (om. *pater*).

The 'Spirit of God' is an unusual expression in the Gospels, occurring only in St Matt., and one that lends itself to the correction in (a), or the more daring omission in (γ). Yet it is just the expression

that is in keeping with the Old Testament language familiar to St John the Baptist. Elsewhere in the New Testament it is found eleven times in the Pauline Epistles, once in 1 St Peter, and once in 1 St John.

Syr^{eu} is here mutilated. Syr^{sin} is partly illegible; as it stands it reads: 'For not by measure gave God the Father' (om. πνεῦμα). Nestle (*Textual Criticism of the Greek Testament*, English Translation, p. 287) says that the divergence of the text 'is due to the fact that πνεῦμα was not taken as the subject of the sentence'. But the subject of the opening sentence of v. 34—'He whom God sent'—becomes naturally the subject of the antithetical sentence which is linked with it by the word γάρ. The text of ff preserves the natural sequence of subject and reads: 'He whom God sent speaketh the words of God, for not by measure giveth He the Spirit of God'. Moreover, no Latin MS has *spiritus* for *spiritum*—which is in itself a fatal objection to the theory that we should read 'He whom God sent speaketh the words of God, for not by measure doth the Spirit give'. Such a reading would require the addition of αὐτῷ to give it any meaning or coherence whatever. But αὐτῷ is found in no Greek or Latin MS.

The text of ff is important from a theological point of view. Inasmuch as Christ is said to give the Spirit of God, the Spirit of God is rightly in the Western Creed said to proceed from the Father and the Son ('qui ex Patre Filioque procedit').

This reading of ff has escaped the revision that has reduced the reading in all other Old Latin MSS to the norm of the Vulgate. It is strong evidence of the uncorrected testimony of our MS to the words of the Sacred Autographs.

v 31, 32, 33 The text as given in ff is as follows: 'Si ergo (= I G) testimonium perhibeo de me ipso testimonium meum non est verum? Alter (= a) est qui testimonium perhibet de me. Vos ipsi misistis ad me et testimonium perhibuit iohannes de me.'

The form *alter* preserved only in a ff shews that the preceding sentence must be interrogative ('Is not my testimony true?'). For *alter* all other Latin MSS read *alius*, and by adding a sentence akin to St John xxi 24 they refer the word to God the Father. Accordingly by transposing *iohannes* and substituting *veritati* for *de me*² the sentence is made all of a piece.

But the reading of ff has much to recommend it [cf. St John viii 17]. 'My testimony', saith Christ, 'has the confirmation of a second (*alter*).

¹ But had πνεῦμα been the subject of δίδωσιν it is difficult to conceive why it was omitted in B* Syr^{sin}. On the other hand, if θεός were the subject, the sentence is incomplete without αὐτῷ.

² In St John xxi 24 where ff reads *de me*, D of the Vulgate actually wrote *veritati*.

Ye sent unto Me for My testimony and that testimony was confirmed by the testimony of John.' The sending of messengers to St John is recorded in St John i 19. There is no similar record of messengers sent to Christ Himself; and the absence of such a record might well lead to the transposition found in the ordinary text.

When the age of *ff* is considered and the early date at which the Old Latin Version was made, there is reason to believe that here and there readings may have persisted in a single representative of the Old Latin, and yet have been emended in all extant Greek MSS.

vi 32 The text of *ff* omits *ov* and reads: 'Moses gave you bread from heaven; but My Father giveth you the bread from heaven that is the true bread.'

The reading of *ff* gives point to the *ἀλλὰ* and to the emphasis of position that belongs to *τὸν ἀληθινόν*.

There are examples in Old Latin MSS of the insertion of *non* (*ff* St John xix 37 and St Luke xii 17; *b* St Mark v 17; *d* St Matt. xviii 20); but few, if any, of the omission.

If any version or father should be found to support the text of *ff* it would have a good claim to be considered as representing the Apostolic original.

vi 65 *ff* omits *ἐξ ἀρχῆς* (*ab initio*). The consensus of *Syr^{sin}* and *ff* in the omission of the same words in St Matt. xix 4 renders the authenticity of the words in this context also, at least, doubtful. Our Lord's knowledge to the mind of St John is absolute. (Cf. xiii 11; xviii 4.) The insertion of *ἐξ ἀρχῆς* seeks to define what always elsewhere the Evangelist leaves undefined and unlimited.

vii 16 *ff* alone omits the second *mea* and reads 'The teaching is not Mine, but His that sent Me'. The second *mea* may have been inserted from the parallel passage in St John xiv 24.

viii 1-11 The *pericope adulterae* is found in *b** (*sed erasum*) *c d e ff* among Old Latin MSS. It is omitted in *a b^{corr} fl* q; l^{corr}* and *r* derive their text from the Vulgate.

Without discussing the authorities for and against the passage being an integral part of the Gospel of St John it is instructive to note that the text in *ff* and *c* is practically identical. *e* has more agreements with the Vulgate than any of the others have. *d* has some peculiarities of its own (*iudaeorum* looks like a perversion of *eorum*), and as usual deals in synonyms—*peccato* for *adulterio* (*moecationem ff*), *tales* for *huiusmodi*, *inmanerent* for *perseverarent*, *inclinatus* for *inclinans se*, *presbyteris* for *senioribus*. *d* would seem to represent an independent translation from the Greek; *c ff* are from the same archetype (*c* has *condemnavit* = *vg* where *ff* has *lapidavit* = *Ambr*); *e* is in the main a Vulgate text, but has a few variant renderings such as *adlevavit capud*

for *erexit se*; and the more scholarly *supra terram scribebat* where *terra = c vg, in terram d ff*.

viii 47 After *ὑμῖς c ff* alone of Latin MSS or Greek add *με*. The reading is one of many that are peculiar to these two Gallic MSS.

x 14 For *γινώσκουσιν ff* unsupported has *γνώσονται*. 'My own shall know Me.' The internal evidence for the future tense is strong. The followers of Christ have *not yet* the perfect knowledge of Him that He has of the Father. Such knowledge is promised for the Hereafter [1 Cor. xiii 12]. Moreover, there would be a tendency to correlate the tenses in such an unusual expression as 'Agnosco meas et agnoscent me meae sicut cognoscit me pater et ego agnosco patrem'. The future tense *agnoscent* amidst three present tenses might well seem to need emendation. The difficulty of *agnoscunt* was felt later, and so the text was divided as in the English Authorised Version.

xvi 30 The Textus Receptus is confessedly difficult of interpretation. Syriac reads '... and needest not that any one thou shouldest ask...' but for the rest agrees with the current reading.

Here is *ff* '... non est opus ut aliquis te interroget in hoc die vobis quia a deo exivi'.

The question that follows (*Modo creditis?*) might seem to require a more direct antecedent expression of faith, such as is contained in all other MSS except *ff*. The reading of *ff* points back to 'ego a deo patre exivi' in v. 30 (31). According to the text of our MS the disciples were now prepared to take on faith without question the strange words they had just heard, viz. 'I am come forth from God.'

xvii 6 *c ff* seem to have read *ἐτήρησα* (N 33 *ἐτήρησαν*).

The reading is a blunder; but community in error is a strong proof of community of ultimate origin.

xviii 9 Instead of *ὁ λόγος (sermo)* *ff* has *ἡ γραφή (scriptura)*. It is possible that *λόγος* may have been altered to *γραφή* in agreement with St John xvii 12.

On the other hand, the difficulty of assigning Christ's words any known Scripture may have led to the change from *scriptura* to *sermo* in all other texts containing this passage. The usual reference Ps. cix 8 affords no real parallel, nor does Ps. xli 9.

xix 5 *a c ff r* omit the words 'et dicit eis ecce homo', and their authenticity is thus rendered doubtful. Syriac and Syriac are both defective here.

xxi 9 For *prunas positas a b c ff r aur* have *carbones incensos*—possibly, as Wordsworth and White suggest, from reading *καιομένην* for *κειμένην*. *d c* appear to have been corrected from the Greek and read *carbones positos*.

xxi 12 See St Luke xi 8.

xi 24 After *testimonium perhibet ff* adds *de me de his*, whilst *de ihu* Only is added by *ae (ihm)*. The reading of *ff* looks like a conflation. *e* punctuates after *de ihm*. Is it possible that in the ancestor of *ae ff* the words 'hic est discipulus qui testimonium perhibet de me' were closely joined with the preceding text and thus attributed to Christ Himself? *a* continues 'et quis scripsit haec scimus et scimus quod verum est testimonium eius'—such a continuation occurring in the common ancestor would present no objection to the supposition.

St Luke

i 25 For *ὅτι (quia) a b ff* alone read *τί (quid)*—'Why hath the Lord done thus unto me . . .?' This change would give greater naturalness to the words of Elisabeth.

i 37 In place of the usual text *ὅτι οὐκ ἄδυνατόν ἐστι (quia non erit impossibile)* *ff* has *ὅτι οὐ δύναται (quia non est possibile?)*. The diorthota changed *possibile* to *impossibile*, but left *est* untouched.

i 43 *ff* has *mater domini dei* for the Textus Receptus *mater domini mei*. The expression *dominus deus* occurs three times in the first chapter of St Luke; but it can hardly be authentic here.

i 61 The words *in cognatione tua* are omitted by *ff*. The Greek MSS are divided between *ἐκ τῆς συγγενείας σου* and *ἐν τῇ συγ. σου*.

ii 2 *ff* reads *preside syrio cyrino*.

ii 9 The reading of *ff* is vivid and striking: 'Et ecce angelus domini stetit iuxta illos maiestas circumfulsit illum et timuerunt timore magno.' The glory circled the angel according to this text. All Greek MSS add *καὶ* before *δόξα*. The asyndeton however lends vividness to the narrative. The addition of *κυρίον* after *δόξα* is found in some MSS and *θεοῦ* in others. Neither addition is found in *b d ff*.

ii 14 The true text of the first Christmas carol has been a subject of discussion since Tischendorf, and, following him, Westcott and Hort deposed *εὐδοκία* in favour of *εὐδοκίας*. The balance of evidence found in Greek MSS was determined in favour of *εὐδοκίας* by 'the consensus of all Latin MSS' in reading

pax hominibus bonae voluntatis.

Now *ff* in this passage has the unique reading *voluntatis* (om. *bonae*) and *hominibus voluntatis* is not good Latin if *voluntatis* be taken as the genitive case. But why should it be? The plural of the third declension in *ff* more often ends in *-is* than *-es*, viz. *divitis*, *salutationis* (= *i*), *principis* (= *e*). Hence it follows that the reading of *ff*—*voluntatis*—may well represent a nom. plur. (For the rendering of a noun by an idiomatic plural there is an example in *vires* as well as by *virtus*.) If this be so the Latin *voluntatis* *εὐδοκία* (the nom.). *Bonae* was a later necessary

addition when *voluntatis* became regarded as a genitive case. But he account for the presence of *eidonias* in N B D (A has both)? In D the Greek may well have been harmonized with the Latin on the opposite page, but can a similar explanation account for the text of N B?

Wordsworth and White speak of Latin MSS being revised by Greek MSS; and the reverse process may well have taken place, especially when the Latin Vulgate became the authoritative text of the Western Church. It is significant that no Syriac MS lends any support to *eidonias*.

Here again *ff* stands alone among Latin MSS in giving what it is difficult not to believe was the primitive Old Latin rendering of *eidonia*. No scribe with *hominibus bonae voluntatis* before him would have expunged *bonae*; on the contrary, the text *hominibus voluntatis* calls for some emendation if *voluntatis* is regarded as in the genitive case, and *bonae* is the natural addition suggested by the compound word *eidonia*.

ii 26 For *Christum Domini* ('The Lord's Christ') *ff* has *Christum Deum* ('The God Christ'). Compare note on i 43.

ii 28 For *benedixit deum* *ff* reads *benedixit eum*. The diorthos added *d* before *eum*; but *dm* and *eum* could not have been confused by any scribe. *ff* here preserves another ancient reading witnessed to by no other MS.

iii 8 *ff* reads *filios israhel* where all MSS besides have *filios abrahae*.

iii 21 Alone of all MSS *ff* has *ihu baptizante* instead of *ihu baptizato*. According to the Text. Recept. St Luke places the actual baptism of Christ in the midst of the baptism of all the people (*ἀραρά τὸν λαόν*). The parallel passage in St Matt. iii contains no reference to the people being present at the actual baptism of Christ, and at the same time puts the descent of the Spirit *after* the baptism. St Luke, if we accept the Text. Recept., makes the descent of the Spirit synchronize (*ἐν βαπτισμῷ* . . .) with the baptism of Christ. The reading of *ff* tells us that Christ *was Himself baptizing* the people [after His own baptism when the Spirit descended. In addition to the absence of this fact from St Matt., there would be a desire to alter *ihu baptizante* in view of St John iv 2. *b* actually eliminates *et baptizabat* from St John iii 22. Had *ihu baptizato* been the original Old Latin Text, it is difficult to see why it should have been changed to *ihu baptizante*. There were obvious reasons for the reverse process.

iii 28 After *filius er* *ff* adds *filius zoses*. Whence this addition comes it is difficult to say.

iv 5-8 (*a*) *b c f l q r* place these verses after 9-12 to harmonize with St Luke; *ff* with *de* is faithful to the true text. Other examples where *ff* resists the harmonizing tendency found in *a b* and other Old Latin

MSS are St Matt. xvi 23, xxi 25, xxv 27, xxvi 39, xxvii 35; St Luke vi 2, xii 63; St Mark x 19, xiv 24; St John vi 11.

iv 22 By reading *nonne hic est filius ioseph fabri* ff agrees with St Matt. xiii 55, and not with St John vi 42 (om. *fabri*) as does the Text. Recept. In this ff has no support from any other MS.

vi 31 ff omitting *et vos* [B (Greek) F also omit *et vos*] alone of Latin MSS reads *facitis* for *facite*. The Interrogative rendering of *ποιεῖτε* is strongly supported by the consideration that other MSS have been harmonized with St Matt. vii 12.

vi 45 ff alone instead of *de bono thensauo cordis sui* reads *de bono densauo suo*. The words *cordis sui* were perhaps suggested by the following *cordis*. Less probably ff may have omitted them to harmonize with St Matt. xii 35.

ix 10 (α) εἰς πόλιν καλ. βεθσαιδά B L X.

(β) εἰς κώμην καλ. βεθσαιδά D.

(γ) εἰς τόπον ἔρημον N*.

(δ) εἰς τόπον ἔρημον βηθσαιδά *a c e f ff vg* (*a e f* ἔρημ. καλ.).

(ε) εἰς τόπον ἔρημον πόλεως καλ. βηθσαιδά (A) C E G H.

ε is manifestly a conflation. α and β are two attempts to associate the Bethsaida here mentioned with the city of Philip and Andrew. N* as on other occasions cuts the Gordian knot and omits βηθσαιδά. δ would seem to be the true text preserved in (a) (e) *c ff vg*.

xi 8 The Vulgate text exhibits the curious corruption *inprobitatem* for *inportunatatem*. *ff c r* and two MSS of the Vulgate alone preserve the uncorrupted reading. So in St John xxi 12 *ff b* and three Vulgate MSS alone read *discentium* for the corrupt *discumbentium*. In each case ff has preserved the true reading which in one instance at least has been lost by all other Old Latin MSS.

xvii 24 For the Received Text *ita erit filius hominis in die sua* there is found in Old Latin MSS :

(α) *ita erit ff*.

(β) *ita erit adventus filii hominis c f s*.

(γ) *ita erit filius hominis a b d e i*.

It is difficult not to believe that (β) and (γ) are both additions to the true text which ff alone has preserved.

xviii 34 Instead of *et non intellegebant quae dicebantur* ff has (after *et erat verbum absconditum ab eis*) simply the words *ex his quae dicebat*.

xix 5 Instead of *oportet me manere hodie*, the reading of the Text. Recept., ff has *oportet me prandere hodie*.

This gives a vivid turn to the narrative; but from its lack of confirmation by any other authority cannot be regarded as having any claim to be considered authentic.

xxii 19, 20 Westcott and Hort here accept the omission attested by

adffil in the face of the combined evidence of **NB** supported by all other Greek MSS. But if the unsupported 'Western' text is the true one here, why not elsewhere and oftener?

xxiv 40 *Sedete hic in civitate* is the reading of *ff*. All other MSS omit *hic*. The *hic* might well have been omitted from the difficulty of regarding the Mount of Olives as included in the word *civitas*.

St Mark

i 41 The reading *ὀργισθεῖς* (*iratus*) for *σπλαγχνισθεῖς* (*misertus*) is found only in *adffr*. It is supported, however, by Ephr. *Diat*. The reading *ὀργισθεῖς* cannot be the result of *miscopying* *σπλαγχνισθεῖς*. On the other hand, there is a tendency in Greek MSS to soften certain strong and unusual expressions found in the Old Latin. Compare St Matt. xxv 41; St Mark v 13.

v 41 *ff* alone of Latin MSS reads *tabitha cum*.

tabitha is found for *talitha* in *a(b)(c)(d)*; *cum* (κούμ) is found in **NBCLMAC** *al pler*, but all Latin MSS except *ff* read *cumi* (κούμ).

vii 4 *ff* alone has *baptismum calicum*. The singular form *baptismum*, from its special Christian significance, would perhaps be more likely to be changed into *baptismos* (= *ab*) or *baptismata* (= *vg*) than would the plural *baptismos* into the singular *baptismum*.

ix 40 For *quia christi estis* *ff* alone has *quia domini estis*. The interchange of *xps* and *dns* may be paralleled by the interchange of *ihs* and *dns* in St John iv 1. In support of the reading of *ff* compare what is said in St John xiii 13, 14.

x 27 ἀδύνατόν ἐστιν παρὰ δὲ τῷ θεῷ δυνατόν is the reading of *D(a)ff* Clem^{alex}. Westcott and Hort dismiss the reading as 'Western'.

xi 30 *ff* reads the baptism of John *is it* (instead of *was it*) of men? This reading (on internal grounds) has much to recommend it. The present tense would be rightly employed in speaking to those who had personally heard St John the Baptist and were well acquainted with his teaching.

xiv 24 *hic est sanguis meus = ff*.

hic est sanguis meus testamenti = NBCDLk.

hic est sanguis meus novi testamenti = acfiqrvg.

The parallel passage in St Matt. xxvi 28 is as follows:

hic est enim sanguis meus testamenti = NB LZ 33.

hic est enim sanguis meus novi testamenti = ACD... and all Latin MSS.

NBL harmonize the two narratives by omitting *novi* in both; *acfiqrvg* harmonize both narratives by reading a full text in both. *ff* remains unharmonized. [Cf. St Matt. xxiv 35; St Luke iv 5-8, xii 19^b, 20.] The reading of *ff* is the more striking because *ff* is a MS that

has a full text and varies from other Old Latin MSS by its additions more often than by its omissions. The Early Church teaching on the subject of the Eucharist has always implied a text such as is actually found in *ff*.

There are undoubtedly a few instances wherein a single ancient MS exhibits the true reading, and it would seem one of the number is this reading which our MS has faithfully preserved, while all other texts have been harmonized into agreement with the narrative of St Matthew.

xv 40 This verse affords an instructive example of the variant readings in Old Latin MSS. For the Vulgate *aspicientes*, *c* has *audientes*, *d* *videntes*, *ff* *stantes*, *k* *spectantes*, and *n* *expectantes*.

xvi 13 (α) *nec illis crediderunt q* *vg.*

(β) *nec ipsi crediderunt ff.*

(γ) *nec ipsis crediderunt c.*

The idiomatic non-reflexive use of *ipse* (= *ille* or *hic* or *is*) is a mark of early Latin MSS, viz. in St John iii 18 *ff* has *in ipsum* where all other MSS have *in eum*, and in St Mark xv 41 *cum ipso* where other MSS have *cum eo*. In *e ipse* is constantly used for *hic*, less often for *ille*. The Vulgate in many places replaces *ipse* in *ff* by *is* or *ille*. In *h^{cath} ev^g qui ipsos eos dominat* (2 St Peter ii 1) is found with *ipsos* erased. So *a₂* in St Luke xi 27 has *ipse* (= *e*) for *hic*, and in xiii 32 *ipse* for *ille*.

xvi 19 For the Vulgate *adsumtus est ff* with *q* Iren. has *receptus est*.

ff and all Latin MSS (except *k*), supported by Irenaeus and Tertullian in the second century and by the Syriac Version of Cureton, have the conclusion to St Mark's Gospel which is omitted by **NB**. The consensus of the Syriac and Latin Versions, of which the common element goes back to a date earlier than the archetype of **NB**, is strong evidence for holding the verses as authentic. Burgon believed that the last leaf of St Mark was wanting in the archetype of **NB**, and this suggestion is not altogether improbable. The evidence for the rejection dispassionately considered is not sufficiently strong to negative the evidence for the retention; nor can it be denied that in the second century the verses were of unquestioned authenticity both in the Eastern and in the Western Church.

Conclusion.

The study of a MS involves a twofold mental process—the ascertaining of the character of the scribe's exemplar and at the same time the ascertaining of the character of the scribe himself.

The licence of Western scribes is almost proverbial, and has been used by Hort as a strong argument for dismissing as summarily as he has done the evidence of Western MSS. When a MS such as *e* writes, for example, *capharnaum* for *naim*, and *capharnaum* also for *corozain*,

confounds *Cleophas* and *Cephas* and alters his context accordingly, the student may well hesitate about accepting any singular readings of such a codex. A witness who distorts even a few facts impairs the value of his evidence as a whole.

The striking character of *ff* is the absence of any such errors as those just named. There are unconscious errors of transcription such as are found in all MSS; but of wilful alteration of the text from 'supposed fitness for immediate and obvious edification' there is, to the best of the present writer's belief, not a single instance.

The singular readings of *ff* are quite different in character from most of the singular readings of *e*, or even of *b* or *k*.

Another source of obliteration of ancient readings is the Harmonistic proclivity of many scribes—the result of such compilations as Ephrem's *Diatessaron*. Again, *ff* can be shewn to be more free from this influence than any extant Latin or Greek MS.

In the preceding pages evidence for assigning *ff* to as early a date as 375–425 has been discovered in

(a) The unfixedness of the spelling to a degree unparalleled in any other MS.

(β) The exceeding rarity of punctuation.

(γ) The absence of all observance of grammar; and the persistence of vulgarisms in both grammar and spelling.

(δ) The shape and form of the letters, especially of E, T, M and O.

(ε) The large amount of verbal variation from the Vulgate, especially in such well-known and often quoted verses as St Matt. xi 28, St Luke ii 14, St Mark xiv 24.

(ζ) The comparative freedom of *ff* from the harmonizings which are found in other texts. The earliest texts would be the least harmonized. [Cf. above St Matt. xxiv 35, xxvii 34; St Luke iii 21, vi 31; St Mark xiv 24.]

The cumulative force of the evidence from these sources cannot be negatived by imputing to *ff* 'the textual timidity of the fifth century'. That the text of *ff* keeps on the whole nearer to the Text. Recept. than do the other ancient Old Latin MSS (with the exception of *a*) is a fact which must be recognized, but it determines nothing either for or against the antiquity of our MS or of its text. In this case, as in others, theories must be subserviated to ascertained facts. The large measure of support given by the two oldest Latin MSS *a* and *ff* to the Text. Recept. is a fact which can no longer be neglected, especially when it is remembered that 'the text has been preserved with less alteration in the versions than in the MSS.'

Early withdrawn from Greek influence into remote Western Europe, the text of *ff* remained undepreciated by the zeal for revision and

harmonization that soon arose both in Rome and Constantinople, and quickly spread thence to all literary centres. Lying in a backwater, so to speak, and guarded by devout 'uncritical' men, it preserved for the succeeding ages its pristine purity. Thus it has come to pass that the Codex Corbeiensis is one of the earliest and most faithful representatives of the lost Autographs of the Everlasting Gospel.

E. S. BUCHANAN.

ADDENDA ET CORRIGENDA.

- P. 101, l. 17. For consecutive and read consecutive and contained ix 45-x 20; the third
- P. 103, l. 1. For *dmn* read *dmn*
- P. 104, l. 7. For P read Codex Paris. Lat. 9389, and also on p. 106, l. 17.
- P. 105, last line but one. After times add The initial words *Est quidem lucas* are remarkable (C T om. *Est quidem*), and imply either that the first sentence of the Prologue was written in St Luke's lifetime and the rest added later, or, what is more probable, that the whole was written not long after at Antioch by one who claimed St Luke as his fellow citizen
- P. 106, l. 15. For canonorum read canonum. l. 20. After pages add which are in minute uncials
- P. 107, l. 28. After *sect* add *sup*. Dele centre points in all three devotional notes, and in the first for *sup* read *sup*
- P. 108, l. 16. After MS add who appears to belong to the eighteenth century
- P. 110, last line. For K read k
- P. 112, l. 26. Add (r) Dropping of medial c before t: *eletos, precintus*. Cf. Fr. *élite*
- P. 114, l. 25. After *transiet* add (*transiit*)
- P. 117, l. 12. For *Sidonae* read *sidonae*
- P. 120, l. 10. For a and ff read a, ff and k
- P. 120, last line but one. Dele T and, and add at the end of paragraph There is reason to believe that not all the punctuation expressed in Wordsworth's edition of k is by the first hand. Mr. F. C. Burkitt (to whom I owe much gratitude for corrections and suggestions) would put k in the fourth century. I had not seen his notice in the *Journal of Theological Studies* v pp. 100 ff, when I wrote the above. I am still inclined, however, to believe that ff is earlier than k. In k the letters U I P H are slightly hooked at the top; in ff they are perfectly plain. In k the first of the three strokes in M is uniformly straight and in some cases as high as the second stroke; in ff the first stroke is distinctly lower than the second and forms with it (as it does with the third stroke) a more pronounced horseshoe. The M in ff is a replica of the M in the fourth century Cicero Palimpsest at Rome, *Pal. Soc.* ii Pl. 160. The confusion of S and F and R and N in k lends support to the belief that k was copied from a half-uncial MS in which these letters are much alike. Now the earliest examples of half-uncial writing belong to the fifth century, *Handbook of Greek and Latin Palaeography* p. 200. On this ground, together with the frequent punctuation, I thought k should be placed in the second half of the fifth century; but I would now say the first half of the fifth century, and would place k close to a ff in point of antiquity.
- P. 121, l. 23. Add For two minor corrections in e by a recent hand, who inserted a cross and scrawling lectionary note against St John xvii, may be ignored.

HERMAS AND MATT. XXVIII 19 f.

Is the first number of the *Hibbert Journal* (Oct. 1902), art. 'Three early doctrinal modifications of the text of the Gospels', Mr F. C. Conybeare writes p. 102 that no other text 'has counted for so much in the dogmatic development of the Church' as Matt. xxviii 19 f, 'Go ye, therefore, and make disciples of all the nations, *baptizing them into the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Ghost*: teaching them to observe all things whatsoever I commanded you.' As the 'Eusebian' form of this before the Council of Nice he gives (p. 104 f), 'Go ye and make disciples of all the nations *in my name*, teaching them to observe all things, whatsoever I commanded you.' In the same volume of the *Hibbert Journal* (p. 571 f) Mr J. R. Wilkinson replies, (1) that 'Eusebius, when writing his earlier works, at all events, had before him a MS of St Matthew with the reading *καταβαίνετε (εἰς) μαθητεύσατε πάντα τὰ ἔθνη ἐν τῷ ὀνόματι μου*'; but (2) that it is not proved that this MS omitted the clause, '*ἁγίζοντες αὐτοὺς*' &c. These words are not quoted in Mr Conybeare's proof-passages, 'for the simple reason that they have nothing to do with the argument of Eusebius.'

Mr Conybeare contends that his 'Eusebian' text of Matt. 1 c. is also 'Justinian'. From Justin's *Trypho* he cites the passage (§ 39, p. 258 A), 'God hath not yet inflicted nor inflicts the judgement, as knowing of some that still even to-day *are being made disciples in the name of his Christ*, and are abandoning the path of error, who also do receive gifts each as they be worthy, *BEING ILLUMINED* by the name of this Christ'; and he continues, 'The words italicized are in the Greek, *μαθητευομένους εἰς τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ χριστοῦ αὐτοῦ*'. The objection hitherto to these words being recognized as a citation of our text was that they ignored the formula "baptizing them in the name of the Father and Son and holy Spirit". But the discovery of the Eusebian form of text removes this difficulty; and Justin is seen to have had the same text as early as the year 140, which Eusebius regularly found in his manuscripts from 300-340.' He argues afterwards from 'the Eusebian and Justinian texts' (p. 108), which are assumed to lack the injunction 'to baptize in the triune name'.

But what does Justin mean or imply by his *φωτιζόμενοι*, *being illumined*? In *Apol.* i 61 (p. 94 A, c) he describes baptism 'in the triune name', and says that it is called *φωτισμός*, *illumination*, thus, *ἐκ' ὀνόματος γὰρ τοῦ πατρὸς τῶν ὅλων καὶ δεσπότου θεοῦ καὶ τοῦ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ καὶ πνεύματος ἁγίου τὸ ἐν τῷ ὕδατι τότε λουτρὸν ποιῶνται . . . καλεῖται δὲ τοῦτο τὸ λουτρὸν φωτισμός, ὡς φωτιζόμενων τὴν διάνοιαν τῶν ταῦτα μανθανόντων*. In the *Trypho* passage, granted that he is quoting Matt.

l. c., he would accordingly refer by the word φωτιζόμενοι to the clause, 'baptizing them &c.' The 'gifts' received by the illumined are gifts of the Spirit received at baptism.

Shortly after its first appearance I read Mr Conybeare's article, and the question occurred to me, Was the alleged 'Justinian' reading of Matt. l. c. known to 'Hermas'? Right or wrong as a reading there, ἐν τῷ ὀνόματί μου κτῆ, 'make disciples of all the nations *in my name*', seemed to throw light upon a presumably allusive expression in *Sim.* ix. In *Mand.* i, as is well known, the Creator is said to be all-containing and alone *uncontainable* (ἀχώρητος). In *Sim.* ix 14. 5 the like is said of *the name of the Son of God*: it is ἀχωρητόν and sustains the whole world. The Rock (ix 2. 1), which represents Him, is capable of containing the whole world. We may say then that His name is thought of as 'all-containing and uncontainable'. If men of all the nations were made disciples *in* or baptized *into* His name, this would therefore be in the language of Hermas ἀχώρητον and able ὅλον τὸν κόσμον χωρῆσαι. Bearing the name implies baptism, as in chap. 16 on the preaching to the pre-dormient.

In chap. 14 l. c. we read of men bearing the name of the Son of God and walking in *His commandments*, with reference perhaps to the Fourth Gospel, but more especially to Matt. l. c. ὅσα ἐνετειλάμην. Ev. Matt. ends with the words ἕως τῆς συντελείας τοῦ αἰῶνος. To this, in its relation to the preaching of the Gospel, 'Hermas' may be thought to allude in *Vis.* iii 8. 9, where he asks Ecclesia εἰ ἤδη συντέλειά ἐστιν; viz. in connexion with the building of the tower, which signifies the evangelization of the world. I suppose Hermas to allude to Matt. l. c. and also to Mark xvi 15. But by this note I wish chiefly to call attention to and suggest an explanation of the word ἀχωρητόν as an epithet of the Name of the Son of God.

C. TAYLOR.

AN UNCIAL MS OF ST CYPRIAN.

If my memory does not deceive me, none of the books on St Cyprian mentions an uncial MS of writings of that father owned by Juan Paez de Castro (chaplain to Philip II of Spain; †A.D. 1570) and by him given in pledge to D. Diego de Mendoza as security for the loan of a manuscript of the works of Ptolemy. Our authority is a statement by Jerome Zurita, in a document partially published by Ch. Graux, *Essai sur les origines du fonds grec de l'Escurial* (A.D. 1880) p. 335, n. 1: 'Item, las obras de Ptolomeo en griego, en papel de marca grande, de mano, enquadernado en perg., que se le prestó D. Diego de Mendoza, y él le

dejó en prendas unas obras de sant Cypriano, de mano, en perg., de letra mayúscula.¹

When a scholar and collector of MSS and papers like Zurita makes a statement of this sort, there is no room for hesitation in trusting him with regard to the character of the writing of the MS. The misfortune is that he says nothing further, and that we have no means of knowing exactly what work or works of St Cyprian were contained in it.

Possibly the MS is lost: possibly it still remains concealed in the Escorial or elsewhere. Even if no further trace of it can be found, it would be well to take note of its existence with a view to making the history of the tradition of the text of St Cyprian's writings more complete.

Further information about Paez and de Mendoza may be found in the above-mentioned work of Graux.

G. MERCATI.

THE PRAYER BOOK PSALTER.

IN the course of an enquiry into the composite nature of the Prayer Book version of the Psalms I have had occasion to notice certain changes which from time to time have been made in it, with or without authority; many of them being changes for the worse, if not absolute errors. It seems desirable to call attention to these in order that the correct readings may, if possible, be restored.

It may be broadly stated that the Prayer Book version of the Psalms is the work of Coverdale alone, for if we combine the renderings in his Bible of 1535, with those in the Bibles of 1539 and April 1540, both of which were edited by him, it will be found that what is not traceable to any of these three sources is small, both in amount and importance.

After the publication of the Great Bible of 1539, six folio editions were issued in the two following years; that is to say, in April, July, and November, 1540, and in May, November, and December, 1541. These six had a Prologue by Cranmer prefixed to them, and in consequence they are frequently called Cranmer's Bibles, although with the translation he had nothing to do. It will be more convenient, as well as more correct, to speak of them as editions of the Great Bible, and to include with them, as Bishop Westcott did, the Bible of 1539, for the

¹ 'Item, the works of Ptolemy in Greek, in paper of large size, written by hand, bound in parchment, which D. Diego de Mendoza lent him, and he gave him in pledge certain works of St Cyprian, written by hand on parchment in majuscule letters.' Printed also by R. Beer, *Handschriftenschatze Spaniens* (Vienna, 1894) p. 594.

sion contained in all these is substantially the same, though there may be variations in detail.

The version of the Great Bible continued to be printed as late as 1569, when it was superseded by the Bishops' Bible which appeared in 1568. But the translation of the Psalms in the Bishops' Bible proved so little acceptable that, although it was printed in the 4th edition of 1569, it never appeared again, except in the editions of 1572 and 1585 where it stands with the version of the Great Bible in parallel columns. In all other editions of the Bishops' Bible, down to the last in 1602, the Psalms are from the Great Bible.

In 1578 there appeared an edition of the Geneva Bible, with the Geneva and Great Bible versions of the Psalms in parallel columns, and another was issued in 1584. Besides these there were various editions of the Psalter in the Book of Common Prayer which was bound at the beginning of copies of the Geneva version.

I have not thought it worth while to record the numberless changes of *a* for *an*, *are* for *be*, *who* for *which* or *that*, *my* for *mine*, &c., or the modern substitutes for archaisms, such as *more* for *moo* (xl 7), *strengthen* for *strength* (civ 15), *mouths* for *mowes* (xxxv 15), *children's* for *childers* (lii 17), *dispersed* for *sparsed* (cxii 9), &c., or to notice the many linguistic alterations, which are not all for the better, such as *built* for *wilded* (lxxviii 70, cxvii 3), *will* for *shall*, *unto* for *to*, *to* for *unto*, and the like. But it would be as well to restore in ix 15 *their own foot*, which is in Coverdale and all the Great Bibles, for *their foot*, which first appears in 1579, and I see no reason why in xxxi 26 *rewardeth* should be substituted for *rewardeth he*, as we have in the Great Bible of 1539, or why in lix 3 *gathered* is substituted in the Bishops' Bible of 1572 for *gathered together*, as it was in 1539. It is difficult to suppose that these changes were intentionally made, and that they are not rather errors of the press.

But the changes to which I wish to call especial attention are those readings and renderings which were originally correct. It will be sufficient to give a table of these, indicating at the same time the date at which they were first made, so far as I have been able to trace them. The Annexed Book is the MS Book of Common Prayer which was annexed to the Act of Uniformity of Charles II.

| | |
|---|--|
| 3. works <i>for</i> work. Nov. 1540. | xxxviii 10. sight <i>for</i> light. Gen. 1578. |
| 2. enemies <i>for</i> enemy. 1572. | |
| v 8, 10. the king <i>for</i> this king. Nov. 1540. | xlvi 9. the waterpipes <i>for</i> thy waterpipes. 1572. |
| liii 9. my strength <i>for</i> their strength. May, 1541. | xlvi 10. daughter <i>for</i> daughters. (Ann. Book.) |
| 6. hast <i>for</i> hadst Scotch Prayer Book 1637 and Ann. Book. | xlvi 15. hath delivered <i>for</i> shall deliver. Gen. 1578. |

- i 9. he-goat *for* he-goats. Not in Ann. Book.
 li 16. burnt-offerings *for* burnt-offering. 1549.
 lii 4. unrighteousness *for* ungraciousness. Gen. 1578.
 lvi 11. their streets *for* her streets. Nov. 1540.
 lix 11. the people *for* thy people. Gen. 1578.
 lxi 6. Lord God of Israel *for* God of Israel. Nov. 1540.
 lxxviii 4. mighty *for* might. 1572.
 9. cleaveth *for* cleaved. 1572.
 55. his mountain *for* this mountain. 1572.
 lxxx 12. pluck off *for* pluck of. 1579.
 lxxxi 13. lusts *for* lust. 1639, and in Ann. Book.
 lxxxvi 11. I may fear *for* it may fear. 1572.
 xcvi 10. this generation *for* that generation. 1572.
 ci 7. high *for* an high. 1572.
 8. upon *for* unto. Prayer Book 1622.
 civ 21. do seek *for* to seek. 1572.
 25. the great *for* this great. July 1540.
 cvii 43. lovingkindness *for* lovingkindnesses. 1572.
 cix 10. the stranger *for* strangers. 1572.
 (the strangers. July 1540).
 cxviii 23. This is *for* This was. Nov. 1540.
 cxix 43. thy truth *for* truth. 1575.
 cxxxv 6. and in the sea *for* in the sea. Nov. 1540.
 7. treasures *for* treasures. July 1540.
 8. and beast *for* and of beast. Nov. 1540.
 cxxxvi 13. in two parts *for* into parts. 1572.
 cxxxviii 6. them *for* him. 1572.
 cxxxix 13. wonderfully *for* wondrously. 1572.
 cxliv 6. thy lightning *for* the lightning. 1578.
 cxlvi 8. helpeth them *for* helpeth them up. 1572.

In cix 24 *reproach* is substituted for *rebuke* in the Annexed Book, though *rebuke* is retained in other passages, and in cxix 104 *wicked* is changed to *evil*, perhaps to avoid alliteration or on account of ver. 101 where the Hebrew is different.

It will be seen that a large number of the changes above given were made in the Bishops' Bible of 1572, where the Prayer Book version of the Psalms is printed side by side with the Bishops' version, and there is no reason to suppose that they are due to anything else than the carelessness of printers. Several also occur in the Nov. 1540 edition of the Great Bible, which is said to have been 'overseen and perused' by Bishops Tunstall and Heath. I do not imagine that the changes were made by their authority, and should rather infer that the revision was not so careful as it might have been. Unfortunately, with one exception (l 9), all these changes have been perpetuated, and so far sanctioned, in the Annexed Book, which is at present the standard authority, although in cxviii 23, where it has 'This is the Lord's *doings*' it has been properly deserted in subsequent editions.

WILLIAM ALDIS WRIGHT.

¹ The restoration of 'might' for 'mighty' would require the insertion of 'the' or 'his' before 'wonderful works', so that the verse would read 'his might and the (or his) wonderful works that he hath done'.

AN ANCIENT OFFICE FOR HOLY SATURDAY. POSTSCRIPT.

THE explanation of an obscure formula which occurs, so far as is known, in only one family of MSS, however justifiable and seemingly necessitated by the context, must often be revised on the discovery of other readings of the same text with different and more definite surroundings. Hence all interpretations of apparently unique passages must necessarily be tentative and provisional. This I had in mind when in the July number of the JOURNAL I offered (p. 607) a 'possible' interpretation of a formula which I believed to be unedited. If the fresh light which I am now able to throw on it leads to the modification or even the rejection of my explanation, I still feel that I was justified in the conclusion I then drew from such evidence as lay before me.

The passage in question *Si quis catechumenus est procedat. Si q. hereticus e. p. Si q. iudeus e. p. Si q. paganus e. p. Si q. arrianus e. p. Cuius cura non est procedat*, which in five South Italian MSS comes between the lessons of Holy Saturday and the blessing of the font, seemed so intimately connected with the baptism, confirmation, &c., administered on that day that I regarded it as being possibly a solemn invitation for these various classes to come forward for these sacraments, interpreting the expression *procedat* on the analogy of all the texts of the office of the *Scrutinium* where the invitation to the catechumens to come forward is invariably *procedant* whilst their dismissal is *recedant*.

But in the beginning of July when the JOURNAL was on the point of being published, I found that the formula occurs in the Ambrosian antiphoner of the twelfth century, and since then Mr H. A. Wilson has called my attention to its having been printed from that MS in L. Paul Lejay's article on the Ambrosian rite in the new *Dictionnaire archéologie chrétienne et de liturgie* (fasc. v col. 1404). It seemed therefore advisable to re-open the subject as it will be seen that the Milan use differs widely from the Beneventan.¹

The formula as it occurs in Ambrosian MSS omits the word *est* and the clause for the Arian, places the four classes in the order of catechumens, Jews, pagans, and heretics, and has for the final clause variably *Cuius cura non est*; Muratori's reading *Cui* is not justified

¹ A short notice by Mgr Magistretti 'De la missa ou dimissio catechumenorum' appeared in the *Revue Bénédictine* (xxii, Oct. 4, 1905) since this postscript was type. In addition to the Ambrosian use referred to below, he cites for another sample of the formula Tomasi, ed. Vezzosi, vii pp. 6 sqq., a twelfth- or thirteenth-century Roman (?) sacramentary once at S. Maria Maggiore, where it occurs between the processions and the benediction of the font on Easter Even.

heretics, and pagans, were included in the term, unless we can believe that a primitive formula was retained long after it had become obsolete; and (2) if the *pueri* who enter are the same as the catechumens who had been dismissed, their procession was first to the outside and then to the inside of the church, and the term *procedant* could again be regarded as a general one. Nor is this all; the stress laid on the deacon's *excelsa voce* in all accounts, compared with the *leni voce* with which we shall see that on another occasion he addresses the catechumens at the chancel gate, renders it possible that in this case they were outside the church or in the narthex, and that he had to raise his voice so as to be heard; if this be so, the order 'procedant' will refer to their entry into the body of the church.

Let us now examine whether the word has a more precise signification when employed in other parts of the Milan use where it is frequently applied to the catechumens during the period of the scrutiny. So far as can be judged from the somewhat involved arrangement of Beroldus and the various MS manuals, it appears in two forms, one at mattins and vespers and the other after the Gospel.

The former can be seen in *Beroldus* p. 82, in *Manuale Ambros.* ii p. 122, and in *Pallogr. Musicale* v p. 151 of the collotype; every day from the first week of Lent to Palm Sunday, after the psalm *Miserere* at mattins and also at vespers, the deacon is ordered to sing once or twice (according to the particular week) *leni voce*: 'Procedant competentes' (or 'catechumini'), after which the doorkeeper (or the acolytes outside the chancel) are to shout out 'Ne quis catechuminus'. There is unfortunately no rubric as to what is to happen after this; we have to interpret the order 'Procedant' by what seems to follow immediately after it, viz. 'Ne quis catechuminus'. If this expression is to be taken as the translation of μή τις τῶν κατηχομένων of the Liturgy of St Chrysostom (ed. Brightman p. 375), it must mean 'Let none remain within'. Otherwise one might argue that the deacon's gentle intimation is addressed to the doorkeeper who in turn bids all the catechumens to enter the church and none to remain outside. The question is further complicated by the distinction² between *competentes* and *catechumini*, the former being a class chosen out of the latter as under immediate preparation for baptism; but this distinction does not seem to hold good invariably in the extant Ambrosian *liturgica*

¹ In the *missa catechumenorum* in the *Apostolical Constitutions* (Brightman *Liturgies East. and West.* pp. 3, 5, 7) μή τις τῶν ἀκροωμένων, μή τις τῶν ἀπίστων precedes and is separated by prayers from προέλθετε οἱ κατηχούμενοι ἐν εἰρήνῃ . . . προέλθετε οἱ ἐνεργούμενοι . . . προέλθετε οἱ φωτιζόμενοι.

² This distinction is supported by the statement of St Ambrose (*Ep. xx ad Marcellinam* § 4) that on Palm Sunday 'post lectiones atque tractatum dimissis catechumenis aliquibus competentibus in baptisteriis tradebam basilicæ'.

where we come across the two words as synonymous terms: e.g. Beroldus p. 93, *Competentes vadunt ante altare . . . Orate competentes . . . admonendi sunt catechumeni . . . procedant competentes*; and the same persons are called *catechumeni* at two scrutinies and *competentes* at the other two. On the other hand, in the first week (*Manual* p. 123, Beroldus p. 82), the deacon's 'procedant competentes' is followed by the doorkeeper's 'ne quis catechuminus': which is open to the possible interpretation that the former are to come up whilst the latter have to go out.

When, however, we turn to the office provided for the dismissal after the scrutiny and the signing with the cross which took place after the Gospel, we meet with (*Manual* p. 124) 'Procedant competentes, sung by the deacon and repeated by the acolytes, followed by the clear rubric *Tunc egrediuntur foras*, or, as in another MS, *Pueri procedunt*. Here at least there seems no room for any doubt; in this case *procedant* is equivalent to a dismissal.

It remains to be seen whether we must therefore conclude that in the two previous instances it must have had the same meaning. In view of the difficulties already pointed out, I venture to think that the simplest solution is to take the verb in its classical sense like the English 'proceed' as a perfectly general one and that the direction of the procession can only be inferred from the context. If that is so, the formula we are considering may possibly have been used in the Ambrosian service-books as an intimation to the various classes of catechumens¹ to come forward to be taught the creed. If, however, we admit that it was always a dismissal formula at Milan, it would probably have had that meaning at Benevento, for we know that the Ambrosian use was at least permissible at Monte Cassino until the eleventh or twelfth century and an office of that date for Holy week now in the Vatican library, possibly written for S. Vincenzo di Volturno, further south, provides both the Ambrosian and the current Roman gradual. But, as we now have evidence that Benevento and the South of Italy deliberately added one sentence to the formula and used it for a different service on a different day, we cannot consider it impossible that it may have borne another sense in its changed context.

I am aware that my suggested interpretation does not commend itself to several whose opinion on the matter is of great weight. Mr Brightman, judging by the earliest authorities, St Justin M. and St Cyril of Jerusalem, feels that baptisms must at some time have come after the Gospel, i. e. between the *missa catechumenorum* and the *missa fidelium*, and in that case must have been immediately preceded by a dismissal,

¹ It is not by this suggested that all these classes existed in the twelfth century.

and that when they were separated, the baptisms must have had dismissals of their own. So the Beneventan rite may be a survival of what is generally lost and the *Si quis* be the dismissal. He suggests that the Coptic dismissal before the consecration of the chrism is a parallel to ours (v. Denzinger *Rit. Orient.* i p. 250)¹.

I fully see the force of the parallel which I gratefully acknowledge; if I do not think it conclusive, it is due to two facts (1) that it necessitates a liturgical distinction between *catechumeni* and *competentes* which is not quite certain, and (2) that the position of the formula in the Bari roll not only after the procession to the font but after the collect *Omnip. semp. deus respice propitius ad gentes* seems to require the presence and not the absence of the catechumens. The 'Gelasian' rite for Holy Saturday may perhaps help here: '*Mane reddunt infantes symbolum*'² . . . *Iterum admonentur ab archidiacono his verbis: catechumeni recedant, omnes catechumeni exeant foras*', i. e. to await the hour of Baptism. Is it possible that in South Italy the *redditio symboli* took place during or after the blessing of the font and that the catechumens were then sent out of the baptistery into an adjoining room for that purpose? We know that later on the clergy were ordered to catechize the children at this point of the service: if some evidence of this practice at Benevento were available, the difficulty would be overcome.

This much at least we may consider as probable, that our formula may have been originally that of the *missa catechumenorum* and *infidelium*, which even in the East was practically disused by the seventh century, and of which we have no trace in the proper place in any Western liturgy: that this formula, with *προελθεῖν* rendered *procedere*, was adopted later on for other liturgical uses, e. g. at Milan, for the *scrutinium* which after the time of St Ambrose was moved from after the Gospel to the end of Mass, and at Benevento for the Holy Saturday baptism between the lessons and the Mass. If in one use the verb signifies dismissal and in the other invitation, it may be due to its being considered a neutral word; possibly at some time this ambiguity was noticed, for in every version of the Roman scrutiny it bears the meaning of coming forward, *recedere* being used for withdrawal; e. g. in *Ordo Romanus* vii (Muratori *Mus. Ital.* ii pp. 78-82) *vo-centur infantes*

¹ The Syrian Jacobite formula for a similar dismissal is also to the point (Denzinger ii p. 533): 'Abite ii qui dimissi sunt. Exite eae quae dimissae sunt. Nemo catechumenorum, nemo ex energumenis, nemo ex iis qui nobiscum orare nequeunt remaneant hic.'

² For a second *redditio symboli* on this day in the African Church see Martene *De Ant. Eccl. Rit.* i p. 87.

³ Liturgy of St Chrysostom (Brightman p. 371), ὅσοι κατηχούμενοι προέλθετε, οἱ κ. π., ὅσοι κ. π., μή τις τῶν κατηχουμένων.

a diacono dicente: Catechumini procedant . . . *Postea ammonentur a diacono ita*: Catechumini recedant. Si quis catechuminus est recedat. Omnes catechumini exeant foras. *Et egrediuntur*. Exactly the same in the 'Gellone' Sacramentary, the Poitiers Pontifical, &c., quoted by Martene (*Ant. Eccl. Rit.* i, c. 1, art. xii, cols. 100-112); once *accedant* is found instead of *procedant* for the entry, and once only (col. 118) *procedant* for the dismissal. The Rheims Sacramentary (ed. Chevalier pp. 346-351) bears the same witness¹.

The question then cannot as yet be regarded as settled; should it eventually be proved that our formula here as elsewhere is the original *missa catechumenorum*, we shall not regret the present discussion in our joy at the discovery of a long-lost office. In any case it is a point gained to have been able to couple together the southern with the northern Italian rites and to have added another link to the chain of evidence which is gradually bringing to light the original Roman rite.

H. M. BANNISTER.

CURRENT MUHAMMADAN TEACHING AS TO THE GOSPELS.

THE following is a translation, slightly abbreviated, of the *Life of Hazrat 'Isa* (Jesus), written by a Maulawi of literary repute in Delhi. The teaching contained in it would be that given to orthodox Muhammadans to-day in the North of India.

'Muhammadans acknowledge that Hazrat 'Isa was a great Prophet, and believe that Hazrat Mariam was free from sin and chosen of God, and that the birth of Hazrat 'Isa was not without miracle. For this matter is narrated at length in the Quran.

'The people of Islam do not only believe those miracles which are written in the Injil (εὐαγγέλιον) but acknowledge many others also.

'Hazrat 'Isa was born at Bait-ul-Lahm, which is a village near Bait-ul-muqaddas (Jerusalem). Hazrat Mariam was at first anxious as to what answer she should give, if people should ask her about her child. It came to pass that the people of her tribe, looking for her, came to her and asked her "O sister of Harūn (Aaron), what have you done, and from whence have you brought this child?"

'Hazrat Mariam pointed to Hazrat 'Isa, and said, "Enquire from him."

¹ It is again necessary to call attention to Chevalier's editing—on p. 351 *recedat* is probably an error for *recedat*, and the *omnes catechumini exeant foras* which he prints as a rubric is undoubtedly the third clause of the dismissal formula.

'With the power of God Hazrat 'Isa began at once to say, "I am the Servant of God, and He has given me a Book and Prophecy."

'Seeing this miracle they left Hazrat Mariam.

'After this Hazrat Mariam took Hazrat 'Isa with her and went to Egypt and remained there for twelve years and then coming to Syria stayed at Nāsara, remaining there till about the thirtieth year of his age. Then God Almighty sent him a Revelation and ordered him to guide the people and gave him the Book of Injil.

'It is written in Muhammadan books that when Hazrat 'Isa reached the thirtieth year he went to Nahr-i-Jordan (i.e. River Jordan) which is also called Shari'a and there guided the people towards God. In this stream, according to the custom, Yahya the prophet (i.e. John the Baptist) baptized Hazrat 'Isa and received him among his disciples. At this time the death of Hazrat Yahya was near.

'When Hazrat 'Isa was engaged in preaching he showed many miracles to the People in proof of his Prophecy, such as raising the dead to life, making birds out of clay and breathing life into them, restoring blind men and lepers, walking on the water, as well as many other miracles which God Almighty had given him. His chief associates and helpers were twelve men who are called Hawāri (Companions). These often abode with him and were at all times obedient to him. One day, on a journey, they asked him for a Heavenly Tray. Hazrat 'Isa prayed two portions of the public prayer, and a heavenly tray containing many kinds of food descended from the skies, and all of them ate from the tray and tasted the most delicious food. After this it continued to descend from time to time and the people ate out of it. But, later on, the wayward ones began to be doubtful and ungrateful, and therefore, instead of a tray of delights, tortures began to descend.

'It is written in the books of Islam that at this time there was a Jewish King, a great tyrant, obstinate and proud. Hazrat 'Isa instructed him in religion, but he did not obey and planned to kill Hazrat 'Isa. Therefore Hazrat 'Isa sent for his Companions and made his testament thus, "After me a Prophet will be born in the tribe Quraish, in Arabia; do you instruct your children from generation to generation that they who are alive at that time must embrace that Prophet's religion."

'One of the Companions whose name was Jehuda Iskarioti became wayward and went to the Jewish Ruler and asked, "What reward will be given me if I betray Hazrat 'Isa?" The Ruler offered thirty drachmas, and he took the money and pointed out the place where Hazrat 'Isa was.

'The Jews, who were his deadly enemies, determined now to crucify Hazrat 'Isa, but by the order of Almighty God Hazrat Gabriel came and took Hazrat 'Isa up into heaven and changed the form of Jehuda

the traitor into the form of Hazrat 'Isa. The Jews then dragged Jehuda to the Ruler and put him to shame on the road, some buffeting him, some casting thorns upon his head, some saying, "You, who restored the dead to life, why do you not deliver yourself?"

'Although Jehuda took many oaths, yet they did not trust him, but dragged him before their Rulers and crucified him. Some of the relations of Hazrat 'Isa asked for the dead body from Pilatus, who was ruler of the Jews under the king of Rûm, and they buried the body in a tomb.

'Isma'il Abu'l Fida in his Arabic History (whose name is 'Brief Account of the news of Mankind') relates that after this event, Hazrat 'Isa descended from Heaven and appeared to his mother. She, thinking that the tomb of Jehuda was that of her son, was weeping at the tomb. Hazrat 'Isa said, "God has called me unto himself: go and call my Companions." When they came he said to them, "Go into all the world and guide the People. Go to different places and preach the Gospel."

'He then ascended into Heaven, and the Companions, according to his command, dispersed and preached. Then Hazrat Matti, Luqā, Marqus, and Juhanna each compiled an Injil.

'Muhammadans think that Hazrat 'Isa is alive and that he will come again into this world. For it is written in the "Books of the signs of the Day of Resurrection" that at first there will be a great spread of Christians all over the earth. Then a Muhammadan named Imām Mahdi will be born and will give great glory to Islam.

'After that an Infidel, whose name is Dajjal, will appear, and by his deceits will entice the people to become Infidels and will teach them to worship himself.

'Then Hazrat 'Isa descending from the skies will accept Islam. He will join with Hazrat Imām Mahdi and they will try hard to destroy Dajjal and his friends, so that all the People will embrace Islam and there will be very great Progress and Splendour.'

Such is the account of the Gospel Story as accepted by orthodox, educated Muhammadans to-day in Northern India. I have often heard them bring forward such points as the Making of Birds out of Clay or the Feeding from the Heavenly Tray. I have listened also to a leading Maulawi in Delhi arguing controversially with Maulawi Ahmad Masih, before an audience of some 400 Muhammadans, that it was Judas Iscariot who was crucified, and not our Blessed Lord. The only other point, which I have heard frequently mentioned, is the well-known one that our text in St John xv 26 *ὅταν δὲ ἔλθῃ ὁ Παράκλητος . . .* is corrupt, and that the original Greek was the translation of the name Muhammad (i. e. Περικλυτός).

We are looking forward eagerly to Mr Lonsdale Ragg's edition of the Italian version of the *Gospel of Barnabas* which should clear up many points.

C. F. ANDREWS.

AMBROSIASTER AND DAMASUS.

1. THE DEACON WITH THE PAGAN NAME. 2. RECTOR. 3. PAGANUS.

CIRCUMSTANCES having hindered for the moment the completion of a review of Mr Souter's *Study of Ambrosiaster* which I had hoped to contribute to the present number of the JOURNAL, I take the opportunity of publishing separately some fragmentary notes tending to shew how the writings of Ambrosiaster—the Commentaries on St Paul and the *Quaestiones Veteris et Novi Testamenti*—and of his contemporary pope Damasus mutually explain and illustrate one another.

1. THE DEACON WITH THE PAGAN NAME.

Among the 3,000 corrections which Mr Souter claims to have made on the MSS in the text of the *Quaestiones*, few are more curious than the new form which is now taken by the reference to the name of a Roman deacon in the celebrated *Quaestio* ci, *De iactantia Romanorum civitarum*. Where all the editions have printed 'quidam igitur qui nomen habet Falcidii', the true reading, as recovered by him from the MSS, is 'quidam igitur qui nomen habet falsi dei'. But who was this deacon who bore the name of a pagan god? Mr Souter could only suggest (*op. cit.* p. 170) a certain Concordius mentioned in the *Liber pontificalis*. Yet that name would, I think, have suggested associations with the Christian virtue of concord rather than with the pagan divinity Concordia: and a passage in the epigrams of Damasus supplies a more satisfactory answer to the question. On the new font into which that active and energetic pope drew off the waters of the Vatican hill were inscribed some verses recording his proceedings and naming his clerk of the works, 'the faithful levite Mercury'; see no. iv in Ihm's edition of the *Damasi Epigrammata, Anthologiae Latinae supplementum*, in the Teubner series, A. D. 1895—

cingebant latices montem teneroque meatu
corpora multorum cineres atque ossa rigabant.
non tulit hoc Damasus, communi lege sepultos
post requiem tristes iterum persolvere poenas.
protinus adgressus magnum superare laborem
aggeris inmensi deiecit culmina montis.

intima sollicite scrutatus uiscera terrae
 siccauit totum quidquid madefecerat humor,
 inuenit fontem praebet qui dona salutis.
 haec curauit Mercurius leuita fidelis.

2. RECTOR.

The mutual service which results from the combined study of Ambrosiaster and Damasus is not confined to the solution of this little historical problem: it extends to their use of language and especially of technical Christian language. I am not sure whether the common preference of 'levita' over 'diaconus' might not be adduced as an instance¹: but my immediate purpose is to call attention to the joint occurrence in both of a word that never became as popular in Christian usage as 'levita', but seems to have been fashionable in Roman church circles of that particular generation—I mean 'rector'. In the general sense this is a word not unfamiliar in ecclesiastical Latin: but in the specific sense of 'ruler of the church', 'bishop', I do not at present know (nor can Mr Souter, whom I have consulted on this point, add any other parallels) of any author, with one exception, to bring into comparison with Ambrosiaster, and that one exception is Damasus. In a well-known passage of the Commentaries on St Paul (*in 1 Tim.* iii 15) Ambrosiaster speaks of 'ecclesia . . . cuius hodie rector est Damasus': and even if these words be, as has sometimes been thought, an interpolation—a view to which, however, the MSS give no support—yet an earlier passage in the same work (*in Eph.* iv 11, 12) approaches almost as nearly to the conception of 'rector' as the chief officer of the Christian hierarchy, 'adubi autem omnia loca circumplexa est ecclesia, conuenticula constituta sunt et rectores et cetera officia ecclesiis sunt ordinata.'² Now Damasus's use of the same word, whether in reference to himself or to his predecessors in the Roman see, is so exclusive that the latest editor marks one of the epigrammata as doubtful partly on the ground of the phrase 'antistes Christi . . . Damasus': compare the following instances—

Epig. vii (ed. Ihm, p. 10) ll. 6, 7:—

presbyter his Verus Damaso rectore iubente
 composuit tumulum sanctorum limina adornans.

¹ I now learn, however, from Mr Souter that, outside *Quaestio* ci, Ambrosiaster always uses 'diaconus' and not 'levita'.

² The following further instances are collected by Dr Joseph Langen of Bonn (p. 23 of his dissertation 'de Commentariorum in Epistulas Paulinas qui Ambrosii et Quaestionum biblicarum quae Augustini nomine feruntur scriptore': I owe the reference to Mr Souter), *in Rom.* xvi 22, *in 1 Cor.* i 2, vi 5, xi 20; *Quaest.* cii and (in the earlier edition of the *Quaestiones*) N. T. LXI.

Epig. XIV (p. 21) ll. 1, 2:—

par meritum, quicumque legis, cognosce duorum,
quis Damasus rector titulos post praemia reddit.

Epig. XLII (p. 46) l. 3:—

ornauit Damasus tumulum, cognoscite, rector.

Epig. XLIV (p. 47) ll. 1-3:—

martyris hic Mauri tumulus pia membra retentat,
quem Damasus rector longo post tempore plebis
ornauit supplex cultu meliore decorans.

Epig. XIII (p. 20) ll. 1, 2 (apparently of pope Xystus II):—

tempore quo gladius secuit pia uiscera matris
hic positus rector caelestia iussa docebam.

Epig. XXIII (p. 29) ll. 3-5 (of Felicissimus and Agapetus, deacons
to the same pope):—

hi crucis inuictae comites pariterque ministri
reitoris sancti meritumque fidemque secuti
aetherias petiere domos regnaque piorum.

Epig. XLVIII (p. 51) ll. 1, 2 (of pope Marcellus):—

ueridicus rector lapsos quia crimina flere
praedixit, miseris fuit omnibus hostis amarus.

Epig. XVIII (p. 25) ll. 7-9 (of pope Eusebius):—

integra cum rector seruaret foedera pacis,
pertulit exilium domino sub iudice laetus;
litore Trinacrio mundum uitamque reliquit.

These parallels enable us to appreciate better the remarkable title found in a single MS of the Tome of Damasus—i.e. the anathemas against Arians, Macedonians, and Apollinarians, appended to the Nicene Creed by a Roman council probably in A.D. 380—'Fides conscripta a rectoribus episcopis cccxviii.' The difficulties of reconstructing the original text of the Tome are considerable: after much study of it I have been led to pin my faith almost entirely on a group of four Gallic authorities of the eighth and early ninth centuries, **F** (consensus of two sister MSS, **F** = Paris lat. 1451, and **f** = Vatic. Reg. 1127), **R** (Berlin Phillipps lat. 84), **Pi** (Paris lat. 1564), and **Col.** (Cologne bibl. capit. xxxiii), and of these **F** has the title 'Incipit fides apud Niceam conscripta(m) ab episcopis credentibus cccxviii', **R** 'Incipit expositio fidei a trecentis decem et octo episcopis in Nicaena synodo facta', **Pi** has nothing, and **Col.** has the title quoted above 'Fides conscripta a rectoribus episcopis cccxviii'. I should not like to assert that 'a rectoribus episcopis' is original: it is perhaps more likely that 'a recte credentibus episcopis' is right, which is the title prefixed to a similar form of the Nicene Creed, found in connexion with the treatise *de Fide orthodoxa*

contra Arrianos now generally attributed to Gregory of Elvira: but in any case the 'rectores episcopi' of the Cologne MS seems to take us back to the near neighbourhood of Damasus and the phraseology that prevailed in his days.

3. PAGANUS.

Special attention has been devoted of late to the history and meaning of the word 'paganus'. In its modern sense it emerges, like 'rector', rather suddenly in the usage of the Roman church during the latter half of the fourth century. It is found in the *de synonymis recipiendo* of the converted grammarian M. Victorinus Afer: a law of Valentinian has it in the year 370 (cod. Theod. XVI ii 18): but Ambrosiaster is the first author to employ it freely—Mr Souter supplies me with the following references: *in Rom.* i 23, iii 19, *in 1 Cor.* v 7, viii 5, x 13, xiv 24, 25, *in Gal.* iv 9, *in Eph.* v 8, *in Phil.* i 18–21, *in Col.* ii 18, 19; *Quaest.* LXXXI, LXXXII, CXIV (of which the title is *CONTRA PAGANOS*), CXV.¹ And this use of 'paganus' is a fresh point of contact between Ambrosiaster and Damasus, for the word occurs in two of Damasus's councils. In the letter sent by a Roman council—about the end of 378, according to Coustant—to the emperors Gratian and Valentinian II we read (Coustant 526 § 7):—

'Per Africam rursum sacrilegos rebaptizatores nutu Dei praecepistis expelli: sed ab expulsis Claudianus est ordinatus et ad perturbandam urbem Romam quasi episcopus destinatus. qui contra scripturae praecepta diuinae, contra iura euangelica, uacuos omnes mysteriorum atque, ut eius uerbum exprimamus, paganos fuisse uel praeteriti temporis dicat episcopus uel praesentis'.

And in the Tome of 380, referred to in the previous section of this Note, the same group of MSS, of which I there spoke as alone preserving in many cases the original language of the document, read on two occasions 'pagani'—'in perfidia iudaeorum et paganorum inueniuntur', 'quomodo heretici aut iudaei aut etiam pagani dementes'—where all the others which I have collated, some twenty in number, substitute 'gentiles': and I do not doubt that 'pagani' is right. But it is clear both from the alteration in this case into 'gentiles', and from the special manner in which the council of 378 introduce the word, that it was still an unfamiliar and unusual term before the end of the fourth century.

C. H. TURNER.

¹ Even the abstract noun 'paganitas' appears in the same writer; Mr Souter cites *in Eph.* ii 14 and *Quaest.* cxiv.

REVIEWS

THE HYMNAL OF THE ARMENIAN CHURCH.

Das armenische Hymnarium: Studien zu seiner geschichtlichen Entwicklung.

VON NERSES TER-MIKAËLIAN, Archimandrit von Edschmiatsin.
(Leipzig, J. C. Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung, 1905. in-8.)

THIS little book of 110 pages is the first critical study of the Hymnal of the Armenian Church, of which the *editio princeps* was printed at Amsterdam by Oscan in the year 1664. Germans might perhaps find fault with the author's style, but no Englishman will do so. It must be remembered that it is to him an acquired tongue, and he is at least clear and concise. He shews that the Hymnal was finally fixed in its present form in the second half of the fourteenth century, when the hymns written by the great Cilician prelates—Nerses the Graceful, Nerses of Lambron in the twelfth century, Gregory of Skevrha and Vardan Vardapet in the thirteenth—were included. These additions constitute about a fourth of the existing book, and were accepted by the churches of Eastern Armenia in that age; but with the proviso that no more additions were allowable, especially those which the latinizing clergy of the decadent kingdom of Cilicia were eager to make. Not only were some forty new canons added in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, but existing hymns were greatly expanded.

The collection, closed about 1350, includes 1,166 hymns, enumerated by Ter-Mikaëlian under 162 heads, as canons, *suites*, and detached hymns. A canon is defined as the whole of the hymns to be sung on any one dominical feast or saint's day: a *suite* as a collection of hymns divided according to the eight tones or fundamental melodies; not appropriated as a whole to any special feast, but sung section by section on successive days of the year. For each section is in a particular tone or melody, and the eight tones follow each other day by day all through the ecclesiastical year; and all hymns sung on a particular day must be sung in its special tone. Lastly, the detached hymns adorn a special feast, or particular rites, such as baptisms and burials, which may occur on any day. Here is the list of these 162 items, using C. for Canon:—

1. C. of miraculous birth of B. V. M.
2. C. of Joachim and Anna.
3. C. of Annunciation.

4. C. of *lucernarium* (*Tschrakaloytz*) of the Theophany.
- 5-12. Eight Canons for the Octave of Christ's Birth.
13. Hymns called *Medsatzustsëq* (= *Magnificats*) of the Resurrection (sung to Luke i 46 foll.).
14. Presentation (*ὑπαπαντή*) of the Lord in the Temple.
15. C. of St Anthony.
16. C. of King Theodosius.
17. Hymn for King Trdat.
18. C. of Prophet David and James the Apostle.
19. C. of St Stephen, protomartyr.
20. C. of Peter and Paul, Apostles.
21. C. of the Sons of Thunder, James and John.
22. C. of all Apostles of Christ.
23. C. of the Twelve Apostles.
24. C. of the Seventy-two Apostles.
25. C. of the Prophet Jonah.
26. Hymn to the Captain Sarkis (*Sergius*).
27. C. of Shrovetide.
28. Hymns for Lent, First Melody.
29. On first Saturday, the Feast of St Theodore, when is sung the so-called *Mankung* (to Ps. cxii (cxiii)).
30. C. of the Second Sunday in Lent.
31. Lenten Hymns, Second Melody.
32. On Saturday, C. for Feast of St Cyril of Jerusalem, with Hymn.
33. C. of the Third Sunday.
34. Lenten Hymns, Third Melody.
35. Lenten Hymns, Fourth Melody. On third Sunday, Feast of John, Patriarch of Jerusalem.
36. C. of Fourth Sunday in Lent.
37. Lenten Hymns, Fifth Melody.
38. Lenten Hymns, Sixth Melody.
39. C. of the Forty Martyrs of Sebastia.
40. C. of Fifth Sunday in Lent.
41. Lenten Hymns, Seventh Melody.
42. C. of St Gregory the Illuminator.
43. C. of Sixth Sunday in Lent.
44. Lenten Hymns, Eighth Melody.
45. C. of Raising of Lazarus.
46. C. of Palm Sunday.
47. C. of the same *ologomean* (*εὐλογημένη*).
- 48-52. Canons of Monday to Friday in Holy Week.
53. Song of Nerses Catholicos for the Gospels of the night of Good Friday.

4. C. of the Great Saturday. Burial of Jesus.
5. Hymns called *Tschashu Goveaq. Inc.* Christ is risen from the d.
6. C. of *Easter.*
7. Easter Suites, First Melody.
8. C. of Beheading of John Baptist.
9. C. of *New Sunday.*
10. Easter Suites, Second Melody.
11. Easter Suites, Third Melody.
12. C. of the Sunday of the World Church, the Mother of all the churches of the World [Third Melody, continued].
- 13-66. Easter Suites, Melodies IV, V, VI, VII.
7. C. of Christ's Ascension [Seventh Melody, continued].
8. C. of the *Second Palm-Sunday.*
9. Easter Suites, Eighth Melody.
10. C. of first day of Pentecost.
- 11-76. *Six Canons of the last six days of Pentecost.*
7. C. of Birth of John Baptist.
8. Another Canon of the same.
9. C. of St Gregory, Illuminator.
10. C. of Sons and Uncle of St Gregory.
11. C. of St Nerses, Patriarch.
12. Hymn to St Sahak, Patriarch.
13. C. of St Rhipsimas and her companions.
14. Hymn for St Sandukht.
15. C. of the Ark of the Lord.
16. C. of the first day of Transfiguration (*Wardawark*).
- 17-88. *Two Canons of the next two days of the Transfiguration.*
9. C. of the Shekinah (*Sholakath*) over Edschmiatsin.
- 10-92. Three Canons of the three days of the Passing of B. V. M.
13. C. of the *Navakatig* or Encaenia of Holy Cross.
- 14-100. Seven Canons of the seven days of the Elevation of the Holy Cross.
101. C. of the Holy Cross of Warag.
102. C. of the Finding of the Holy Cross.
103. C. of the holy Prophets.
104. Another *Hartsn* of the holy Prophets (*Hartsn*, i. e. 'Of (or to) Fathers' is the name given to the Hymn of the Three Children).
105. C. of the holy Translators.
106. C. of St Jacob of Nisibis.
107. C. of the *Children of Bethlehem.*
108. C. of the Archangels Michael and Gabriel and of all heavenly ts.

109. C. of the holy Patriarchs.
 ? 110. Hymn to the Patriarch Ignatius.
 ? 111. " St John Chrysostom.
 ? 112. " St Basil.
 113. " St Gregory Theologus.
 114. " Nicholas, Patriarch.
 115. " St Ephraem.
 116. " St Eustratius and companions.
 117. " the 20,000 Saints.
 ? 118. " *Stephen of Ulmi*.
 119. Hymn for Consecration of Chrism.
 120. " *Meledi (μέλος) for chrism of the newly born*.
 ? 121. Hymn for putting on of the Mass-garment (translated in Brightman's *Liturgies* p. 412).
 122. Hymn during the Swinging of the Incense at Mass (*ibidem* p. 418).
 ? 123. Hymn of the Seven Hermits who ate only herbs.
 ? 124. " St Sukias and companions.
 125. " Wahan of Golth.
 126. " David of Dwin.
 127. " Kyrakos and Julitta.
 ? 128. " Minas, Hermogenes and Grabos.
 129. " St Oskan and companions.
 130. " St Atowm and companions.
 131. " St Wardan and companions.
 132. C. of St Levontius and companions.
 133. *Songs of the seven days of the week* (one for Sunday and the other in six parts for the other six days).
 134. Hymns to be sung at daybreak (i. e. Prime, translated in *Rituale Armenorum* p. 464 §§ 79, 84, 88).
 135. Hymns to be sung at *third, sixth, and ninth hours* (*ibidem* §§ 98a, 108, 117a).
 136. *Hymn sung at the Hour of Rest* (*ibidem* § 176, left untranslated as of late origin).
 137-144. Eight Canons of all Martyrs, in Melodies I to VIII.
 145-152. Eight Canons in eight Melodies for the Dead.
 153. *Hymn of Sir Nerses for the Dead*.
 154-161. Suite of Hymns for the Resurrection in the eight Melodies.
 162. *Arevelq gerarphin (Ethereal Dawn), a Hymn to Mary*.

The reader will note that certain of the above items are printed in italics, while others are queried. The former are hymns which were not yet written, or at least not in use, as late as the year 1312, when

Codex 202 of the Library of the Mechitarists of Vienna was written¹. This codex is a Hymnal in three separate portions: first, the Hymnal as it was before the additions made by Nerses the Graceful, who was Catholicos of Sis A.D. 1165; secondly, the hymns which had been introduced by the Cilician Fathers before and up to the year 1312; thirdly, in a later hand of A.D. 1617, the hymns introduced after the year 1312.

Of the pre-Nersesian portion the items wholly or partly the same with the list of the later hymn-book given above are the following. I give them in the order in which Codex 202 gives them, and the number is in italics wherever the contents of the hymn agree only in part with the printed Hymnal of 1664:—

11, 12, 13, 3, 90, 91, 92, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 29, 28, 31, 34, 35, 37, 38, 41, 44, 25, 145, 146, 147, 148, 149, 150, 151, 152, 45, 46 (47+68), 48-52, 54, 55, 57, 58, 60, 61, 63-66, (67+64), 69, 70, (78+77), 58, 62, 79, 80, 81, 82, 83, 84, 85, 86, 89, 99-95, 96, (97+98), 98, 99-102, (103+104), 105, 106, 108, 109, then some folios are lost, 125, 126, 127, 129, 130, 131, 132, fresh folios are here lost, 115, 113, 116, 117, 29, 114, 134, 119, 137-144, 154-161.

This enumeration, it will be seen, omits those hymns of the larger list which are queried. I query them because, owing to the lacunae, we are not sure that the MS did not comprise some of them.

Here we see at a glance the contents of the Armenian Hymnal up to about the year 1075, when the archetype of the first portion of this codex must have been written, since it already contained hymns by John the Deacon (+1129), by Petros (Catholicos 1019-1058), by Gregory Magistros (+1058). Ter-Mikaëlian sums up the characteristic features of this early form of the Hymnal in pages 34-47. They were these:—

1. It began with Epiphany and its octave, and not with the Nativity. It must be remembered that the Armenians, after some hesitation, set the feast of Christ's Birth on the day of His Baptism. Nerses the Graceful sums up the feelings and speculations of his predecessors on this point in the following words (*Opera*, Venet. 1833, p. 223):—

'The Fathers of old laid it down that we should feast on one and the same day the mystery of the Nativity and of the Baptism; and we follow them and fulfil their traditions. There is also involved another mystery. For as Christ was born in respect of His flesh of the holy Virgin, so was He born by way of example to us of the Jordan through His baptism. And since both events are births, though differing from each other in mystic import and date, therefore it was laid down that the two, the first and the second nativity, should be celebrated together.'

¹ See Dashean's *Catalogue*, Vienna, 1895, pp. 100, 523.

2. There were no special canons for the Sundays of Lent, nor were any commemorations attached to the Saturdays preceding them, nor hymns given for the Saints concerned. Numbers 27, 30, 33, 36, 40, 43, and 29, 32, 39, 42 of our list were absent. Canon 39 of the forty martyrs of Sebastia alone was included, but preceded Shrovetide. In the old Lectionary translated by me in my *Rituale Armenorum*, the Forty Martyrs come on March 9, and there are as yet no lections provided for Saturdays and Sundays in Lent. We only find them in Lectionaries written during or after the Cilician or Crusading epoch.

3. Between Easter and Pentecost there were only the series of Easter hymns in the eight tones or melodies. There was no special canon for Easter Day, and Canon 58 (for the beheading of John Baptist) came after Pentecost; just as in the Lectionary referred to it seems to be fixed on Aug. 29. Its primitive date was Navasard 1, the first day of the vague Armenian year. It was probably by origin the feast of St John's birth.

No. 62, the Canon of the World Church or World Shrines, in all old MSS comes after Pentecost. In the old Lectionary it comes between Nov. 30 and Dec. 25. Of No. 68 there is no trace either in Codex 202 or in other old codices. Immediately before Pentecost came perhaps a canon for Ascension Day, but not the one used to-day. The old Lectionary has no feast of the Ascension, but in a seventh-century commentary on the Lectionary we find that Acts i 5 ff. was read at Pentecost. It was a feast of very late institution, and old Armenian calendars ignore it.

4. Important feasts, like Pentecost, Transfiguration, and the Assumption, have but one canon, that is one day, instead of several, allotted to them. There exists a tract of the eighth or ninth century, arguing that the Pentecost feast should be confined to a single day. The old Lectionary has no feast of the Transfiguration, which, somewhat late, was identified with the Pagan feast of *Wardawarh* or Kindling of the Rose. The old Lectionary has the passing of the Theotokos on Aug. 15. Canon No. 90 is alone found for this feast in many old MSS (Vienna 202 is more recent in this respect, and contains Canons 91 and 92); but it is to be noted that the primary idea which inspired this Canon 90 is rather the taking up of the Virgin Church into Heaven than the Assumption of the Virgin Mary.

5. The older Hymnal had no canons or feasts of the Birth of Mary and of her Parents. It also had but one canon for the Birth of St John Baptist, viz. No. 78; and no separate canon (24) for the glorification of the seventy-two apostles. It had the canon of the Shekinah, which is translated in my *Rituale Armenorum* p. 23. St Rhipsimas was lauded,

ut St Gregory and his kin and descendants received scant notice in the old hymnals.

These points serve to illustrate the extent to which Nerses the Graceful and his compeers enriched the Armenian Hymnal. I have tried to indicate briefly how his conclusions find support in the older Lectionaries.

Ter-Mikaëlian discusses the date of the pieces which stood in the older Hymnal, many of which a tradition—first met with in the Cilician epoch—attributes to Armenian Fathers and Translators of the fifth century. He comes to the conclusion that this tradition has no true basis, and that at an early time the Psalms were used almost exclusively in Armenian worship; and this conclusion again is amply borne out by the early texts of the Euchologion and Breviary which I have translated. Old codices of the Mass Service are equally destitute of hymns. The only reference to an early use of hymns in this Church, and one which Ter-Mikaëlian has overlooked, is in John Catholicos about the year 718. The passage is given in my *Rituale* p. 182, and states that the old Armenian Fathers had composed beautiful antiphonal melodies to be sung at the Benediction of the Rivers. Perhaps this refers to the existing Epiphany hymns which I have translated, but which go back to Greek originals. In later copies of the Armenian Euchologion references to hymns, of which the first line alone is usually cited, become more and more numerous. The old Venice codex of the same translated by me only once refers to a hymn by its number, citing an initial verse as from Canon 84 (=93 in Ter-Mikaëlian's list, Dedication of Holy Cross), and numbering it Canon 81. But the Hymnal thus referred to must have been much smaller in compass than that of to-day, if we may judge from the fact that the stanzas cited as Canon 81 are but the last seven lines of a canon (84) which now consists of fifty-six lines. For further details I must refer readers to the *Rituale Armenorum* p. 11.

Besides the Hymnal, the Armenians use a collection called the 'Treasures' (*Gantsq*); but this seems to be of later origin than the Hymnal, though we find already many such compositions in the works of St Gregory of Narek as early as 950 A.D. They differ from hymns in *Sharakans* in possessing liturgical form, and I have translated one of the best examples, addressed to the Ark and Virgin Church, in my *Rituale* p. 19.

Ter-Mikaëlian gives in a translation some of the best hymns; and the curious can read many more in the translations of Félix Nève, *Arménie chrétienne*, Louvain, 1886. The entire Hymnal was rendered into Russian by N. Émin and printed at Moscow in 1879. The *Lechitarists* also issued at Venice in 1877 a Latin translation of the

hymns to Mary, entitled 'Laudes et hymni ad SS. Mariae Virginis honorem'.

But these writers had not the scientific aims which Ter-Mikaëlian with admirable precision and ample learning (acquired as a pupil of Prof. Harnack) has kept steadily in view. His book is indispensable as an aid to our comprehension of the Armenian Calendar and festal system prior to the twelfth century. The study he has begun should be carried further by a thorough investigation of the oldest MSS. In Bodley's Library and in the British Museum are several hymnals of the fourteenth century. In Edschmiatsin are several old copies, one of which, No. 1534, was written in Halbat in the Anticaucasus as early as 1019. The growth of the Hymnal must also be studied in relation to the growth of the Lectionary. The one and the other were much expanded and added to in the Cilician epoch, behind which criticism must try to penetrate.

FRED. C. CONYBEARE.

THE 'AMMONIAN' HARMONY AND THE TEXT OF B.

Die Evangelien eines alten Unzialcodex (B^N-text), nach einer Abschrift des dreizehnten Jahrhunderts, herausgegeben von ALFRED SCHMIDTKE. (J. C. Hinrichs, Leipzig, 1903.)

THE MS which Dr Schmidtke has edited in this book is Cod. Evan. 579 (Paris Nat. Gr. 97), a minuscule of the thirteenth century, which seems to have been connected with a certain Olympias, who was probably an abbess.

Dr Schmidtke's proof that this is (except in Matthew) a copy of an uncial original is quite convincing; it turns, of course, on a consideration of mistakes which are due to the confusion of letters that are similar in uncial but not in minuscule script. His argument that some of the cases imply an archetype at least not later than the sixth century is perhaps less certain, but I think that it is extremely probable.

A comparison of various 'line errors' leaves no doubt that this archetype contained on an average twenty-three letters in a line, but Dr Schmidtke also points out traces of the influence of a still more remote ancestor, a line of which had sixteen letters—the same number as is found in an average line of Cod. B.

The sixth-century archetype belonged to the **NB** type of text, though there can be traced in it the influence of mixture both with the later ecclesiastical text and also with the β -text (or *Western* text). The evidence of this is given in the following lists:—(1) readings found in

B, followed by those in which B is supported by \aleph , C, L, Δ , Ψ , 33, 892, L Δ , L Ψ , Ψ 33, Ψ 892; (2) readings found in \aleph , and combinations of \aleph with the MSS mentioned above; (3) readings found in the other MSS mentioned, but not in \aleph or B.

Viewed by themselves, I should certainly agree that these lists suggest that the archetype of Cod. 579 belongs in a general way to the \aleph B C L Ξ 33 type of text, but I do not see that they prove any special connexion with B rather than with any other member of the group. Dr Schmidtke gives fifty-seven readings as agreements with B, seventy-six as with \aleph . I do not see why on this evidence there is more proof of connexion with B than with \aleph , and further investigation suggests that the lists given may be a little deceptive. I have not verified all the readings, but the result of a comparison of Dr Schmidtke's lists with the *apparatus criticus* of Tischendorf suggests that it is a pity that he has given lists of readings without the exact textual evidence. To collect this from Tischendorf and other sources is a long and tedious task, but an editor can perform few which are more acceptable to his readers. A very partial attempt to supply this deficiency in Dr Schmidtke's work is not convincing that there is any specially close connexion between an ancestor of B and the archetype of Cod. 579, but it is only fair to emphasize the probability that the opinion of the editor is justified by his own closer study of the facts. I think he would lay many of us under obligations if he would find some opportunity for elaborating the point further.

Probably Dr Schmidtke's own opinion would be the same as my own, that the most important part of his work is that which deals with the suggestion that behind the text of his MS can be traced the remains of an old harmony which he is inclined to identify with that of Ammonius. His argument is as follows. The MS contains traces of the same chapter-divisions as those found in B Ξ and partly in \aleph . It is, he thinks, an integral part of the *Hesychian* recension with which, following Bousset¹, he identifies the text of B and its allies. There are also traces of a further subdivision of the text which is similarly found in B, where the ends of little paragraphs are marked by horizontal lines in the margin. Investigation into B has convinced Dr Schmidtke that this method of subdivision varies in different parts—sometimes the paragraphs are very short, sometimes they are comparatively long. It is the great and permanent merit of his work that he gives an explanation of the facts which at present seems to me to be overwhelmingly probable. He shows that the closer subdivisions are only found in places where the text of Matthew is paralleled by one or more gospels, and that the

¹ *Textkritische Studien zum Neuen Testament*, von Wilhelm Bousset (T. u. U. XI 4) Hinrichs, Leipzig, 1894, pp. 74-110.

subdivisions in Matthew and in the parallels always correspond to each other. The most natural explanation is that we have to deal with the remains of a division which originally belonged to a harmony based on Matthew.

Dr Schmidtke, accepting as he does the identification of the text of B with the recension of Hesychius, naturally goes on to identify the harmony with that of Ammonius. He thinks that the latter, basing his work on Matthew, sacrificed a considerable amount of material, and lost the connexion between various passages, and that therefore Hesychius published a text which preserved the original form of the Gospels, but kept the chapter-divisions and subdivisions of Ammonius, extending the system, though with less care and minuteness, to the passages which the latter had not used. This, however, rendered the Ammonian *apparatus* almost useless for the purposes of a harmony, and the inconsistency of size in the divisions became obvious when they were divorced from the original scheme. It was, he thinks, for this reason that Eusebius undertook a new division into chapters and subdivisions, and devised a new system of references intended to combine the advantages of the harmony of Ammonius and of the separated gospels of Hesychius.

It is obvious that in considering this theory we are justified in drawing several distinctions. The most certain part of the theory is, I think, the proof that behind the text of B and its allies there lies a harmony; the most hypothetical is the view that the text of this family is that of a recension made by Hesychius. I do not know of any evidence decisively against this identification, but there is none decisively in its favour. Much the same thing may be said about the connexion of the harmony with the work of Ammonius, for which, though the theory is very attractive, no definite evidence can be produced. I am by no means arguing that such suggestions ought not to be made or built upon, but it is necessary to remember their tentative character.

But even if we say that it is wiser to neglect the suggestions which are concerned with Hesychius and Ammonius, the gain of the knowledge that a harmony, of whatever sort, lies behind the \aleph B recension is a matter of first-rate importance, for it seems as though this recension may stand to the new harmony in somewhat the same relation as the *Evangelion da Mepharreshe* bears to the Diatessaron of Tatian. Future research will inevitably take account of this possibility, but it would be rash to assume confidently that it will turn the possibility into a certainty (though the *a priori* probability is not small that it will do so); for it is conceivable that the text of B is entirely independent of the text of the source from which it derived its chapter-divisions.

Dr Schmidtke indicates some possible lines of argument which may

tend to enable us to differentiate between verses influenced by 'Ammonian' readings and others, and illustrates them by tracing the comparative use of *εἰπον* and *εἶπεν* in various parts of the text. I hope that he will some day give us a complete study of the subject together with a convenient statement of the chapter-divisions and subdivisions which represent the 'Ammonian' harmony and its modification in the 'Hesychian' recension.

The foregoing remarks ought to have appeared nearly two years ago, but the unexpected pressure of work which could not be postponed forced the book to one side. I am sorry for the delay, but Dr Schmidtke's work is not of the kind which is quickly out of date, and it seems to have attracted even by this time less attention than it deserves. This is partly accidental, partly the fault of the editor. Cod. 579 is after all merely a minuscule of the 'Alexandrine' or 'Hesychian' type: it is rather a good specimen, but its publication is not in itself of first-rate importance. On the other hand, if the connexion of Cod. B with the 'Ammonian' harmony be established, it can hardly be overrated. If Dr Schmidtke had worked out this part of his book more fully and clearly, drawn attention to it in the title, and made it the central point of his book in appearance, as it certainly is in reality, he would probably have had a far more lively reception.

KIRSOPP LAKE.

SEVERUS OF ANTIOCH.

Vie de Sévère par Jean, supérieur du monastère de Beith Aphthonia, texte syriaque publié, traduit et annoté par M. A. KUGENER (Patrologia Orientalis, tome ii, fasc. 3). (Paris, Firmin-Didot.)

M. KUGENER has now followed up his edition of the life of Severus by Zacharias, which I noticed in this JOURNAL, vol. v, p. 469 ff, by an edition of the hitherto unpublished life by John the Archimandrite, to which he has added a collection of extracts and fragments, published and unpublished, relating to Severus. The introduction and commentary are reserved for a third fascicule, the short introduction here given dealing with the MSS only. This was perhaps necessary, but it is unsatisfactory to have a historical text published with no indication of the author's date or means of information. The earlier part of the life is based upon, though not copied from, Zacharias; from the point where the earlier life ends (513) the author passes almost straight to the visit of Severus to Constantinople in 534, and it may be doubted whether for the earlier period he had any source except the work of Zacharias; such facts as that Severus was expelled from his see were

of course known to every one, and the insertions in the preceding portion seem to be only padding. He was, however, well acquainted with the works of Severus, and in particular with the hymns. The text is contained in two good MSS, a complete one at Berlin (B) and some fragments in the British Museum (L), and does not present the difficulties which we find in the older life. At 230. 7, however, M. Kugener's ingenious emendation is certainly right and should have been printed in place of the MS reading, which is unintelligible; and at 225. 9 some words must have fallen out. For some reason not clearly apparent instead of making a critical text M. Kugener has followed the Berlin MS, except where it is obviously wrong, though the London MS seems in fact to be the more carefully written of the two, as indicated by the fact that it preserves a fuller transliteration of the Greek names. At 222. 8, for instance, the reading of B is ungrammatical and certainly should have been rejected; in this passage and at 209. 10 M. Kugener has failed to notice that ܐܢܬܐ represents the $\phi\eta\sigma\iota$ of citation. At 245. 3 MS reading and emendation seem to have accidentally changed places. With the excellent translation little fault can be found, though differences of opinion must of course arise as to the rendering of certain passages. For instance, at 225. 1 $\text{ܐܢܬܐ ܕܐܠܗܐ ܕܡܪܝܢܐ ܕܡܪܝܢܐ}$ is rendered 'il était dans une situation très critique'. M. Kugener himself marks this version as doubtful, and the meaning seems to be 'he was practising strict asceticism'. Again at 256. 1 ܕܢܒܠܐ ܕܡܪܝܢܐ , which is rendered 'sur un sommet visible', i.e. on the housetops, seems rather to mean 'with head exposed', without disguise; and at 253. 12 ܕܡܪܝܢܐ ܕܡܪܝܢܐ must surely mean 'and he (Anthimus) went out' (cf. 256. 10). At 245. 2 the phrase $\text{ܕܡܪܝܢܐ ܕܡܪܝܢܐ ܕܡܪܝܢܐ}$ is difficult, but 'conduisent à la possession des œuvres' does not seem to convey any meaning: the reference is to the hymns of ܕܡܪܝܢܐ or admonition, and we must render 'reform the character of actions'. Lastly, at 224. 3 'une prophétie' should be 'la prophétie', the reference being to the prophecy recorded on p. 221. As in the previous fascicule, M. Kugener has been very successful in reproducing the original Greek phrases in the footnotes; but he has sometimes failed to give the correct meaning of them: thus $\text{ܕܡܪܝܢܐ ܕܡܪܝܢܐ} = \phi\iota\lambda\acute{o}\theta\epsilon\omicron\varsigma$ (244. 12) is not passive but active, and $\text{ܕܡܪܝܢܐ} = \epsilon\nu \lambda\acute{o}\gamma\omega$ (234. 4) is not 'in Scripture', but 'in speech'.

The collection of passages from other sources relating to Severus has been very carefully made, and no labour has been spared in making it complete; but in a *Patrologia Orientalis* it seems somewhat out of place, at least as regards those which have been published before. Moreover, to translate an extract is always dangerous, and of this M. Kugener has given a striking example; if he had seen the other

nns of the so-called Octoechus, he would have known that the words *ἡμεῖς ὑμῖν ἁγιάσματα* (330. 5) go together and mean 'we offer praise to His many mercies'. While dealing with the appendix I may also note that in the extracts from Michael he has taken straight from M. Chabot the obvious blunder *ἡμεῖς* for *ὑμεῖς* (2. 12) and its forced translation.

On several points questions arise which will perhaps be answered in the forthcoming commentary: e.g. at 241, note 3, the citation from the life in the so-called Dionysius is described as from John of Asia, though it is hard to believe that John of Asia did not write before the composition of the life; and on p. 361 Theodore the Reader is said to have written under Justin I, though the ninth passage cited of him deals with the reign of Justinian. Again, in a note on an act from Evagrius (p. 380) September of the year 567 of the iochene era is stated to be Sept. 518; but by comparison with gr. ii 12, iv 1, 9 it would appear to be 519; and similarly the year at 374, note 2, should rather be 593. There seems to be another chronological error at 365, note 2; 536 is not the thirteenth, but the twentieth indiction. I have noted small slips or misprints at 210, note 42, note 6 ('242' for '249'), 261, note 5 ('J' for 'A'), 282. 4 (cf. 1), 294, note 9, and 319, note 4 (words transposed).

In reviewing work of this kind it is necessary to occupy a large portion of the space in calling attention to faults and deficiencies, which appear to be much more numerous than they really are. In fact the points to which reasonable objection can be taken are very few in proportion to the matter contained in the present fascicule, and M. Kugener must be heartily congratulated on having done so much to throw light on the career of the great Monophysite leader, about whom until the few years little indeed was known; the full extent of his services, however, will be apparent only when his remaining fascicule sees the light. A similar tribute must at the same time be given to the entering editors of the *Patrologia*, MM. Nau and Graffin, who besides Kugener's work announce an edition of an unpublished Ethiopic of Severus as in preparation by Mr Goodspeed.

E. W. BROOKS.

THE LANGUAGE OF ST PAUL.

Wortschatz des Apostels Paulus, Beitrag zur sprachgeschichtlichen Erforschung des Neuen Testaments, von T. NÄGELI. (Vandenhoeck u. Ruprecht, Göttingen, 1905.)

THIS pamphlet is a fragment, yet a very interesting fragment. It is really only an expanded preface to a lexicon of Pauline Greek which

the author is contemplating and of which he has completed the portion that falls under the first five letters of the alphabet, and his work to this point has been approved by the theological faculty of Basle as a thesis for the doctorate.

In this preface he draws out the inferences which seem to him to result from an induction based on this portion, and he applies his conclusions both to forming an estimate of the sources from which St Paul has drawn his vocabulary and to testing the genuineness of the various epistles.

The result of his examination is to minimize St Paul's indebtedness to the writers of classical Greek: he thinks there is no trace of conscious imitation of them. On the other hand, he also minimizes the direct Hebraisms in his style. The Apostle writes in the style natural to a Greek of Asia Minor adopting the current Greek of the time, borrowing more or less consciously from ethical writers, framing new words or giving a new meaning to old words in order to express new Christian ideas, but in the main using the language which inscriptions and papyri prove to have been the language of daily intercourse. His choice of vocabulary is therefore very much like that of Epictetus, save that his intimate knowledge of the LXX has modified it by the introduction of words or phrases which have arisen from the necessity of translating Hebrew. These points are illustrated and (it seems to me) proved by careful examination of the chief words which have been hitherto regarded as classical, or poetical, or archaic, and of those which St Paul shares with the LXX or writers of the Apocrypha.

The writer then applies the results thus gained as a test for judging the genuineness of the Epistles; he rightly regards 1 and 2 Corinthians as exhibiting St Paul's style in its most normal stage; Romans is more indebted to legal and ethical writers for its technical terms: Galatians is freer in the use of colloquial, if not vulgar, phrases; but in no case does the vocabulary suggest any doubt about the authorship, except in that of the Pastoral Epistles. Here the absence of ordinary Pauline words and particles, the large number of new words, and the many points of similarity with the vocabulary of the writers of the Old Testament Greek apocryphal books, make Dr Nägeli doubt the Pauline authorship. But he admits that the likeness to the Apocryphal writers is to be found in all the Epistles, and that the general impression of similarity would only be softened, not removed, if the Pastoral Epistles were not taken into account. He also admits that in deciding the genuineness of a document, especially in the New Testament, the vocabulary is only one of the factors and can seldom say the last word.

On the whole, the pamphlet is a piece of thorough accurate work at details, combined with soundness of judgement in drawing inferences

from them, and it is much to be hoped that Dr Nägeli will be able to complete the lexicon thus happily inaugurated. A useful list of authorities is added at the end.

WALTER LOCK.

THE DOCTRINE OF THE EUCHARIST.

Études d'Histoire et de Théologie positive. 21ème série. L'Eucharistie, la Présence réelle, et la Transsubstantiation. Par P. Batiffol. (Lecoffre, Paris, 1905.)

IN this second series of 'Studies' Mgr Batiffol has produced a historical study which is a model of lucidity, conciseness, and careful exposition. The arrangement of the book is excellent and enables the reader to grasp with ease the main stages of the development of the doctrine of the Eucharist from the period of the New Testament to the Fourth Council of the Lateran. Another feature of the book is its historical candour. The passages which have so often been the battleground of controversialists are here carefully analysed in the dry light of historical investigation and placed in their true setting.

Mgr Batiffol defines the faith of the early church with regard to the Eucharist as a simple 'realism'. It is the purpose of his book to shew how this simple faith passed through the later stages of reflection into a doctrine of the conversion of the elements, which finally attained its natural and legitimate development in the doctrine of transsubstantiation. The first 100 pages are devoted to the New Testament. The chief problems are clearly stated and recent theories are discussed, though necessarily with brevity. Mgr Batiffol is perhaps inclined to cut the knots of some of the difficulties by adopting rather too readily and positively some recent conjectures. Thus, while accepting the full text of Luke xxii 15-20 (in place of the shorter 'Western' text), he explains it as a doublet, vv. 15-18 forming one account of the institution, vv. 19, 20 being a second account. There is more to be said for his solution of the divergences between the Synoptists and St John by the adoption of the theory that the Last Supper was the Kiddûsh.

Mgr Batiffol's presentation of the evidence of the Fathers as a whole calls for little criticism. There is, however, one conspicuous exception, the treatment of the famous passage of Irenaeus, *c. Haer.* iv 18. 5, where Irenaeus states that after the invocation the bread is 'no longer common bread, but eucharist, consisting of two things (πραγμάτων), an earthly and a heavenly'. It is surely an evasion of the natural sense of this passage (in which ἐπιείκων is most easily explained by the

preceding ἀπὸ γῆς ἄπρος) to interpret, as Mgr Batiffol does, the earthly element as the flesh of Christ, and the heavenly as His spirit. This is the more to be regretted as Irenaeus in this passage is an early witness to that form of eucharistic doctrine which Mgr Batiffol characterizes elsewhere as 'dyophysite'. Much that he says of Tertullian will command general assent, though his statement that *repraesentare* 'n'a rien de symbolique' perhaps calls for rather fuller treatment than he has given to it. In dealing with Augustine he dismisses too summarily the possibility of a 'receptionist' interpretation of some of his language. Still he recognizes the obscurity and ambiguity which are exhibited in the early theories of the Alexandrine, Oriental, and African writers and admits that they lend themselves to a 'dyophysite' interpretation (p. 253). Mgr Batiffol rightly contends that the doctrine of conversion starts with Gregory of Nyssa in the East (though Cyril of Jerusalem prepared the way) and with Ambrose in the West. In a singularly acute investigation of Gregory's language he shews how far removed he was from transubstantiation and how halting and hesitating his language is. But side by side with this new development there is a mass of evidence in both Eastern and Western writers which shows the persistence of the older tradition. It is one of the merits of Mgr Batiffol's book that he has placed so clearly and fully before his readers the materials which indicate the conservative character of the Western tradition and the persistence of the type of thought represented by Tertullian and Augustine. Besides the evidence of Jerome and Ambrosiaster there are the fragments of the Roman Canon in the *de Sacramentis*, where we find the phrase 'figura corporis et sanguinis'. Mgr Batiffol himself raises the question whether 'Rome ait africanisé longtemps' (p. 312). We may go even further. For though Mgr Batiffol thinks that by the time of St Leo this was changed, he himself quotes a passage of Gelasius *de duobus naturis* (the genuineness of which he recognizes) exhibiting similar features. In this passage side by side with the expression 'in divinam transeunt substantiam naturae' (this, says Mgr Batiffol, does not necessarily imply conversion) we find the older language 'imago et similitudo corporis et sanguinis Christi in actione mysteriorum celebrantur' (pp. 330, 331). There is further the positive evidence of the same passage of Gelasius, in which, arguing from the analogy of the Incarnation against the monophysites, Gelasius denies that the substance of the bread and wine ceases to exist. The same argument appears in Theodoret and the author of the Epistle to Caesarius. Mgr Batiffol treats this evidence in a somewhat cavalier fashion. 'The error of Gelasius', he says (p. 322), 'consists in accepting an analogy between the Incarnation and the Eucharist'. And again he maintains that in the *Eranistes* of Theodoret

nonophysite interlocutor who is the real defender of the doctrine of the Eucharist. But this is to prejudge the matter in the light of Mgr Batiffol's conclusion. He has already shown that earlier theories in the East and West lend themselves to ambiguity to a 'dyophysite' interpretation. The language of the text points in the same direction. May not Gelasius then represent true conservatism? Mgr Batiffol shews from the *Missale* and the Leonine and Gelasian Sacramentaries how the older conceptions lingered on side by side with the Ambrosian. Ratramn is a witness to the persistence of the Augustinian theory, but it may be found even in Rupert of Deutz (though Mgr Batiffol's argument does not extend to the Schoolmen). That this treatment of the Eucharist became an 'archaism' does not affect the question of its merits. Mgr Batiffol declares that the 'misleading' analogy between the Incarnation and the Eucharist found in Theodoret and no longer appears after the victory of St Cyril's theology in the time of Justin and Justinian. But the question may be asked whether the cessation of interest in Christology after that period was due to the causes of the subsequent advance made by the theory of the Incarnation. When the analogy of the two natures in Christ was no longer of interest before men's minds the divorce between the treatment of the Incarnation and that of the Eucharist became emphasized. The theory of conversion may have accorded with the Christian sentiment of the period, but it cannot be forgotten that the age in which it was fixed (i. e. that of Paschasius and the following period) was one in which the idea of a miraculous conversion was particularly prominent, as may be seen from the prodigies recorded by Paschasius. Mgr Batiffol regards the process of development as virtually complete in the time of Paschasius, and he thinks that the Aristotelian metaphysics had no connection with this result. But this ignores the importance of the events during, and subsequent to, the Berengarian controversy, the new shape and consistency to the conceptions of Paschasius due to the help of the current philosophy. Mgr Batiffol, however, seeks to explain the terminology in which the doctrine was finally expressed as of it as 'non la plus apte, mais très apte à nommer la chose et à définir la mode d'être sacramental du Christ', and to refer to the language in which the Council of Trent speaks of the presence as 'existendi ratio quam verbis exprimere solent'. This desire to withdraw from the extreme consequences of the doctrine of Transubstantiation marks a considerable advance, but as great difficulties unsolved.

J. H. SRAWLEY.

THE APOSTLES' CREED IN THE MIDDLE AGES.

Das apostolische Symbol im Mittelalter, von F. WIEGAND. (J. Ricker, Giessen, 1904.)

THIS interesting lecture was delivered to the Theological Conference at Giessen. In its published form it is enriched by many notes which should prove invaluable to any librarians who may wish to catalogue the stores of mediaeval sermons which repose unnoticed on the shelves of College Libraries. Prof. Wiegand is continuing a herculean task in his endeavour to write the History of the Use of the Apostles' Creed in the Middle Ages. His first volume on the position of the Creed in the Church life of the Middle Ages¹ dealt with the whole theory of the Catechumenate in the Early Church, with the system of catechizing, the development of the system of scrutinies, or testings of candidates for Baptism, ending with the method of preparation for Baptism in the time of Charles the Great.

As the work progresses the difficulty of the subject becomes greater, because so little has been done to search out the early sermons on the Creed, and reduce them to any kind of classification. Caspari published a few, but in a haphazard way, just as Cardinal Mai published a very interesting sermon, quoted by Prof. Wiegand in his lecture². I have published a short series in the *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte*, of which Prof. Wiegand has been able to make full use. But the task, though quite beyond the efforts of one or two students, would not be an impracticable one if it were taken up by a group of students working in conjunction.

In this lecture Prof. Wiegand begins with the ninth century, and with the work of Alcuin and his pupil Hrabanus Maurus, whose work he fairly describes as 'a literary conglomerate typical of the theological work of the ninth century'. He then refers in detail to many sermons on the Creed now known to belong to that period, and comments on the way in which previous writings were adapted for clerical libraries.

The African Bishop Fulgentius once devoted a chapter in his work against the Arians to the consideration of the Apostles' Creed. In the form in which this extract lay before the later writer, it could not be used. He followed the example of his contemporaries, and did as Alcuin did, when he compiled a commentary out of extracts from Augustine. First of all he cut out all that seemed superfluous, and

¹ *Die Stellung des apostolischen Symbols im kirchlichen Leben des Mittelalters* Leipzig, 1899.

² *Quando beatum legimus Paulum*. To be attributed possibly to Theodulf of Orleans,

, whenever it seemed desirable, he inserted sentences from some of the Creed that happened to lie before him. Thus using only pen-knife and a paste-pot, a ninth-century sermon on the Creed formed out of an anti-Arian pamphlet.

Prof. Wiegand goes on to speak even more sarcastically of the poverty brought in the treatises of Hatto of Basle and of Bruno of Würzburg, simply appropriated old materials. The first beginnings of more independent thought are found in some metrical versions of the Lord's Prayer and the Creed turned into hexameter verse.

From Ivo of Chartres and Hugo of Rouen we pass to Joslen of Lyons, and find that the critical spirit of Abailard is abroad in the land. Though Joslen still copies Ivo, he introduces many new questions and answers to questions which may crop up in the minds of the monks and clergy of his diocese. Abailard's own sermons shew even still the stirring of thought which led men to demand something more than formal confessions of faith and explanations. They desired a truth nearer to the real meaning. Then come Honorius of Autun, Theobald of Tours, from whom Prof. Wiegand turns to the great schoolmen.

Among later writers perhaps John of Marienwerder is the most interesting. He was a pupil of Henry of Oyta at Prague, but was driven back to his Prussian home by race hatred. As Dean of the cathedral he found his hands full. After twelve years of pastoral work he was constrained by the errors of a wandering Bohemian mystic, who was teaching in the neighbourhood, to take out of his library his academic treatise on the Creed and adapt it for popular instruction, adding mystical elements to learned theory, which made it popular all over Germany. It is indeed the influence of the Mystics, which brings new interest into the later fifteenth-century expositions.

This century brings us also to Laurentius Valla and the beginning of scientific enquiry into the history of the Creed, which was in his day stifled by the Inquisition. With the end of the mediaeval period Prof. Wiegand closes an important and stimulating lecture which we can only hope is only an earnest of much more from his pen.

A. E. BURN.

CHRONICLE

HAGIOGRAPHICA.

THE two years that have elapsed since the last Chronicle of 'Hagiographica' have not witnessed any event of first magnitude in the field of hagiology; the Bollandists have not issued a volume of the *Acta Sanctorum*, nor has there appeared in the *Monumenta Germaniae Historica* any volume of *Vitae*. For all that, there is a considerable body of good work to record.

1. We may begin with a mention of three general Histories of Christian Literature, all of first rank, which naturally contain a great quantity of hagiological material: the second volume of Harnack's *Chronologie* (Irenaeus to Eusebius); the second volume of Bardenhewer's *Geschichte der altkirchlichen Literatur* (cent. iii); and Schanz, *Geschichte der römischen Literatur*, of which a second edition of Part III, and the first half of Part IV, have recently appeared, both mainly devoted to the Latin Christian writers up to the end of the fourth century. The merits of these three standard works being so well established, it is needless to do more than remind hagiologists that they are mines of information on things hagiological.

2. In the domain of Apocryphal Acts of the Apostles, the chief event has without doubt been the publication of Dr Carl Schmidt's long looked-for edition of the Coptic *Acta Pauli*; this, however, has been sufficiently dealt with in previous numbers of the JOURNAL. There is, therefore, here need only to note that Corssen has challenged practically every item of the structure erected by Schmidt on the Coptic fragments¹, and that the Bollandist reviewer adopts a position of extreme reserve in regard to the whole question². This reviewer, Fr. Paul Peeters, S.J., is a new recruit to the ranks of the Bollandists, who now are six in number; he has taken over all the work in Oriental languages.

Dr Carl Schmidt's revolutionary tractate on the Acts of Peter, noticed in my previous Chronicle, has called forth a little volume, partly by way of criticism, partly by way of original investigation, by

¹ *Göttingische gelehrte Anzeigen*, 1904, 702; also *Zeitschr. f. NTliche Wissenschaft*, 1905, Heft 4.

² *Analecta Bollandiana*, 1905, 276-284.

Dr Gerhard Ficker¹. He sees traces of Platonism in the Acts; places their origin, not in Rome (as Schmidt), but in Bithynia; traces their use in later literature; and deals with various other allied questions.

3. We owe to Dr Waitz the most elaborate study that has been made for a generation on the ps.-Clementine romance². His work of 400 pages is confined wholly to the investigation of the textual problems. First of all the probable contents and character of the lost 'Grundschrift' are considered—the original romance, whence have been derived the various extant forms of the story. He concludes that this was a Catholic work, made up out of two main sources, both lost; and he endeavours to determine the contents and character of these documents. It must be said that such reconstruction of the hypothetical sources of a hypothetically reconstructed document, is somewhat shadowy work; but Harnack in an appendix to the volume of his *Chronologie*, mentioned above, discusses Waitz's dissertation in great detail and with general agreement, and gives the following 'rough outline' of the genesis of this cycle of documents³: (1) the main sources were a Judaeo-Christian Gnostic *Κηρύγματα Πέτρον* and a Catholic *Πράξεις Πέτρον*, both composed about the year 200; (2) out of them was made up, between c. 220 and c. 300, probably c. 260 (though there is no sure evidence of its existence until c. 325) the original Clementine romance; (3) from this came, at the beginning of the fourth century, or very likely later, the extant Homilies and Recognitions; (4) from these are derived all other known forms of the work.

A Dutch scholar, Dr Meyboom, has also written elaborately on the Clementine romance; *résumés* of his work are given by Delehay (Analecta Bollandiana 1905, 138) and von Dobschütz (*Theologische Literaturzeitung* 1904, 583).

4. In volumes iii and iv of *Horae Semiticae* (the sequel of *Studia Sinaitica*) Mrs Lewis has published under the title 'Mythological Acts of the Apostles', the Arabic text, with English translation, of the Apocryphal Acts⁴. The body of this collection is identical with the Ethiopic *Contentings of the Apostles*, edited and translated by Dr Budge not long ago, and reviewed in these pages by Dr Montague James (iii 286); so that there is no need to specify the contents. But the commonly accepted view is that this collection passed from Coptic into Arabic, and thence into Ethiopic; thus in the absence of the Coptic form, the Arabic is relatively the earliest representative of this redaction of the

¹ *Die Petrusakten* (Leipzig, 1903).

² 'Die pseudoklementinen Homilien und Rekognitionen' (*Texte und Untersuchungen*, N. F., x 4, 1904).

³ *Op. cit.* 540.

⁴ *Acta Mythologica Apostolorum*, 2 vols. (London, 1904).

Apocryphal Acts. How far the lost Coptic work was original, or how far it was an adaptation from the Greek, is still a moot point. Though the Arabic here printed represents a text which stands nearer than the Ethiopic to the original, it has been subjected to a number of corruptions in the course of transmission, different from those found in the Ethiopic.

Mrs Lewis also prints here, with translation, all the fragments of the Syriac Acts of Judas Thomas from the underwriting of the famous Sinaitic palimpsest, the text being 400 years earlier than any of Wright's MSS.

5. During the past two years there has, apparently, been a dearth of work on the Acts of the Martyrs. In the *Analecta Bollandiana* the only text of any importance in this field has been the *Passio S. Dioscori*, found for the first time by Dom Quentin, of the Solesmes community, in two allied Latin forms in British Museum MSS. It would be premature to say whether this Passion is likely to find a place among the genuine Acts.

Bardenhewer and Harnack, in the volumes of their Histories already noticed, have each an Appendix on the Acts of the Martyrs, and each gives a provisional list of those Acts, up to the Peace of the Church, which, in his judgement, may be accepted as genuine, or, at least, as of historical value. A comparison of the results arrived at independently by these eminent patrologists will be of interest, and probably of use. The following twenty-eight Acts are accepted as genuine by both critics:—

| | |
|---|--|
| 155 (or 166?). Polycarp (Smyrna). | c.300. Palestinian Martyrs (Eusebius). |
| c. 165. Carpus, Papyrus, and Agatho- | 303. Claudius, &c. (Cilicia). |
| nices (Asia Minor). | „ Felix (Apulia). |
| c. 165. Justin and companions (Rome). | „ Dasius (Moesia). |
| 177. Lyonese Martyrs (Lyons). | 304. Saturninus, &c. (Proconsular |
| 180. Scilitan Martyrs (Numidia). | Africa). |
| c. 183. Apollonius (Rome). | 304. Crispina (Numidia). |
| 202. Perpetua and Felicitas (Carthage). | „ Agape, Chionia, &c. (Thessa- |
| 250. Pionius (Smyrna). | lonica). |
| „ Achatius (Asia Minor). | 304. Irenaeus of Sirmium (Pannonia). |
| 258. Cyprian (Carthage). | „ Pollio (Pannonia). |
| 259. Marianus, Jacob, &c. (Numidia). | „ Euplius (Catania, Sicily). |
| „ Montanus, Lucius, &c. (Carthage). | „ Phileas and Philoromus (Alexan- |
| „ Fructuosus, &c. (Tarragona). | dria). |
| 295. Maximilian (Numidia). | 309. Quirinus (Pannonia). |
| c.298. Marcellus and Cassian (Maure- | 320. The Forty Martyrs (Sebaste, |
| tania). | Armenia). |

In addition to these, Harnack accepts:—

| | |
|-------------------------------------|-----------------------------|
| c. 255. Conon (Pamphylia). | 305. Typasius (Mauretania). |
| 303. Gurius and Schamonas (Edessa). | 312. Lucian (Antioch). |
| „ Julius (Moesia). | |

Bardenhewer accepts:—

- | | |
|---|--------------------------------------|
| c. 255. Maximus (Moesia). | 304. Tarachus, &c. (Isauria). |
| „ Peter, &c. (Moesia). | „ Philip, &c. (Thrace). |
| c. 260. Nicephorus (?). | 306. Serenus (Pannonia). |
| 303. Rogatian, &c. (Nantes). | c. 310. Sergius and Bacchus (Syria). |
| 304. Didymus and Theodora (Alexandria). | „ Peter Balsamus (Samaria). |
| | „ Theodotus (Ancyra, Galatia). |

These lists deal in effect only with Greek and Latin Acta; there can be no doubt that some in Oriental languages will have to be added.

Père Delehaye, the Bollandist, has criticized these lists (*Analecta Bollandiana* xxiii (1904) pp. 89 and 477); and in his *Légendes hagiographiques* (to be noticed below) he arranges in various grades of historical value the Acta found in Ruinart. He shews himself a severer critic than either Harnack or Bardenhewer, in that to the following Acts accepted by both of them, he accords only the same measure of historical value as to several Acts which they agree in rejecting: Achatius, Claudius, Felix, Saturninus, Agape, Irenaeus, Pollio, Euplius, Phileas, Quirinus¹. He hesitates to admit the Forty Martyrs and Dasius (not known to Ruinart); against Harnack, but with Bardenhewer, he apparently would admit Maximus, and hesitates about Conon (not known to Ruinart); and he would reject nearly all on Bardenhewer's separate list. On the other hand, he would admit the original form of the *Acta Procopii*, really an extract from the Palestinian Martyrs of Eusebius (*op. cit.* 144). Delehaye considers that the Acts of the Persian Martyrs have not yet been sufficiently investigated to allow of any safe judgement in their regard. A complete provisional list of such Acta and Accounts of Martyrdoms as may fall under the term historical, compiled by so competent a specialist as Père Delehaye, would be of extraordinary value. It must always be borne in mind that these are lists not of historical martyrdoms, but of authentic Acta.

Of course there have appeared during the past two years a number of studies on single Acts; specially worthy of mention seems to be Meyer's study on the legend of St Alban². Dom Leclercq has produced vols. ii and iii of his French translations of the Acta³: vol. i has been already characterized in these pages (iv 311); the Bollandist reviewer complains that laxer methods of criticism have been followed in the later volumes than in the first: but even so, the contrast with the similar work produced under Dom Guéranger's auspices fifty years ago, indicates an extraordinary change in historical ideas and methods among the French Benedictines.

¹ *Légendes hagiographiques* 133-137.

² *Die Legende des h. Albanus des Protomartyr Angliae* (Göttingen, 1904).

³ *Les Martyrs* (Paris, 1903-1904).

It is good news that a monk of the Solesmes community has in hand a reprint (with readings added in apparatus) of the great *Sanctuarium* of Mombricitus. Printed in two folio volumes at Milan c. 1480, it has become extremely rare. Moreover, to this day some sixty-six hagiographical documents are to be found nowhere else, and many others with difficulty; and in other cases Mombricitus's texts are of great value, for his method was to print his MSS as they stood. And so a more serviceable hagiographical undertaking could hardly be named than this reprint.

6. There are in course of publication in France two series of Oriental writers, each of which will include a large amount of valuable hagiographical matter. In the *Patrologia Orientalis* (edited by Graffin and Nau, professors at the Paris Institut Catholique), the Arabic *History of the Patriarchs of Alexandria* has been edited up to the year 661, with an English translation, by Mr Evetts; while M. Basset has given us, with a French translation, the first instalment (Sept.-Oct.) of the Arabic version of the Jacobite Coptic Synaxarium; and Père Delehaye the Greek versions of the Acts of the Persian Martyrs under Sapor II. In the *Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium* (edited by Chabot, Guidi, and Hyvernat) the printing (with Latin versions, to be obtained separately) of the Lives of Ethiopic saints has already begun, ten volumes being assigned to these original Ethiopic Lives, and as many to Ethiopic translations.

7. M. Albert Dufourcq, whose study on the Gesta of the Roman Martyrs was noticed at some length in these pages on a previous occasion (III, 144), has recently published two small volumes on St Irenaeus¹. The first gives a brief but singularly clear account of the Gnostic systems, a subject which the author has studied with special care; then follows a sketch of what is known of Irenaeus, his line of controversy with his Gnostic opponents, and (in three long chapters) an exposition of his positive teaching over the whole field of Christian doctrine; the book concludes with an estimate of Irenaeus's place in the history of theology. The other volume consists of a series of passages from St Irenaeus's great work, translated into French, and linked together by explanatory summaries of the portions omitted. Both volumes are excellent; they are pieces of popularization of the best kind; and it would be difficult to find better introductions to the study of Irenaeus.

The first forms part of Lecoffre's series 'Les Saints', a collection of very varying merit; of recent numbers the Bollandists extol *Saint Victrice* (Vacandard) and *Saint Paulin de Nola* (Baudrillart) as being excellent. Dufourcq's second volume was the opening one of the series entitled 'La Pensée chrétienne' (Bloud); besides volumes on the New

¹ *Saint Irénée*, 'Les Saints' (Lecoffre, Paris, 1904); *Saint Irénée*, 'La Pensée chrétienne' (Bloud, Paris, 1905).

Testament, there have appeared *Tertullien* by Abbé Turmel and *Saint Bernard* by Abbé Vacandard, both of high quality.

8. Two recent numbers of *Texte und Untersuchungen* contain hagiological material. In N. F. xiii 4 Schultze supplies a translation of the Georgian Acts of Abo, martyred under the Arabs at Tiflis at the end of the eighth century; and Augar gives a study of the martyrdoms of women during the Roman persecutions. The accounts of these martyrdoms are collected from the ecclesiastical writers—Tertullian, Hippolytus, Eusebius, Ambrose, and others—from the genuine Acta and the *Martyrologium Hieron.*: the results are summed up in a table (p. 52) shewing that there are authentic records of fourteen martyrdoms of women, some of course including more than one victim: why Perpetua and Felicitas, and Blandina among the Lyonese Martyrs, are passed over, does not appear. It is a surprise, too, to find that in a number of *Texte und Untersuchungen* appearing a year after the Cambridge text of the *Historia Lausiaca*, the worthless redaction reprinted in Migne is still employed, the interpolated chapters being treated as genuine, and one of Lucius's arguments, based on the erroneous sequence of chapters, being received as valid: all that has been done during the past ten years by workers in this field, and that has made its way into the ordinary dictionaries and bibliographies has been ignored (pp. 12-15).

If we may trust his contemporaries, and especially those who knew him, Palladius for instance, there can be no doubt as to the personal holiness of Didymus the blind Catechist of Alexandria; it was after his death that he fell on evil times. And so the study on him, his writings and doctrine, by the well-known Coptic scholar, Dr Leipoldt (N. F. xiv 3, 1905), though really belonging to the history of dogma, may claim a mention here. It must suffice to say that the work has been done with the care and thoroughness that characterize all Leipoldt's contributions to erudition.

9. It is not often that the editor of a long Greek text gets such a painstaking and thorough review as that which Mr C. H. Turner bestowed upon the *Lausiaca History of Palladius* in the April number of the JOURNAL. As one of his criticisms is of hagiographical interest and importance, I take the opportunity of saying that I am altogether inclined to accept his contention that c. 55 (of my edition) refers not to Sylvania, but to the elder Melania (pp. 353-354). If this be so, some interesting traits are added to our knowledge of one of the most remarkable figures of the period 350-410. The suggestion has, I believe, never been made before, having escaped even Tillemont's sagacity—doubtless in consequence of the dislocations in the order of the text hitherto current. It is, perhaps, proper for me to state that my most serious critics (Turner, Max Bonnet, Preuschen) seem to be agreed that

the type of text called G has been too closely followed in my edition; I am prepared to admit the theoretical correctness of this judgement, but I am not clear as to the practical feasibility of carrying it out with the textual materials at present available. At the same time, I recognize now that too much importance was attached to the Paris MS Gr. 1628 as the chief representative of G. I think it should be said that *ὑπομύζων* is not a novel form; it was edited at p. 71. 4 by such sound scholars as Meursius and Ducaeus, and it is recognized in Sophocles' Lexicon as a well-attested collateral form of *ὑπομύζων*. I am disposed to believe that editors of late Greek and Latin texts are often too prone to classicize what they find in the MSS.

10. Under the title *The Book of Paradise of Palladius* Dr Wallis Budge has edited for Lady Meux in two sumptuous volumes Anan-Ischo's great collection of Syriac translations from the Greek monastic literature of Egypt. Dr Budge follows the Syriac usage in calling the whole book the 'Paradise of Palladius'; but 'Paradise of Anan-Ischo' is the correct title, for only a small portion (viz. bk. I and a few chapters of bk. II) is by Palladius. The work has been sufficiently described in my *Lausiac History of Palladius* (i 77; ii lxxix); the Syriac text is a reprint of the copy made at Mosul for Dr Budge; it had already been edited from other MSS by Père Bedjan in vol. vii of his *Syriac Acta Sanctorum*; Dr Budge supplies an interesting Introduction, and an excellent English translation, running to over 1,000 pages. This is the first time that this great mass of most fascinating hagiological and ascetical lore has appeared in an English dress; and even now it is hardly accessible, for the book is an *édition de luxe*, and indeed (so I believe) is not on sale. But the thanks of hagiologists and Church historians, no less than of Syriologists, are due to Lady Meux and Dr Budge for this fine edition of so important a work.

A beginning has been made towards filling the gap just spoken of in English ascetical literature by Mr J. O. Hannay, who in a little volume, entitled *The Wisdom of the Desert*¹, has made a selection from the Greek and Latin 'Apophthegmata', or Sayings of the Fathers of the Egyptian Deserts. These Sayings are aphorisms on the spiritual life, on monastic duties, or on Christian morality and conduct, often characterized by a striking depth and beauty, and an old-world simplicity and freshness, that make them truly delightful reading. Mr Hannay's choice has been made with great judgement, and we could wish that his volume were only the first of a series that should open out to our modern English world these spiritual wells of the Egyptian Deserts.

11. It may safely be said that Professor Bury's *St Patrick*² is one of

¹ Methuen, London, 1904.

² *The Life of St Patrick and his place in History* (Macmillan, London, 1905).

the most important contributions to hagiology made during the period covered by this Chronicle. The volume is divided into two nearly equal parts containing text and appendices respectively. It is the latter which gives the book its scientific value through the painstaking and scholarly analyses of documents and other critical investigations which they contain: and even these are but the cream of a series of preliminary studies published in various periodicals. In the first Appendix, of nearly fifty pages, we have the first comprehensive survey, according to the methods of scientific historical criticism, of the sources of information concerning St Patrick: the 'Confession' and the 'Letter against Coroticus' are accepted as certainly, and the 'Lorica' as possibly, genuine writings of his; Bury differs from recent critics in accepting as probably authentic the Circular Letter of Patricius, Auxilius, and Iserninus ('Synodus I Patricii'). The biographies or memoirs by Tirechan and Muirechu are shewn to be seventh-century documents based on older materials, in large measure Irish; though mixed up with much that is legendary, it is possible to derive from them a considerable quantity of true history. The later Lives and the Annals are also criticized, and made to yield what elements of true tradition they contain. Appendix B is a series of notes on lesser points of chronology, geography, biography, &c.; and Appendix C contains twenty-one excursions on matters of greater moment, the first being devoted to the perennial question of St Patrick's birthplace, the last to a criticism of Prof Zimmer's reconstruction of St Patrick's history (see *J. T. S.* iv 632). The text is a masterly synthesis of the materials thus acquired. Prof Bury rejects uncompromisingly any scepticism as to St Patrick's historical personality, any identification of him with Palladius, or any belittling of his work in Ireland—his footsteps may be securely traced not only in Leinster but also in Meath, in Connaught, and in the south-east of Ulster (Armagh). On the other hand, he holds that St Patrick was not the first to bring Christianity to Ireland, but that a few Christian communities already existed, scattered sporadically in parts of the country, introduced probably from Britain—he nowhere suggests an oriental origin of Irish Christianity. But he holds that the christianizing of Ireland was in the full sense St Patrick's work. In regard to the ecclesiastical controversies that have been made to centre round St Patrick's name, Prof Bury in the Preface says that his conclusions 'tend to shew that the Roman Catholic conception of St Patrick's work is, generally, nearer to historic fact than the views of some anti-Papal divines'. Indeed, what is in various parts of this book said on the question of Celtic Christianity and the Celtic Churches, is so moderate and so sane as to deserve special recommendation. Throughout we at last have the feeling of being on *terra firma* in regard to St Patrick and the problems to which his life gives rise;

and the literary skill with which the materials have been welded together in the sketch of his career, places the great apostle in his historical setting, and makes him live and move as a man among men.

12. Twenty years ago Paul Ewald discovered, or, rather, rediscovered, a Life of St Gregory the Great, written by a Whitby monk, in the early years of the eighth century—so Ewald believed. He printed some extracts from it, but died before he could prepare the complete text; and certainly it is a strange fact that so important a document has lain all these years without finding an editor. Abbot Gasquet has at length given us the full *Vita*¹. He has contented himself with printing a text, and has not carried any further Ewald's investigations into the origin and date of composition. Unfortunately the text in the single MS that has survived is so corrupt that it will probably have to pass through the hands of more than one editor before it is restored to a finally satisfactory form. As the claim of this *Vita* to the title 'antiquissima' has been directly challenged by Fr. Thurston², and as his doubt has been re-echoed in *Analecta Bollandiana* (xxiv 407), it will be worth while to sift the evidence before any view becomes stereotyped. It seems clear that certain extracts from this *Vita* found in the ordinary texts of Paul the Deacon's Life of St Gregory have been shewn by Fr. Grisar, since Ewald's death, to be later interpolations into MSS of Paul. The main question turns on the relation between the opening sections of the *Vita* and Ven. Bede's account of St Gregory (*Ecc. Hist.* ii 1). Each writer has in large measure based his account of St Gregory's early life on the same passages out of the prologues to the 'Dialogues' and the 'Morals' respectively. Ewald held that Bede was the plagiarizer; Thurston and the Bollandist reviewer hold the opposite view. In order to form a judgement it is necessary to have before one much more of the texts than the parallels printed in the *Month* article. A study of the full texts reveals the fact that each writer must have used the actual original pieces of St Gregory, it being patently impossible that either account could have been made out of the other without independent recourse to the sources. Thus the mere textual argument points distinctly to the conclusion that Bede and the author of the *Vita* made independent use of St Gregory: and, after all, these are just the passages biographers would naturally turn to; moreover, St Gregory's writings were well known in England, and Bede and the author of the *Vita* give evidence of being familiar with others of them. And the evidence of the documents in their entirety bears out the textual evidence of the particular passages in question; for neither writer seems to shew any knowledge of the other, and usually when they happen to record

¹ *A Life of Pope Gregory the Great* (London, 1904).

² *Month*, Oct. 1904.

the same facts there are notable differences in the details. Fr. Thurston says with force that it seems inconceivable that Bede, had he known it, should have neglected all this attractive material; but still more inconceivable is it that the author of the *Vita* should have neglected the material found in Bede—e.g. especially in regard to St Paulinus's mission. The view that he cared only about miracles is, in my judgment, inadmissible; on the contrary, the book as a whole conveys the impression that he wished to give all that he knew. The conclusion, therefore, that appears to me the more probable is that neither Ven. Bede nor the Whitby monk was acquainted with the work of the other. And this points to the further conclusion that the two works were probably written about the same time. For Bede's History at once obtained an extraordinary popularity and circulation in England, and it is difficult to suppose that it could have been unknown in such a monastery as Whitby at any notable period after its publication. It therefore seems probable that the date of composition may be placed, at any rate, within a few years of the time assigned by Ewald.

13. Mr Holmes Dudden's great work on St Gregory the Great¹, though it will be dealt with more fully in a later number of the JOURNAL, claims notice in this Chronicle. It is the only serious work in English on the man who deservedly enjoys the title of Apostle of the English race. Fully half the second volume is devoted to an account of St Gregory's theological doctrine, the enormous influence of which on later ages is rightly estimated by Mr Dudden. The course of Gregory's life is traced with great sympathy and considerable insight, and with a full and wide knowledge of the history and writings of the time, as well as of the modern literature dealing with the period. Indeed, the chief general criticism that I should be disposed to pass on the book is that the background is too elaborately drawn, so that whole sections belong rather to a general history of the time than to a biography of St Gregory, with the result that the historical setting has overlaid the subject of the book. Many discussions of single minor issues are admirably conducted: exceedingly good is the *résumé* of the Benedictine rule and life, and the summary as to St Gregory's monachism is a model of sanity: on the other hand, Mgr Duchesne's theories on the 'Gregorianum', here accepted intact, can hardly be destined to live; and the question of the Antiphony is by no means so definitely settled as is here represented. The work as a whole is well worthy of its subject, and a serious and valuable contribution to historico-hagiographical biography; but many will think that as a book it would have been still better had it been shortened by about a quarter.

14. In the previous Chronicle mention was made of the second

¹ *Gregory the Great, his place in History and Thought*, 2 vols. (London, 1905).

volume of Lives of Merovingian saints edited for the 'Monumenta' by Dr Krusch; the chief Life in that volume, viz. that of St Columbanus by his disciple Jonas, along with biographies by Jonas of two other saints, have been edited in a small volume 'in usum Scholarum'; as also, in a similar volume, the various Lives of St Boniface¹. Though said to be 'for schools', this series is provided with full critical apparatus.

15. The justification, were any needed, for including a notice of Mr Gaskoin's Hulsean Prize essay on Alcuin², would be found in the fact that in the 'Acta Sanctorum' (May 19) the Bollandists print the 'Vita beati Alcuini diaconi'. Gaskoin first describes the state of learning and the early schools of Ireland and England, with a special account of the school of York; then follows, in a hundred pages, an account of Alcuin's career; and then, in as many more, an account of his work, theological, educational, liturgical, and biblical. Throughout the author has made a conscientious use of Alcuin's writings and of the pertinent documents of the time, as well as of the best modern works, and he has produced a highly interesting picture of a great Englishman who played a notable part in the movement associated with the name of Charles the Great.

16. When we come to 'Franciscana' it is natural to begin with the publications that appear under M. Paul Sabatier's editorship. In the *Collection d'Études et de Documents* M. de Kervail has edited two *Legenda* of St Anthony of Padua³; the first had already been printed, but in an unsatisfactory form; the second, of which only fragments have been recovered, is new. An appendix is added on the sources for the Life of St Anthony. It is needless to emphasize the decisive part he played in the first stage of the controversy that has rent the Franciscans in twain since the day of their founder's death.

Five fasciculi of tome ii of the series of *Opusculs de Critique historique* appeared in 1903-1904, but it is now more than a year since one has been issued. Two of these fasciculi are devoted to an examination by M. Sabatier of works by other scholars on the interrelation of the various early Legends and on the writings of St Francis himself, one collection of which has been edited by the Franciscan Fr. Lemmen, another by Dr Böhmer of Bonn: there is considerable doubt as to the authenticity of some of the pieces that go under St Francis's name. The output of 'Franciscana' of all sorts continues to be immense; the easiest way of keeping in touch with it is by means of the 'Bulletin des Publications hagiographiques' in the *Analecta Bollandiana*.

¹ *Scriptores rerum Germanicarum in usum scholarum; Ionae Vitae Columbanii, Vedastis, Ioannis: Vitae S. Bonifatii* (Hahn, Hannover, 1905).

² Cambridge University Press, 1903.

³ *S. Antonii de Padua Vitae duae* (Fischbacher, Paris, 1904).

17- A treatise by Père Delehaye, in which the question of 'Hagiographical Legends'¹ is subjected to scientific investigation, is bound to be of interest. Not only does the indefatigable Bollandist know well the legends themselves, but his mastery of the whole range of literature directly and indirectly bearing on the problems that encompass them, is prodigious. The first three chapters deal with legends in general, their formation and growth, and with hagiographical legends in particular. The fourth suggests a scheme of classification for hagiological texts—here comes the criticism of Ruinart's collection, already spoken of. The fifth, entitled 'Le Dossier d'un Saint', gives a highly curious instance, documented at every point, of the growth and transformation of an authentic Passion into an extravagant and fantastic romance; the hero, St Procopius, being turned from an ecclesiastic into a soldier. The longest and most important chapter is the sixth, on 'Pagan reminiscences and survivals'. Delehaye does not doubt that cases of such have existed in the cultus of various saints; but he holds that the mythologizing fashion, discredited in other branches of the history of religion, is now running riot in hagiology. To take one of the best known instances: Delehaye shews strong reasons for rejecting Usener's mythologizing of the story of St Pelagia; and both here and in *Analecta Bollandiana* (xxiii 427) he combats in detail the facts and the deductions alike of Dr Rendel Harris's *Dioscuri* (see previous Chronicle). From the same point of view Dr Lucius's posthumous *Anfänge des Heiligenkults* (which is to be the subject of a special review in these pages) is severely handled in *Analecta Bollandiana* (xxiv 487). The book receives additional weight from the fact that the well-known Bollandist has always notoriously shewn himself little disposed to overestimate the value of the class of documents to the study of which he has devoted his life. For this reason, and for many others, his book is to be seriously recommended to all interested in hagiology, and indeed in ecclesiastical history.

It will be in place to add here that in a careful and extended study and criticism of Père Delehaye's edition of the Greek 'Synaxarium' (noticed in my previous Chronicle), Prof. von Dobschütz passes the highest encomium on the editor's industry, accuracy, and sagacity as textual critic.²

E. C. BUTLER.

¹ *Les Legendes hagiographiques* (Bureau des Bollandistes, Bruxelles, 1905).

² *Göttingische gelehrte Anzeigen*, 1905, no. 7.

RECENT PERIODICALS RELATING TO THEOLOGICAL STUDIES

(1) ENGLISH.

Church Quarterly Review, October 1905 (Vol. lxi, No. 121: Spottiswoode & Co.). Liberal Theology I—The spiritual care of invalids—Hymns and hymn-books—Classic Christian Art: the mosaics of S. Maria Maggiore—The Fourth Gospel: III Its relation to the synoptic tradition—Creighton and Stubbs—Heinrich Suso, the Mystic—Weissmann and the theory of descent—Short Notices—Index of Articles to vols. i-lxix (October 1875-January 1905) *continued*.

The Hibbert Journal, October 1905 (Vol. iv, No. 1: Williams & Norgate). M. ANESAKI Impressions of Christianity from the points of view of the non-Christian religions: II How Christianity appeals to a Japanese Buddhist—THE EDITOR Is the moral supremacy of Christendom in danger?—H. JONES The working faith of the social reformer—P. T. FORSYTH Authority and Theology—JAMES WARD Mechanism and Morals: the World of Science and the World of History—OLIVER LODGE Life: a hypothesis and two analogies—C. T. OVENDEN Thought and Force—J. E. McTAGGART The inadequacy of certain common grounds of belief—THE HEADMASTER OF ETON The teaching of the Christian religion in public schools—A. H. KEANE The moral argument against the inspiration of the Old Testament—A. R. GORDON The religious value of the narratives in Genesis—Discussions—Reviews—Bibliography of recent literature.

The Jewish Quarterly Review, October 1905 (Vol. xviii, No. 69: Macmillan & Co.). E. J. WORMAN Notes on the Jews in Fustât from Genizah Cambridge documents—H. S. Q. HENRIQUES The Civil Rights of English Jews—M. N. ADLER The Itinerary of Benjamin of Tudela (*continued*)—L. GINZBERG Geonic Responsa—H. HIRSCHFELD The Arabic portion of the Cairo Genizah at Cambridge (11th art.)—S. A. COOK Notes on Old Testament History: II Saul—V. APTOWITZER Genizah-Responsum xxvi in *J. Q. R.*, Jan. 1905—A. WEINER Jewish Doctors in England in the reign of Henry IV—H. HIRSCHFELD, W. BACHER, and N. PORGES Notes on *J. Q. R.*—Critical Notices—Bibliography of Hebraica and Judaica: July-September 1905. I. A.—Jewish Mysticism (*Announcement*).

The Expositor, October 1905 (Sixth Series, No. 70: Hodder & Stoughton). A. E. GARVIE The limitations of Christ's knowledge—N. J. D. WHITE The revealing of the Trinity—W. H. BENNETT The Life of Christ according to St Mark—G. JACKSON Cases of Conscience in the ethical teaching of St Paul—W. M. RAMSAY Iconium—G. A. SMITH Manasseh's Jerusalem.

November 1905 (Sixth Series, No. 71). J. H. A. HART The Lord reigned from the Tree—G. A. SMITH Jerusalem and Deuteronomy—W. M. RAMSAY Religion in Lycaonia and Iconium—G. JACKSON Anger and the self-assertive virtues in the ethical teaching of St Paul—G. G. FINDLAY Studies in the First Epistle of St John.

December 1905 (Sixth Series, No. 72). B. W. BACON Again the authorship of the last verses of Mark—H. J. GIBBINS The problem of the Second Epistle of St John—A. E. GARVIE Studies in the 'inner life' of Jesus: the causes of offence—W. M. RAMSAY The Christian inscriptions of Lycaonia—J. DE ZWAAN The text and exegesis of Mark xiv 41, and the Papyri.

(2) AMERICAN.

The American Journal of Theology, October 1905 (Vol. ix, No. 4: Chicago University Press). J. RÉVILLE Anticlericalism in France—K. FULLERTON A new chapter out of the life of Isaiah—C. CLEMEN The sojourn of the apostle John at Ephesus—W. C. KEIRSTEAD Metaphysical presuppositions of Ritschl—F. C. CONYBEARE Document: Anecdota Monophysitarum—Recent theological literature.

The Princeton Theological Review, October 1905 (Vol. iii, No. 4: Philadelphia, MacCalla & Co.). B. W. WARFIELD Tertullian and the beginning of the doctrine of the Trinity—R. D. WILSON Royal Titles in Antiquity: an essay in criticism (6th art.)—J. DE WITT Archibald Alexander's preparation for his professorship—G. MACLOSKIE New light on the Old Testament—T. F. FOTHERINGHAM The doctrine of Baptism (2nd art.)—J. G. MACHEN The New Testament account of the birth of Jesus.

(3) FRENCH AND BELGIAN.

Revue Bénédictine, October 1905 (Vol. xxii, No. 4: Abbaye de Maredsous). A l'Université d'Oxford, le 29 juin 1905—F. CABROL L'Avent liturgique—A. MANSER Note sur un sermon de S. Césaire dans la *Concordia Regularum*—G. MORIN Textes inédits relatifs au symbole et à la vie chrétienne—R. ANCEL La disgrâce et le procès de Carafa—U. BERLIÈRE Bulletin d'histoire bénédictine—Mélanges: I. M. MAGISTRETTI De la Missa ou *Dismissio catechumenorum*: II. D. DE BRUYNE Le Concile de Trente—Recensions et Notes bibliographiques.

Revue Biblique, October 1905 (Nouvelle série, 2^e année, No. 4: Paris, V. Lecoffre). M. J. LAGRANGE Notes sur le Messianisme au temps de Jésus—H. HYVERNAT Le langage de la Massore (*fin*): Lexique massorétique—P. LADEUZE Transposition accidentelle dans la II^a Petri: Unité de l'Épître—Mélanges: I. GUIDI הניין סלה הנה; G. MERCATI Due glosse all' Esodo nel Codice vaticano; L. J. DELAPORTE Fragments thébains du Nouveau Testament (*suite*); E. MICHON Antiquités gréco-romaines provenant de Syrie conservées au musée du Louvre; R. LOUIS A travers l'exposition de l'Élam—Chronique: R. SAVIGNAC and M. ABEL Inscriptions nabatéennes; Inscriptions grecques et latines; M. ABEL Fouilles anglaises de Gezer—Recensions—Bulletin—Table des matières.

Revue d'Histoire et de Littérature Religieuses, September–October 1905 (Vol. x, No. 5: Paris, 82, Rue Bonaparte). A. LOISY Le grand Commandement—P. LEJAY Le rôle théologique de Césaire d'Arles; 3^e article: Le péché actuel: Notion du péché: Péchés menus: L'union des sexes d'après Augustin et d'après Césaire: Péchés capitaux: Principes et conséquences du péché volontaire—A. DUFOURCQ Rutilius Namatianus contre saint Augustin—P. LEJAY Ancienne philologie chrétienne: Ouvrages généraux et ouvrages d'ensemble: (8) Le milieu du christianisme; (9) Supplément—A. LOISY Chronique biblique: (1) Philologie orientale et histoire des religions; (2) Introduction biblique, ouvrages généraux—P. LEJAY and JULES DALBERT Littérature religieuse moderne—Périodiques étrangers.

Revue d'Histoire Ecclésiastique, October 1905 (Vol. vi, No. 4: Louvain, 40, Rue de Namur). L. SALTET Les sources de l'Épave de Théodoret (*suite et fin*)—M. VAES La Papauté et l'Église franque à l'époque de Grégoire le Grand (590–604) (*suite et fin*)—J.-M. VIDAL Notice sur les œuvres du pape Benoît XII (*suite et fin*)—L. WILLAERT Négociations politico-religieuses entre l'Angleterre et les Pays-Bas catholiques (1598–1635) (*suite, à suivre*)—Comptes rendus—Chronique—Bibliographie.

Revue de l'Orient Chrétien, July 1905 (Vol. x, No. 3: Paris, A. Picard et fils). C. DAUX L'Orient latin censitaire du Saint-Siège—A. MALLON Documents de source copte sur la sainte Vierge (*fin*)—F. NAU Traduction des lettres xii et xiii de Jacques d'Édesse (exégèse biblique) (*fin*)—D. M. GIRARD Sivas, huit siècles d'histoire (*suite*)—S. PETRIDÈS Traités liturgiques de saint Maxime et de saint Germain, traduits par Anastase le bibliothécaire—Mélanges: F. NAU Rabban Daniel de Mardin, auteur syro-arabe du xiv^e siècle: N. LONGUEVILLE Les biens de l'Église arménienne, le divorce et le repos dominical en

Russie, les massacres du Caucase—Bibliographie: H. Lammens *Le Pèlerinage de la Mecque en 1902* (P. DAUBY): A. Dufourcq *Saint Irénée* (P. DAUBY): C. Terlinden *Le Pape Clément IX et la guerre de Candie* (F. NAU): G. Maspero *Histoire ancienne des peuples de l'Orient* (F. NAU)—Livres nouveaux—Sommaries des revues.

Analeeta Bollandiana, October 1905 (Vol. xxiv, fasc. 4: Brussels, 37, Rue des Ursulines). H. MORETUS Catalogus codicum hagiographicorum latinorum bibliothecae Bollandianae: Appendix I. Miracula S. Nicolai Rillariensia saec. xv: II. Catalogus bibliothecae Marchianensis saec. xi-xii—H. DELEHAYE Hesychii Hierosolymorum presbyteri laudatio S. Procopii persae—A. PONCELET Une source de la Vie de S. Malo par Bili—Bulletin des publications hagiographiques—Indices—Appendix: A. PONCELET Catalogus codicum hagiographicorum latinorum bibliothecarum Romanarum praeter quam Vaticanarum: II. Codices archivi capituli S. Iohannis in Laterano, pp. 65-79; III. Codices archivi capituli S. Mariae Maioris, pp. 81-96.

(4) GERMAN.

Zeitschrift für Theologie und Kirche, October 1905 (Vol. xv, No. 5: Tübingen, J. C. Mohr). VISCHER Das Leben nach dem Evangelium—PLANCK Klassische, moderne und religiöse Lebensauffassung.

Zeitschrift für wissenschaftliche Theologie, October 1905 (Vol. xlviii, N. F. xiii, No. 4: Leipzig, A. R. Reisland). G. FRANK Luther im Spiegel seiner Kirche—A. MAECKLENBURG Über die Auffassung des Berufsleidens des Ebed-Jahwe in Jes. 52, 13-53, 12—A. HILGENFELD Das Urchristentum und Ernst von Dobschütz, Art. II—A. HILGENFELD Der kleinasiatische Johannes und Wilhelm Bousset—J. DRÄSEKE Zu Gregorios von Neocäsarea.—F. GÖRRES Die Religionspolitik der römischen Kaiser Gallienus, Claudius II Gothicus, Aurelian und Probus (260-282)—A. H. Zu dem doppelten Hahnenschrei Mc. xiv 30, 68, 72 Anzeigen—A. H. Immanuel Kant's Kritik der reinen Vernunft 1. Auflage.

Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft und die Kunde des Urchristentums, November 1905 (Vol. vi, No. 4: Giessen, A. Töpelmann). J. MERKEL Die Begnadigung am Passahfeste—P. CORSEN Der Schluss der Paulusakten—J. CHAPMAN The Order of the Gospels in the parent of Codex Bezae—J. A. CRAMER Die erste Apologie Justins III.—D. VÖLTER Petrusevangelium oder Ägypterevangelium.

Theologische Quartalschrift, September 1905 (Vol. lxxxvii, No. 4: Tübingen, H. Laupp). VETTER Das Buch Tobias und die Achikar-Sage—MAIER Ein Beitrag zur Priorität des Judasbriefs—SAWICKI Gebets-

erhöhung und Naturordnung—H. KOCH Kennt Origenes Gebetsstufen?
—KELLNER Sterbeort und Translation des Ev. Lukas und des Ap.
Bartholomäus—Rezensionen.

Theologische Studien und Kritiken, October 1905 (1906, No. 1: Gottingen, F. A. Perthes). JACOBY Zur Komposition des Buches Jeremja—A. v. DER FLIER Zacharja 1-8—BALJON Die Früchte des Studiums der Religionsgeschichte für die Behandlung des Neuen Testaments—WARKO Die Erbsünden und Rechtfertigungslehre der Apologie in ihrer geschichtlichen Gegensätze zur mittelalterlichen und gleichzeitigen katholischen Theologie—Rezensionen.

Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte, October 1905 (Vol. xxvi, No. 3: Gotha, F. A. Perthes). CASPARI Untersuchungen zum Kirchengesamtwesen im Altertum—DIETTERLE Die Summae confessorum (II Theil)—TEICHMANN Die kirchliche Haltung des Beatus Rhenanus—BRIEGER Zu De-nifle's letzter Arbeit—CLEMEN Beiträge zur Lutherforschung—LOESCHE Ein Brief von Mathesius an Camerarius—BESSER Ein noch nicht veröffentlichter Brief Calvins—Nachrichten—Bibliographie (1. Mai bis 1. August 1905).

Neue kirchliche Zeitschrift, October 1905 (Vol. xvi, No. 10: Erlangen und Leipzig, A. Deichert). K. SCHMIDT Zur Lehre von der christlichen Vollkommenheit—F. BRUNSTÄD Über die Absolutheit des Christentums—BERBIG Georg Spalatins Verhältniss zu Dr M. Luther bis zum Jahre 1521.

November 1905 (Vol. xvi, No. 11). F. BRUNSTÄD Über die Absolutheit des Christentums—BERBIG Georg Spalatins Verhältniss zu Dr M. Luther bis zum Jahre 1518—BACHMANN Natur und Gnade.

December 1905 (Vol. xvi, No. 12). G. WOHLBERG Zwei Krippentheologen—E. KÖNIG Der Menschensohn im Danielbuche—E. SELLIN Melchisedek—E. HOPPE Entwicklung und Offenbarung.

The Journal of Theological Studies

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THE PROPHECY IN ISAIAH IX 1-7

(HEB. VIII 23—IX 6).

THIS passage of Scripture, which is appointed to be read as the First Lesson on Christmas Day, is of supreme importance to the student of Messianic prophecy. If the translation given in the Revised Version be substantially correct, the Incarnation is here clearly set forth, since the prophet speaks of one who is born, who receives the name 'Mighty God'.

In the first place we naturally enquire whether the prophecy before us is complete. That there is room for diversity of opinion as to its limits is shewn by the difference between the Hebrew and the English in the division of the chapters. It will however be generally admitted that this uncertainty only affects its beginning, since its end is clearly marked. That the English versions rightly follow the quotation in St Matthew iv 15, 16 in connecting v. 1¹ with the following section is certainly probable; for v. 2 is a perfectly natural continuation of v. 1, which would be most abrupt ending to a prophecy. It is however a question whether v. 1 should be connected with the last verse of the preceding chapter, which it strongly resembles in phraseology. But since ix 1 cannot originally have stood *immediately* after viii 22, and there is undoubtedly here a *hiatus*, it seems better that an examination into the meaning of the prophecy should begin at ix 1.

Although the translation of the Revised Version is a great im-

Unless otherwise specified, the numbering of the verses adopted in this article is that of the English version.

provement upon that of the Authorized Version, it is nevertheless insufficiently accurate to be used as the basis of a critical enquiry. It will therefore be convenient before discussing the reference and date of this prophecy to give first an exact translation of it. A fairly literal rendering will run as follows¹:—

'For it is not dark to the land that suffers affliction. In the former time He (*sc.* Jehovah) made of no account the land of Zebulun and the land of Naphtali; but in the latter time He has brought glory upon the Way of the Sea, the District beyond Jordan, Galilee of the nations. The people that walked in darkness have seen a great light: upon the dwellers in a land of deep gloom light has shined. Thou hast made the exultation abundant, Thou hast made the rejoicing great: they (*sc.* the inhabitants of the land) rejoice before Thee as with the rejoicing at the harvest, as (men) exult when they divide the spoil. For the yoke by which he (*sc.* Israel) drags his burden, and the rod of his back, the staff of his taskmaster, Thou hast broken as in the day of the victory over Midian. For every boot of heavy booted one and bloodstained garment shall be made into a bonfire, into fuel of fire. For a Child has been born to us, a Son has been given to us; and the principality has come upon his back and his name has been called, Marvellous Designer, Mighty Hero, Father (*i.e.* mentor and guide) in perpetuity, Prince of peace. To the increase of the peaceful principality there shall be no end upon the throne and kingdom of David, to stablish it, and to confirm it in justice and righteousness from henceforth forevermore. The zeal of Jehovah of hosts will effect this.'

We have next to consider the authorship, reference, and date.

Certainly if we argue only from the occurrence in this passage of words characteristic of Isaiah, a strong case can be made out for his authorship. Thus there is a striking similarity between ix 4 (Heb. ix 3) and x 27. The word 'taskmaster' or 'exactor' (מַעֲבִיר) occurs in iii 12 (R. V. 'oppressors'). 'Fuel of fire' (מִזְבֵּחַ אֵשׁ) is found again in v. 18, and nowhere else in the Old Testament. The name 'Marvellous Designer' (יִצְהָר מְדַבֵּר) finds a parallel in the phrase 'He is marvellous in design' (הוּא מְדַבֵּר עֲצָה), R. V. 'which is wonderful in counsel' in xxviii 29. 'Mighty Hero' (אִישׁ גִּבּוֹר) is met with again in x 21 (R. V. 'the mighty

¹ For a full discussion of the translation see Additional Note A.

God), a passage which certainly seems to be a combination of ideas already familiar to those to whom it is addressed. 'Justice' (R. V. 'judgement') and 'righteousness' (מִשְׁפָּט and צְדָקָה) are coupled together in i 27, v 7, xxviii 17, though the combination is too common to base any argument upon it; and, finally, the phrase 'the zeal of Jehovah of hosts will effect this' is repeated *verbatim* in xxxvii 32, where however it is noteworthy that the word employed for 'remnant' is שְׁאֵרִית and not שְׁאָר as in x 21.

Assuming then, for the sake of argument, the Isaianic authorship of this prophecy, to what period can we assign it? Uzziah, by whose death the prophet dates his call (vi 1), is proved by inscriptions to have been alive in 740 B. C.¹ As it is impossible from the statements of the Old Testament that he can have lived long after this date, we may reasonably assign Isaiah's call to 740-739 B. C. The history of his subsequent life, as far as it is known to us, is briefly as follows. The infatuation of the ruling classes in Judah had already impressed itself upon Isaiah's mind, and in the name of his eldest son, Shear-jashub (שְׁאָר יָשׁוּב), born in or shortly after 739 B. C., Isaiah shewed his conviction of the impending ruin of his country. During the following years he denounced the lack of true religion and the idolatry rife in Judah. In 735 B. C. the allied forces of Damascus and North Israel invaded Judah with the object of removing Ahaz from the throne, in order that there might be no doubt about Judah's co-operation in defensive action against the Assyrians. Jerusalem indeed appears to have escaped, but the allied forces penetrated as far south as Elath, and Judah evidently suffered severely. Then it was that Isaiah, taking with him his little son Shear-jashub as the living text of the sermon he had preached some four years before, met Ahaz at the memorable interview recorded in chap. vii. Notwithstanding the prophet's protests, Ahaz invoked the aid of the king of Assyria. Thereupon Tiglath Pileser III (II, as he is commonly called) invaded Gilead and Galilee (2 Kings xv 29), carrying off many of the inhabitants to Assyria. He slew Pekah, placed Hoshea on the throne, and advanced as far south as Gaza, which he took and plundered. Two years later Ahaz, who now found the yoke of Assyria firmly fastened upon his neck, was summoned to Damascus, which had just been taken

¹ See Additional Note B.

by Tiglath Pileser, to meet his suzerain. Of the next few years we have little information. In 728 Tiglath Pileser claims to have received tribute from Ahaz. Egypt soon began to intrigue with the king of Israel, and presumably with the king of Judah; with the result that about 725 B. C. Hoshea, king of Israel, refused his tribute. The result was another invasion of the northern kingdom by Shalmaneser IV, the deposition of Hoshea, and the siege of Samaria, which was taken by Sargon in 722 B. C. In 720 Sargon defeated the Egyptian army with the allied forces of Hanno, king of Gaza, at Raphiah on the border of Egypt. In 712 B. C. (according to one view) Merodach Baladan of Babylon sent an embassy to Hezekiah with the object of ascertaining what help against Assyria could be obtained in the west; but it is possible that the date of this embassy is some eight or nine years later. But at any rate in 711 B. C. 'the people of Philistia, Judah, Edom, and Moab were speaking treason', whereupon Sargon besieged Ashdod (Isa. xx); and though we do not know that any fighting took place in Judah, he calls himself 'the subjector of the land of Judah'. This however may possibly refer to an earlier period. In 705 B. C. Sargon died, and attempts seem to have been made unsuccessfully by the Philistines to induce Judah to join in a revolt against Assyria; but in 701, Hezekiah, having been at last persuaded to join the Philistine alliance, rebelled; with the result that Sennacherib invaded Palestine, captured forty-six strong cities of Judah, which he afterwards added to the Philistine territory, besieged Jerusalem, and exacted an enormous fine from Hezekiah, from whom he took many captives. It is clear that, whether the destruction of Sennacherib's army (2 Kings xix, Isa. xxxvii) be assigned to this campaign or to one that took place some years later (and in the present state of our knowledge it is scarcely possible to decide with certainty), Sennacherib inflicted on Judah a blow from which the kingdom never recovered.

It is therefore evident that during the whole of Isaiah's ministry the dark shadow of Assyria fell upon Palestine. There is indeed no known period in the prophet's life when the glorious outburst of triumph contained in the passage before us, striking as it does a note of almost Easter gladness, would be suitable. The yoke never was broken in the days of Hezekiah.

If therefore Isaiah be the author of this prophecy we can only explain it as a vision or ideal description, in which the prophet transports himself into the future, and surveys the victory which he believes will then have been given. But an ideal description of the future will naturally be conditioned by the circumstances of the present. What circumstances then of the time of Isaiah could have occasioned or conditioned the outburst of this Old Testament *Te Deum*?

Having regard to the prominence given in *v.* 6 to the *birth* of a 'son', it might seem possible to assign this prophecy to the occasion of the birth of an heir to the throne. But a careful examination of the passage shews that to do so would be to miss its meaning. For the reason given for the joy and exultation (that is, the light which has shone on the darkness) is the *present* breaking of a yoke, and the *future* destruction of the equipment of war. But since the reason given for the present breaking of the yoke is the actual birth of a 'child', whose title implies a mighty warrior, it is obvious that it is the 'child' himself who is represented as the instrument in the breaking of the yoke. In other words, the reference is not to any *child, as such*, but to an *offspring*, 'a son', that has been given to Israel and has delivered his people.

We may therefore safely disregard this view of the prophecy, and look for another indication of date. Now the phrase 'the latter time' as contrasted with 'the former time' clearly implies a new era (see, for example, Zech. viii 11, cf. Mal. iii 4). These phrases could not be used respectively of the reigns of two successive kings, unless at least the second reign inaugurated a new state of things. Since, therefore, the reference to the land of Zebulun and the land of Naphtali might conceivably be understood of Tiglath Pileser's invasion of Galilee in 734, when Ahaz was on the throne of Judah, 'the latter time' would at the earliest refer to the reign of his successor. Unfortunately the biblical chronology of this period is in confusion, and it is impossible to reconcile some of the statements. In the present state of our knowledge it is impossible to decide who was on the throne of Judah when Samaria fell in 722.

But whether Samaria was still existing or not when Hezekiah ascended the throne, it is expressly stated by Tiglath Pileser that

in his campaign of 734 not only Galilee suffered, but the *whole land of Israel*. Not only was Gaza on the south-western border of Canaan taken by the Assyrian king, but he claims to have deported to Assyria 'the whole of the inhabitants of the land of the House of Omri'. Of course such a statement is not to be taken too literally, any more than the assertion (St Mark i 5) that 'all the country of Judaea and all they of Jerusalem' went out to St John the Baptist. We are however justified in affirming, what would not have been suspected if we had possessed the biblical account only, that the *whole* of the northern kingdom, though perhaps in varying degree, suffered from the Assyrian invasion of 734. There were in fact two deportations of captives from North Israel in the eighth century B.C., as there were two deportations of captives from Judah in the sixth.

But in reading the prophecy before us we cannot fail to be struck by one remarkable omission. While the western, eastern, and northern portions of the kingdom of Israel are mentioned, nothing is said of its very heart and centre, the land of Ephraim and Manasseh, the district which was in after times known as the province of Samaria. Is it conceivable that Isaiah, who watched so anxiously the signs of the times, could have pictured the restoration of the Way of the Sea, the District beyond Jordan, Galilee of the nations, and have expressed no hope for the portion of the country of which the southern frontier was on some five miles distant from Jerusalem, and which had suffered severely in the same disaster that had overwhelmed Galilee?

It must be confessed that there is no event in the known history of Isaiah which seems to justify the language of this prophecy, if it has reference to actual fact; if on the other hand it be regarded as an ideal for the future, it cannot be shewn to have any relation with the prophet's own time.

But there are other considerations which make it difficult to regard this prophecy as Isaianic. Though it undoubtedly contains words which are characteristic of Isaiah, there are others which it is difficult to ascribe to him, or indeed to any one living in the golden age of Hebrew literature¹. Thus the phrase 'Galilee

¹ The impersonal use of *participles*, as in *הָיָה* and *נָהָה*, is most unusual in Hebrew. In Aramaic it is common. It happens not to occur in the Biblical Aramaic, where however we find an analogous construction with the participle

(the district) of the nations' is one which cannot satisfactorily be accounted for on the supposition that it refers to Assyrian and other settlers after Tiglath Pileser's invasion in 734. There is no evidence, either from the Bible or from the monuments, that any colonists were introduced into Palestine before the fall of Samaria; and though the prophet *might* conceivably pass over the disaster which befell Samaria in 734, it cannot be supposed that he would have ignored the crushing blow which came upon it in 722¹.

Moreover, could Isaiah have used the words 'boot of heavily booted one' (סָאִין לְאֵן בְּרָעֵשׁ)? The reference undoubtedly is to the boot of a warrior. It is however noteworthy that in the graphic description of the readiness of the Assyrian soldiery for war (Isaiah v 27, 28), the prophet says of them that 'the latchet of their shoes' is not unfastened,—a phrase which finds a curious modern parallel in 'the last button of the gaiters'. In this passage the ordinary word for 'shoe' (נֶעֱל) is used. It is of course possible that, before he had actually come in contact with the Assyrians, Isaiah used the ordinary Hebrew word in speaking of their boots, and that, after actually seeing their equipment, he used the native Assyrian word. But it is difficult to understand why, in this passage, he should have referred to their *boots* at all, unless these were very different from those of his own countrymen. Moreover, as the present writer is informed by Mr Johns, the *sumu* of the Assyrians seems to have been something of the nature of a legging, or rather *puttee*, to protect the legs in marching through thorny places. But we cannot assign the sense of *legging* to the Hebrew word used in the passage before us (סָאִין), otherwise the adverb 'noisily' or 'heavily' (בְּרָעֵשׁ) would be unexplained. The phrase seems to require *heavy nailed boots*; but there is no proof that these, even if they existed, were the ordinary equipment of the Assyrians, who in the eighth century B. C. are frequently represented as shod merely with a sort of sandal turned up at the heel, or even barefoot.

active-plural; but it is found in the Targums, e. g. עֲרִיקָא לִי (2 Sam. xxii 7, Ps. xviii 7), עֲרִיק לִי (Ps. xxxi 10, lxix 18), כְּאִשׁוֹר לְחֵן (Amos vi 6, cf. Nahum iii 19), and in Syriac very frequently, as in the phrases ܕܥܝܠܐ ܕܥܝܠܐ, ܕܥܝܠܐ ܕܥܝܠܐ. The use of עֲרִיק as masculine is late, as is shewn by the passages quoted below (Additional Note A).

¹ Would a Frenchman within twelve years of 1870 have spoken of 'Alsace and Lorraine of the Germans'?

Again, the phrase of which the exact force may perhaps be rendered in English by the translation 'shall be made into a bonfire' (וְהָיְתָה לְשָׂרָפָה) occurs again in the Hebrew Bible only in Isaiah lxiv 10, a passage which is at any rate later than the Exile.

In the next place it is noteworthy that the deliverer is not styled *king*. He receives the *principality* upon the *throne* and *kingdom of David*. It is not stated that he is descended from David.

But if the passage be later than the time of Isaiah, to what period would its language be suitable? Certainly all the objections to its Isaianic authorship apply still more strongly to any date that can be suggested before the Exile or during the Exile.

Is there any period *after* the Exile? Zechariah, it is true, paints a picture of the future in glowing colours, but the centre of it is *Jerusalem*. Moreover, in his time there was nothing which would give the note of *victory*. Can we find a suitable period still later? Certainly there is nothing in the recorded history of the times of Ezra and Nehemiah which would justify the language of this prophecy. We know, however, that there was an ever-growing jealousy between Judah and the province of Samaria, which at last culminated in the schism of the latter, from which time onwards 'the Jews had no dealings with the Samaritans'. As Ben Sira says (ch. l 25, 26):—

Two nations my soul abhorreth,
And the third is no people.
The inhabitants of Seir and Philistia
And the foolish nation that dwelleth in Sichem.¹

After the time of the Samaritan schism the absence of any mention of Samaria would be natural in a thanksgiving for the restoration of Jehovah's people. But from this date onwards there is but one period, the Maccabaeon, which could in any way warrant such an outburst of praise as we find in this chapter. Unfortunately, the date of the Psalter is still too much disputed to allow us to argue from it; but it is impossible to read this prophecy without at least being reminded of those magnificent

¹ Dr. Taylor's translation. The Hebrew is

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| והשלישית איננו עם : | בשני גוים קצוה נשתי |
| ועם נבל הדר בשכם : | יושבי שעיר ועלשת |

outbursts of praise after victory which we find in such Psalms as xcvi and xcvi, which are by many scholars assigned to the Maccabaeon period.

We may therefore enquire whether what we know of this period would justify the language of the chapter before us.

1 Maccabees iv 1-25 relates the success of Judas at Emmaus, when the victorious Jews pressed upon the flying enemy as far as Gezer, Ashdod and Jamnia. Shortly afterwards the victory of Beth Zur gave the Maccabees the mastery of Jerusalem (1 Macc. iv 28-35). This was speedily followed by the dedication of the Temple and the fortification of Mount Zion (*ib.* iv 36-61); after which Simon carried out a successful campaign in Galilee, while his brothers Jonathan and Judas advanced victoriously through Gilead (*ib.* v 21-54). We find then in this account a reference to 'the Way of the Sea, the District beyond Jordan, Galilee of the nations', but we are scarcely justified in assigning the prophecy before us to this date; for, though the rescuing of the Jews in the places named might be described as the shining of a great light, they can scarcely be said to have been glorified, since the Maccabees found it necessary to carry off their Jewish inhabitants into safety at Jerusalem. The yoke of the heathen was not yet broken; moreover, the language of v. 6 of our prophecy requires that one leader should be specially prominent.

But in the year 145-144 B.C. Jonathan was confirmed in the high priesthood by Antiochus VI, and Simon was made στρατηγός from the Ladder of Tyre unto the borders of Egypt' (1 Macc. xi 57-59). Shortly afterwards Jonathan carried out a successful campaign beyond the Jordan; apparently making himself master of the country as far as Damascus (*ib.* 60-62); after which he gained a victory in Galilee, when 3,000 of Demetrius's troops were slain. It is true that it was not till the time of Aristobulus that Galilee¹ became an essentially Jewish province; and by the treacherous capture of Jonathan at Ptolemais the work done there by the sons of Mattathias must have been to some extent undone. But the language of 1 Macc. xii 45-49 seems to imply some greater Jewish influence in Galilee than is actually stated. It is

¹ See Bevan *The House of Seleucus* vol. ii pp. 228, 256. But Josephus says that Aristobulus compelled the Ituraeans to be circumcised, referring apparently to the northern or north-eastern portion of Galilee.

at least remarkable that the disaster to Jonathan was not followed up by a general attack upon the Jews: at any rate, Tryphon, after his advance into Gilead, when he put Jonathan to death, made no attempt to hold the country. In 143-142 B.C. Simon gained from Demetrius the confirmation of the grants previously made by him; 'peace and a general amnesty were conceded to the Jews, but more than that, all arrears of taxes were remitted, and for the future the Seleucid renounced any right to claim tax or tribute from the Jewish state. . . . The Jews regarded the King's rescript as the beginning of freedom'. 'The yoke of the heathen was taken away from Israel' (1 Macc. xiii 41). Shortly afterwards Gezer was taken, the citadel of Jerusalem surrendered, and in May 141 B.C. Simon held a rejoicing, 'because a great enemy was destroyed out of Israel' (1 Macc. xiii 51).

Allowing for natural Hebrew exaggeration, the language of the prophecy before us well fits this season. The land that was still sore afflicted had seen a great light: the Way of the Sea, the District beyond Jordan, Galilee of the nations had been brought to honour, in that they were now to some extent occupied by Jews free to exercise their religion. It seemed an earnest of a more complete restoration of the land of Israel. The Lord had multiplied the exultation; He had increased the joy; for the yoke of the heathen was broken. The old prophecies seemed at last to be fulfilled in the person of Simon. Israel had travailed, and this time not in vain. The child of whom Isaiah had spoken (Isa. vii 14) was born; she whom Micah had described as in labour (Micah v 3) had brought forth; the government had come upon his back; he had proved himself 'a marvellous designer', 'a mighty warrior'; his dynasty would be a permanent one, and its sway would be peaceful; all the hopes for the throne and kingdom of David would now find realization: 'the zeal of Jehovah of hosts would effect this'.

It has already been pointed out that by the 'child' that was born we are not to think of a *child, as such*, but as the offspring given to the nation².

¹ Bevan *The House of Seleucus* vol. ii p. 232.

² The word *לֵבָר* would certainly be no difficulty to those who were familiar, for example, with the language of Ps. ii 7 'Thou art my son; this day have I begotten thee' (*לֵבָר יָדָדְךָ הָיָה יְהוָה*).

But is it possible that such language as we find in this chapter **can** have been used in the second century B.C.?

It has been pointed out above that the grammar of the first **sentence** is Aramaic rather than Hebrew, and that the prophecy **contains** phrases scarcely compatible with Isaianic authorship. **It** is generally allowed that the First Book of Maccabees was **originally** written in Hebrew, and it will accordingly serve us **well** for purposes of comparison. Now the phrase 'Galilee of the **Gentiles**' occurs in 1 Macc. v 15; in 1 Macc. iii 3 Judas is said **to** have put on a breastplate 'like a giant', ὡς γίγας. In the **Septuagint** translation of Isa. iii 2 γίγας corresponds to 'mighty' (גִּבּוֹרִים); and the phrase found in Ezekiel xxxii 21, R.V. 'the **strong** among the mighty' (גִּבּוֹרֵי הַגִּבּוֹרִים), which is apparently merely **the** plural of the 'mighty hero' of the passage before us, is **actually** rendered in the LXX οἱ γίγαντες. Again in 1 Macc. ii 65 **we** find a parallel to both the 'Designer' or 'Counsellor' (רָצוּן) **and** the 'Father in perpetuity' (אָבִי עַד) of the prophecy. **Mattathias** is there represented as saying to his sons, 'And behold **Simon** your brother, I know that he is a *man of counsel*; give **ear** unto him alway: he shall be a *father* unto you'.

It is hardly necessary to point out that the Hebrew scarcely **discriminates** between a man and his family or dynasty. Hence **there** is no difficulty about the perpetuity of Simon's rule. **Indeed** in 1 Macc. xiv 41 we actually read that 'the Jews and **the** priests were well pleased that Simon should be their leader **and** high priest *for ever*, until there should arise a faithful **prophet**'. The fact that in this passage Simon is styled 'leader', ἡγούμενος (ἡγῶν = מְנַיֵן) rather than 'king' will illustrate **the** avoidance of the word 'king' (מֶלֶךְ) in the prophecy before **us**, the tone of which in general finds an illustration in the language of 1 Macc. xiv 4-14.

But we can go further. Not only is there nothing in this prophecy which militates against the date here suggested; one phrase at least is peculiarly suitable to it. We have seen that the phrase 'boot of heavily booted one' is without a parallel in the Old Testament, and that there is no proof that the Assyrian boots were of a specially heavy description. But nailed boots were a characteristic of the Macedonian soldiery. Under the heading *Crepida, Crepidula, Kρηπίς*, Daremberg and Saglio give

the following description: 'Chez les Macédoniens elles font partie du costume national des hommes, et les semelles en sont garnies de clous; c'est une chaussure militaire, propre à la marche, usitée encore au second siècle av. J.-C. dans les armées syriennes; le même détail des clous sous la semelle résulte d'un passage de Pline sur la découverte de l'aimant par un pâtre du mont Ida. Les compagnons d'Aratus, au moment de s'emparer de Sicyone, dénouèrent leurs crépides pour marcher sans bruit dans la nuit, ce qui prouve qu'il s'agit encore ici d'une chaussure à liens. Dans les *Syracusaines* de Théocrite on voit que la foule des hommes qui se pressent dans les rues d'Alexandrie sont chaussés de crépides.'

The passage just referred to, Theocritus xv 6, is so striking that it deserves quotation. Gorgo, the Syracusan, on the occasion of a military procession in Alexandria, exclaims, παντᾷ κρηπίδες, παντᾷ χλαμυδηφόροι ἄνδρες. If, then, in the time of Theocritus the κρηπίς, the military boot of the Macedonian soldiery, was so different from the ordinary oriental shoe as to suggest at once a soldier, just as *khaki* does in our days: and if, as we know, these boots were still in use in Syria in the second century B. C.; it is easy to understand how a Hebrew ideal of the inauguration of a reign of peace would naturally begin with the burning of the boots which characterized the hated Syro-Greek soldiery. In fact one cannot but be struck by the similarity between the κρηπίδες and χλαμυδηφόροι ἄνδρες of Theocritus and the 'boot of heavily booted one and blood-stained garment' of the passage before us, although it is, of course, impossible to limit πύρε to the meaning χλαμύς.

We may then affirm that in language and thought the passage before us would be quite applicable to such an occasion as the rejoicing held in Jerusalem in May 141 B.C. Whether we suppose that it was first written then by one who believed that the prophecies of Isaiah and the other prophets had actually been fulfilled in Simon, or (what is also possible) that a genuine prophecy of Isaiah was modified for the occasion, will depend upon the views which we hold on the subject of prophecy generally. It is the conviction of the present writer that, though there is often, perhaps generally, a deeper meaning in a prophecy than was perceived by those to whom it was first given, it always

had some meaning even to them. In every age God raises up prophets as they are required, and only gives predictions that are to some extent intelligible at the time when they are given.

It will, no doubt, be urged that it is impossible to assign to a date as late as 141 B.C. one section of the book of Isaiah without implying at least the possibility that other sections of the book may belong to the same period. That this is the case is indeed the belief of the present writer; but since the prophecy here discussed, with its Isaianic phraseology and its non-Isaianic outlook, stands to a great extent alone in the book, it seems better that the question of a Maccabaeian or pre-Maccabaeian date for it should be decided as far as possible without reference to other disputed passages. To those who believe in the existence of Maccabaeian Psalms, especially in the second and third books of the Psalter, the argument for a Maccabaeian date might be put still more forcibly; but the writer has purposely ignored parallels in this direction, since he believes that sufficient indications of date are to be found in the prophecy itself.

In conclusion it may not be superfluous to consider a difficulty which will doubtless occur to many. It may seem that in the above enquiry into the meaning of the passage before us no account has been taken of what has commonly been considered its most obvious reference, the reference which is familiar to all from the use of this section as the first lesson on Christmas morning. Certainly we need find no fault with such a use, for, like the other hopes and aspirations of Israel, this prophecy finds its complete fulfilment in Him whose birth we then commemorate. But though we recognize this, though we may freely admit that the titles of the 'Child' in the fullest sense which the words could ever convey can be applied to Christ, since He is 'Marvellous Designer, Mighty God, Eternal Father, Prince of Peace', yet we are unable to refer the prophecy primarily to Him for reasons similar to those which prevent us from referring to Him the prophecy of Immanuel.

True the difficulties in this case are not so obvious as those in the Immanuel prophecy, in which the birth of Immanuel is actually to be a sign to Ahaz, and must therefore refer to something in his life-time. It is far more easy to allegorize the breaking of the rod and the yoke than the eating of the curds

and honey of the Immanuel prophecy. Nevertheless it cannot be denied that the natural meaning of the words does imply limitations which are unsuitable if primarily referring to Christ. It is not only 'the Way of the Sea, the District beyond Jordan, Galilee of the nations', that have seen in Him a great light; for 'all the ends of the world have seen the salvation of our God'.

Some however will feel that, if the subject of this great outburst of joy be originally a man such as Simon was, a politician rather than a saint, one who for the casting down of strongholds trusted not to spiritual but to carnal weapons, and who, if he had lived to some extent as a patriot, died ignominiously in drunkenness, the prophecy is so tainted by its origin as to make it impossible to apply it to the sinless Christ. But because the author did not realize the magnitude of Simon's faults, and in his enthusiasm pitched his expectations too high, his ideal picture does not thereby necessarily lose its value. A great ideal once put forward is an indestructible force acting on human thought. What seems mere poetical hyperbole in one generation may be the energizing belief of the next. When once a king had been pictured as a marvellous designer, a mighty hero, a father in perpetuity, and a prince of peace, the ideal king would always thereafter be invested with like attributes. A new conception of kingship would arise, and one which would be capable of endless development. It may truly be said of the Messianic hope that 'it was sown in dishonour, and raised in glory'.

It was not altogether without reason that the ancient Hebrews believed a blessing once given to be irrevocable. 'As the rain cometh down and the snow from heaven, and returneth not thither, but watereth the earth, and maketh it bring forth and bud, and giveth seed to the sower and bread to the eater; so shall the Lord's word be that goeth forth out of His mouth: it shall not return unto Him void, but it shall accomplish that which He pleaseth, and it shall prosper in the thing whereto He sent it.'

Additional Note A.

The opening words are difficult. The R. V. in the text attempts to connect the prophecy with the preceding verse by translating the first '¶' 'but'. This is a meaning however which we are not justified in assigning to the word, which (except when it introduces a clause in

oratio obliqua) is always a causal particle, whether it refers to a preceding or to a following sentence. After a negative clause, it is true, it may frequently be rendered 'but': this however is due merely to the difference of idiom in Hebrew and English, a clause which in English is contrasted with a foregoing negative being made the explanation of it in Hebrew. We must therefore translate, as in the margin of R. V., 'for', understanding that this and the following verses give the reason for some statement not found in the present text.

The following words have occasioned commentators a good deal of difficulty. The Hebrew is certainly unusual; it is however by no means impossible. In the first clause two words at once arrest our attention, viz. מִצָּרָה and מִצָּרָה. In form they are *Hoph'al* participles, the latter from the root צוּר, the former from צָרָה or צָרָה. Of the meaning of מִצָּרָה, assuming the correctness of the text, there can be no doubt: it means 'affliction is caused'.¹ The use of the *Hoph'al* is unusual, but it finds a parallel in הִנָּח 'rest is given', Lam. v 5. The word מִצָּרָה presents more difficulty. Having regard to the fact that מִצָּרָה (? = מִצָּרָה) occurs in viii 22 it is natural to derive it from צָרָה. This root seems to have in the Hebrew Bible the sense of *darkness* (e.g. חָשֶׁךְ Job xi 17, עִפְרוֹ Amos iv 13, עִפְרוֹ Job x 22): it occurs however in Syriac in the sense of *weariness* (= Heb. צָרָה), and we may accordingly translate either 'darkness is caused' or 'weariness is produced'. Upon the whole the former seems the more suitable to the context. The R. V. in its translation 'there shall be no gloom to her that was in anguish' introduces a distinction of time quite unwarranted by the Hebrew. Both participles must be rendered in English by the same tense. We may therefore translate, 'For it is not dark to her' (sc. the land) 'that is in affliction'. An objection may be made to this translation on the ground that it presupposes the use of לָא with a participle, but this construction, though uncommon, is actually found elsewhere, e.g. Ps. xxxviii 15 (Heb.), Job xii 3, xiii 2.

The two following clauses likewise present difficulty. The text is perhaps not altogether above suspicion; but it is translatable, and at any rate the LXX offers nothing better.

According to the accents הָרִאשׁוֹן is closely connected with בְּעֵת, and must therefore be an adjective agreeing with it, 'at the former time'. It is true that עֵת is usually feminine, whereas הָרִאשׁוֹן is masculine; but this does not constitute a fatal objection to the rendering given above, for עֵת is construed as masculine in the following passages: Isaiah xiii 22, Ezekiel vii 7, 12, Haggai i 2 (probably), Psalm lxxxi 16 (Heb.), Cant. ii 12, Daniel xi 14, Ezra x 14, 2 Chron. xv 5. A more serious

¹ This impersonal use of the participle may be illustrated by Jeremiah xxx 12; Esther iii 8, cf. Nahum iii 19.

objection is the omission of the noun before the adjective הַמְחֲרִין in the parallel clause, where we should certainly expect וְקָעַת הַמְחֲרִין. An almost identical construction, however, occurs in 2 Chron. xxvii 5, and a very similar one in Ezek. x 14, Gen. ii 14.

With the next word הָסֵל we reach a question touching the translation of the whole section. Are these Perfects Prophetic Perfects, or do they refer to past time? According to the usual sequence of tenses a Prophetic Perfect is commonly followed by a Perfect with Wāw Consecutive, as in Isa. v 14, xliii 14. In this passage, however, we have a succession of Perfects until we get to וְהִיטָה v. 4 (Heb.). Thereafter Perfects are found again, followed by Imperfects with Wāw Consecutive; no hint of a future reference being given till we reach the clause קָנְעָת יְהוָה צְבָאוֹת תַּעֲשֶׂה-זֶהָ.

The natural inference is that, whatever the date of the prophecy may be, its writer adopts a standpoint from which he looks back at the actions expressed by the Perfects, and forward to their effects still in the future: which effects he expresses in the one case by the Perfect with Wāw Consecutive (וְהִיטָה), in the other by the simple Imperfect (תַּעֲשֶׂה).

But what is the meaning of the contrasted verbs הָסֵל and הִכְבִּיד? At once we are struck by the fact that they are used in the *Hiph'il*, where as the *Piel* is in each case the more common conjugation. Apart from this passage the *Hiph'il* of קָלַל nowhere has the sense of the *Piel*, except in Ezek. xxii 7 and possibly 2 Sam. xix 44; while the *Hiph'il* of כָּבַד always has a sense quite distinct from the *Piel*, except that in the phrase 'to harden (or rather 'to make dull') the heart', where the *Hiph'il* is habitually used, we find in one passage only, 1 Sam. vi 6, the *Piel*. In the later Hebrew, it is true, there is a marked tendency to use the *Hiph'il* where in the golden age of the language the *Kal* or *Piel* would have been used (e.g. הוֹלִיד takes the place of יָלַד and הִקְטִיר of קָטַר); and the choice of conjugation here might be explained on the assumption of late date. Such an explanation however is not probable, for קָלַל in the *Piel* is found in a passage as late as Ecclesiastes x 20.

In general, although it is impossible to lay down a hard and fast rule, the difference in meaning of the *Piel* and *Hiph'il* (when they both occur) in verbs of which the *Kal* expresses a state is as follows: the *Piel* means to treat as though possessing the quality indicated in the *Kal*; the *Hiph'il* means to produce that quality. Thus קָלַל means to treat as *לַל*, as of no account, to slight, to revile; הָקַל to make *לַל*, to make of no account (as in Isa. xxiii 9): similarly כָּבַד means to treat as *כָּבֵד*, as heavy, or valuable, to esteem, to honour; הִכְבִּיד to make heavy or valuable, to make honourable. Substantial justice is done to the conjugation of these verbs in the R. V., which translates, 'In the former

he brought into contempt the land of Zebulun and the land of Naphtali, but in the latter time hath he made it glorious'.

but the difficulties do not end here. The word 'land' has in each case the old Accusative termination, usually found after a verb of motion implying *direction towards*. It is true that the vowels *i* and *u* (apparently obsolete case endings) are found not uncommonly in the construct as connecting-vowels, especially in the later age of the language; but there is no *a priori* reason why the Accusative should not have been used in the same way. Since in this passage the word אֶרֶץ in each case follows a transitive verb, and not a verb of motion, it seems possible to translate it otherwise than as the direct object of the verb¹.

We may therefore render, 'In the former time He (*sic* Jehovah) made the land of Zebulun and the land of Naphtali of no account'.

The Masoretic punctuation, which puts the Ethnāh at אֶרֶץ נַפְתָּלִי evidently regards both verbs אָשַׁל and אֶרֶץ זְבֻלֻן as governing the same Accusative, אֶרֶץ זְבֻלֻן וְאֶרֶץ נַפְתָּלִי, and the R. V. accordingly adds the pronoun after the second verb; but the parallelism is improved, if we place Ethnāh at the word נַפְתָּלִי, and make אֶרֶץ זְבֻלֻן directly govern the words which follow.

אֶרֶץ זְבֻלֻן וְאֶרֶץ נַפְתָּלִי וְאֶרֶץ הַיָּם, 'the Way of the Sea, the region beyond the Sea, Galilee (or the district) of the nations'. In these six words, which fall into three groups of two, have we one locality indicated or two? The first and second are ambiguous, the third 'Galilee of the nations' is definite. Dr Skinner has pointed out² that 'in the time of the Crusades *Via Maris* was the name of the road leading from Acre to Damascus': and accordingly אֶרֶץ הַיָּם might be a reference to Galilee.

It is obvious that Galilee could only be described as 'on the other side of the Jordan' by one living on the *east* of the Jordan, and as it is difficult to assume a trans-Jordanic standpoint for the writer of this passage, it is better to understand *three* localities to be indicated.

Standing then, as we may well suppose, in Jerusalem, the prophet looks first to the district on his left hand along the coast of the Mediterranean, theoretically belonging to Israel, but during the greater part of the Old Testament history in the possession of aliens; next to the district on his right hand, beyond the Jordan, Bashan and Gilead, for possession of which Israel had had so many a hard fight; then he looks straight northward to the furthest northern province of Israel proper, Galilee of the nations.

¹ It would however be possible to adopt a different division of the words, and to read for *Zebulun* and *Naphtali* the corresponding adjectival forms, viz. אֶרֶץ זְבֻלֻן וְאֶרֶץ נַפְתָּלִי; but there is no instance elsewhere of a gentilic adjective derived from a noun.

² *Commentary on Isaiah* vol. i p. 73.

In verse 3 (Heb. v. 2) there is a textual difficulty. As the text stands the verse reads, 'Thou hast multiplied the nation, thou hast not increased the joy'. The negative, which jars on all who hear the first lesson for Christmas morning, is in the Masoretic tradition got rid of by substituting לִי for לֹא, which the R. V. translates, 'Thou hast increased their joy'. But the emphasis which the pronoun thus read gains from its position at the head of the clause is unsuitable. It is as though we should read, 'Thou hast multiplied the nation, thou hast increased *their* joy'. We may follow therefore the correction made independently by the late Prof. Selwyn and others, reading הִגִּיל 'the exultation' for לֹא הָיוּ 'the nation, not'. We thus improve both parallelism and rhythm.

הַרְבִּיתָ הַגִּיל הַגִּילָה הַשְׂמֵחָה
שָׂמְחוּ לִפְנֵיהֶם בְּשִׂמְחָת בְּקִצִּיר
בְּאֶשֶׁר יָגִילוּ בְּחֻלָּקָם שְׂלָל

Verse 4 (Heb. v. 3) contains no special difficulty.

In verse 5 we have a ἀπαξ λεγόμενον סָאן. This word is fairly frequent in Aramaic, occurring in Syriac in the form סַאֲסַא, and in the Targums in the form סִינָא. Another word from the same root סַאֲסַא, סַאֲסַא, סַאֲסַא occurs more commonly both in Syriac and in the Targums in the sense of 'shoe'; but we are not justified in arguing from this that סַאֲסַא in Aramaic has a special sense. In Syriac it is used apparently of the ordinary foot covering of both men and women; but since in *Jos. Stylites* p. 73 l. 8 it is coupled with סַאֲסַא sole, we may perhaps argue that it denoted something of the nature of a shoe rather than a mere sole or sandal.

The following word סָאן, 'one wearing shoes,' is also abundantly justified by Aramaic usage.

The next word בְּרַעַשׁ is rendered by the R. V., not very correctly, 'in the tumult'. Strictly speaking, the word רַעַשׁ denotes quaking, being used of an earthquake in 1 Kings xix 11, Amos i 1, &c. In some passages, however, e.g. Jerem. x 22, xlvii 3, Ezek. iii 12, 13, Ezek. xxxvii 7, it denotes noise, such as the rattling of chariot wheels. There is no proof that it ever meant 'tumult'; and it must accordingly be understood here as used adverbially to qualify סָאן, meaning 'noisily' or 'heavily'. This translation is also more in accordance with the vowel points. The rendering of the R. V. would require בְּרַעַשׁ סָאן must be regarded as in the construct state.

The next word calling for comment is טָגְלָה, R. V. 'rolled'. This conjugation of the root גָּל is found here only; though the corresponding reflexive conjugation occurs in 2 Sam. xx 12 of Amasa weltering

in blood. The only objection to it is that it seems to imply a garment *caked together* with blood, whereas the preceding words would imply a living, heavily trampling warrior. It is not improbable therefore that we should read מְטֵאֵלָה, 'defiled'; the root טֵאֵל being used of blood-stains in Isa. lix 3, lxiii 3, Lam. iv 14.

In verse 6 (Heb. 5) the force of the Perfects has been already discussed. The word translated 'government' occurs only here and in the following verse. The pointing seems to connect it with שָׂרָה; but as this root seems to have the meaning of *fighting* or *contending*, and the sense required here is obviously that of 'rule' or 'principality', the word should probably be connected with שָׂרָר and be pointed מְשָׂרָר, on the analogy of מְשָׂרָרָה from חָתָה. The phrase 'the principality has come upon his back' is contrasted with 'the rod of his back' (R. V. 'the staff of his shoulder'); cf. verse 4.

The latter part of verse 6 gives us a description of the deliverer: 'and he (sc. מְשָׂרָר), according to the idiom explained by Prof. Driver on 1 Sam. xvi 4) has called his name', *Anglice* 'and there has been given to him the name'.

The words which immediately follow have been the cause of much controversy. The *Targum* makes the words מְשָׂרָר אֵל גְּבוּרָה אֵל יוֹעֵץ the Nominative to the verb וְקָרָא, translating, 'and his name is called from the presence of Him who giveth wondrous counsel, even the mighty God who endureth for ever, the Anointed One in whose days peace will be multiplied upon us'. Luzzatto (quoted by Cheyne) translates 'The mighty God, the everlasting Father, the Prince of peace, decrees wondrous things'.

It is no exaggeration to say that both these renderings are counsels of despair. They are both absolutely opposed to all that we know of Hebrew idiom. There remains therefore no other alternative than with the English Version to regard the eight words as forming the name of the child. The punctuation of the A. V., made familiar to us by Handel's great chorus, divides these eight words into five titles; but modern commentators are agreed on dividing them into four, each consisting of two words. The first pair מְשָׂרָר יוֹעֵץ (according to the idiom מְשָׂרָר אֵל Gen. xvi 12) will mean 'a marvel of a counsellor', or rather, 'designer', i. e. one who belongs to the class יוֹעֵץ and is distinguished from other members of the class as being מְשָׂרָר. We may translate 'Marvellous Designer'.

The second pair of words is of the utmost interest, being commonly translated 'mighty God'. To this translation in and by itself no objection can be made. That אֵל may be translated 'God', that גְּבוּרָה means 'mighty' and is actually used as an epithet of God (e.g. Ps. xxiv 8), cannot be disputed. But since to Hebrew ears a name implies the

essential characteristic of the person to whom it is given, and the recipient of the name **אל נבור** is one *that is born*, it is necessary that we should most carefully examine the meaning of this phrase. Did a Hebrew prophet actually mean, what none even of our Lord's Apostles explicitly affirmed till a week after the Resurrection, that one who was *born* could be 'mighty God'?

It is a noteworthy fact that the New Testament contains no reference to this verse, which, if the ordinary translation be correct, is the most remarkable of all Messianic prophecies. This however may be due to the fact that the LXX entirely obscures its meaning.

Considering then that, with the very doubtful exception of Ps. xlv 7, the ascription of Divinity to the Messiah is unparalleled in the Old Testament, we naturally enquire whether **אל נבור** *must* mean 'mighty God'.

Now in Ezekiel xxxii 21 we find the phrase **אלי נבורים**, which the R.V. translates 'the strong among the mighty'. **אלי** also occurs Job xli 17 (R.V. 'the mighty'), 1 Chron. xxix 21 (R.V. 'rams'). In all these passages the MSS vary between **אל** and **איל**, as though the word were derived from **איל**. **אלי** occurs also 2 Chron. xxix 22, and **אליהם** Ezek. xxxi 14¹.

But if **אלי נבורים** can be used of *men*, there is no reason why **אל נבור** should not also be used of a man. In fact the latter phrase is nothing but the singular of the former, just as **קרנבא** (Amos vii 14) is the singular of **קרנבאים**. **אל** is in the construct state before **נבור**, and means literally 'a mighty one of a hero', i.e. 'mighty hero'. By this translation there is a distinct gain in the symmetry of the grammar, the first noun in each of the four pairs being in the construct state.

The third pair **אבי ער** is commonly translated 'Father of eternity'; but it is hardly necessary to state that the idea of *eternity* is one which scarcely presented itself to a Hebrew. **ער** is in fact a synonym of **עולם** (as may be seen from such passages as Job xx 4, Ps. cxxxii 12) and the phrase denotes 'father in perpetuity'; 'father' being a recognized expression in Hebrew for 'mentor' or 'guide'; as, for example, in Gen. xlv 8, where Joseph speaks of himself as being a 'father' to Pharaoh, and Judges xvii 10, where Micah bids the young Levite become his 'father'.

In verse 7 there is some uncertainty about the reading of the first word from the fact that the *mem* of **למרכה** is written as a final letter; so that it is possible that we should read **רבה הפשרה**, the **לם** being a dittography of the last two radicals of **שלום**. The final **ם** may however be easily

¹ An instance of the omission of a yodh is probably found in Job xvi 21, where for **יגן אדם** the parallelism and sense require **אדם**.

accounted for on the supposition that in the transliteration of this passage from the old character to the square the scribe's eye wandered from the למרבה למ to the שלום of שלום. The LXX favours the former alternative, but in any case the sense is not materially affected.

Additional Note B.

The date adopted in the foregoing article for the call of Isaiah assumes the correctness of the identification of Uzziah (Azariah) with the Asriau of Tiglath Pileser's annals. Winckler's attempt to identify the Ya-u-di of the Assyrian inscriptions with the יאדי of the Sinjirli inscription cannot be pronounced successful (see McCurdy *History, Prophecy, and the Monuments* vol. i pp. 413 ff).

Unnecessary difficulty has been caused by Tiglath Pileser's statement that 'nineteen districts belonging to Hamath'. . . . had allied themselves with Azriau, king of Yaudi'. It certainly need not be inferred from this statement that Judah was the foremost military power in Syria. A simple explanation of the alliance between Hamath and Judah may be found in the previous relation of the Syrian states, particularly Judah and Israel, to one another. That the kings of Judah acknowledged the kings of Israel as their suzerains, at all events from the time of Omri, is implied by several passages in the Old Testament. Thus, for example, Jehoshaphat is summoned by Ahab to join him against the Aramaeans (1 Kings xxii); a little later he is compelled by Ahab's son Jehoram to take part in a campaign against Moab (2 Kings iii); the suicidal folly of Amaziah (2 Kings xiv 8-14) is scarcely explicable except on the supposition that after his subjugation of Moab he now imagined himself strong enough to regain independence.

It must be remembered that neither Assyrian, Aramaean, nor Israelite conquerors seem to have had any idea of unifying an empire. Their primary purpose in conquest was to obtain tribute in the shape of money and men from the conquered provinces. So long as this was punctually paid they seem to have interfered but little, if at all, with the government of the tributary states; and there seems to have been no objection to a vassal king's recouping himself for the tribute which he paid by himself levying tribute on some more remote province.

Thus, for example, Omri was suzerain of Moab while he himself was still subject to Damascus (1 Kings xx 34); and similar relations between the three kingdoms continued in the reign of Ahab. There is no evidence that Edom had ever been subject to North Israel: in the Moabite war Jehoram summons only Jehoshaphat (2 Kings iii 7), but a little later (verse 9) we find the king of Edom associated with the kings of Israel and Judah; and the previous and subsequent history of Edom makes it probable that it was as Jehoshaphat's vassal that the

king of Edom took part in the campaign (cf. 2 Kings viii 20). Accordingly, Amaziah's subjugation of Edom (2 Kings xiv 7) and Uzziah's campaign against the Philistines (2 Chron. xxvi 6) are not incompatible with their tributary position.

If it be granted that Uzziah, like his predecessors on the throne of Judah, was required to pay tribute to the king of Israel, the whole political position is made clear. Amaziah's restless desire for independence had nearly ruined his kingdom; and that the same restlessness continued in his descendants is sufficiently clear from the fact that the main object of the Syro-Ephraimitic campaign was to remove from the throne of Judah the representative of the Davidic dynasty. It is by no means impossible that this restlessness had already produced a *casus belli*; and that it is to this that Isaiah referred when he spoke of the house of David as 'wearying men' (Isa. vii 13), and gave his eldest boy the name *Shear-jashub*. The assertion 'A remnant will return' was undoubtedly originally not a promise, but a threat, and not improbably meant that a mere remnant would return from the war which the restless folly of the house of David was provoking. It is not impossible, though the passage is too obscure to be used as the basis of an argument, that Hosea in his denunciation of the princes of Judah in ch. v 10 refers to some *casus belli* produced by Judah.

It must be remembered that in the days of Jeroboam II the borders of the kingdom of Israel had been greatly enlarged. When its northern limit reached 'the entering in of Hamath', the various states of Coele-Syria would naturally begin to feel anxiety on their own account, and to think that the frontier needed rectification. In such a state of things they would readily seek an ally in the discontented vassal of the power which they considered to be a menace to their safety; and thus some sort of compact between Judah and Hamath is intrinsically probable. The fact that the alliance was directed not against Assyria but against Israel would be of small moment to the king of Assyria. There is no reason to suppose that Tiglath Pileser really believed in any danger from Judah. Any stick is good enough to beat a dog with, and it was sufficient for his purpose that states over which he claimed suzerainty had given him an excuse for plunder by making an alliance with a foreign state.

R. H. KENNETT.

THE MODERN ROMAN CANON AND THE BOOK OF ESDRAS A.

IN a series of letters published in the *Academy* some twenty years ago, and subsequently in articles in the *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*, I claim to have definitely proved that the text of the Canonical Chronicles-Ezra-Nehemiah contained in the extant Greek Bibles is not a Septuagint text at all, and ought to have no place in any edition of the Greek Bible professing to represent the Septuagint.

On the contrary, the text represents very faithfully one of the Greek translations from the Hebrew made in the second century A.D. It has no value, therefore, for the *independent* criticism of the Masoretic edition of the Bible, and is merely useful as shewing the state of the text of the three books as they stood in that edition in the second century A.D., when, according to the most competent authorities its archetype was compiled and edited.

This conclusion seems to me to be of the first importance, for it sweeps away all the textual criticism of the three books in question based upon the erroneous postulate that the Masoretic text in them is singularly free from corruption *because* it is so continuously supported by the Septuagint. Inasmuch as profitable criticism of the Old Testament should begin with its latest books, it is supremely important that such a mistake should not be perpetuated by the authorities responsible for the new Cambridge Bible.

The problem to be solved is, however, a bilateral one. It does not mean merely that the texts thus referred to (i.e. the canonical Chronicles-Ezra-Nehemiah) are in no sense Septuagint texts, but it means the rehabilitation in that character of another text, namely Esdras A in the Greek Uncials, which until lately has received every scant courtesy among the critics, especially in Germany, who have persistently misapprehended its true character.

It has been treated even worse by the theologians, both those of the Roman Church, which has always stood by the Septuagint Canon, and by the Reformers whose most potent and far-reaching innovation, theologically speaking, was probably the substitution of the Hebrew or Masoretic Canon of the Bible for that which the Christian world both east and west had clung to for fifteen centuries.

Singularly enough, however, the champions both of the longer and of the shorter Canon have agreed in modern times to treat with despite a document (namely *Ἐσθρας Α*) the true history of which has been misapprehended, and its supreme value overlooked. The fact is peculiarly interesting and important in regard to the Roman position in the matter, and I propose in the following pages to examine how it has come about that a Church with whom the theory of continuous tradition is so dominant should have in fact departed so completely from its own early tradition in regard to this book, and to shew that this departure has been entirely due to a mistake, a very pardonable mistake, and in no sense to prejudice or predetermination.

In order to shew this I must shortly trace the history of the Canon of the Old Testament in the Roman Church. The last authoritative pronouncement on the subject is contained in chapter 2 of the Decree of the Vatican Council, dated April 24, 1870, entitled *Constitutio dogmatica de fide catholica*. In this pronouncement it is affirmed that the doctrine of Supernatural Revelation, according to the faith of the Universal Church as declared at the Council of Trent, consists in written books and in the traditions preserved by the Church. In regard to the former the decisions of Trent are accepted and confirmed in the following sentence of the decree:—

Qui quidem veteris et novi testamenti libri integri cum omnibus suis partibus, prout in eiusdem concilii decreto recensentur, et in veteri vulgata latina editione habentur, pro sacris et canonicis suscipiendi sunt.

The Vatican Council, therefore, in the matter of the Canon merely reiterates and reaffirms, as was in fact alone necessary, the conclusions pronounced by that of Trent. It gives no list of sacred books, and accepts in terms the finding on the subject of the Tridentine fathers.

Let us now turn to the Council of Trent.

On February 8, 1546, a General Congregation of that Council was held, and it was proposed to issue a decree in regard to the authority of the Holy Scriptures, and as to any improvement that might be made in their teaching or interpretation. The Council was divided into three sections, and the second section, which was presided over by Cardinal Marcello Cervini, afterwards Pope Marcellus II, was especially entrusted with an examination of the question, and with the sifting of the evidence from the eighty-fifth of the Apostolical Canons down to the decrees of the Council of Florence. The discussion was prolonged and interesting, and raised many critical points. Various suggestions about the distinction between canonical and deuterocanonical books and about the authority of particular books were made, but the majority were of opinion that the sacred books should be received simply and without discrimination as they had been at other councils, and especially at the Council of Florence. At length the Cardinal reported the results of the discussion to another meeting of the General Congregation, when, in the words of the report preserved by the secretaries,

omnes convenere ut receptio librorum sacrorum fieret simpliciter sicut factum fuit in concilio Florentino . . . De ipsorum autem librorum discrimine, etsi plures rem utilem, minus tamen necessariam iudicarent ; maioris nihilo minus partis sententia praevaluit ut quaestio huiusmodi ommitteretur, relinquereturque sicut nobis a sanctis patribus relicta fuit. —Theiner I, 52.

In this quite logical and most sensible pronouncement the Church of Rome, putting aside all considerations and arguments which had been urged to the contrary, decided to stand on its own ancient tradition, and in particular upon the pronouncement made on this subject at the Council of Florence. Therefore by a decree issued on April 8, 1546, at the fourth session of the Council, under the heading 'Decretum de Canonicis Scripturis', it was determined *inter alia* as follows :—

Sacrorum vero librorum indicem huic decreto adscribendum censuit, ne cui dubitatio suboriri possit, quinam sint qui ab ipsa synodo suscipiuntur. Sunt vero infra scripti. Testamenti veteris : quinque Moysis, id est : Genesis, Exodus, Leviticus, Numeri, Deuteronomium ; Iosuae, Iudicum, Ruth, quatuor Regum, duo Paralipomenon, *Esdrae primus et*

secundus, qui dicitur Nehemias, Tobias, Iudith, Esther, Iob, Psalterium Davidicum centum quinquaginta psalmorum, Parabola, Ecclesiastes, Canticum Canticorum, Sapientia, Ecclesiasticus, Isaías, Ieremias cum Baruch, Ezechiel, Daniel, duodecim prophetae minores, id est: Osea, Ioel, Amos, Abdias, Ionas, Michaeas, Nahum, Habacuc, Sophonias, Aggaeus, Zacharias, Malachias, duo Macchabaeorum primus et secundus. Testamenti novi.

Then follows a list of the books of the New Testament, which is again followed by certain words defining the actual text to be appealed to, and which are very important for our purpose.

It is in fact provided that the text alone authorized as the *ultima lex* of all appeals is the Vulgate. The following are the actual words used in the 'Decretum de editione et usu sacrorum librorum':—

Insuper eadem sacrosancta synodus considerans non parum utilitatis accedere posse ecclesiae Dei, si ex omnibus latinis editionibus, quae circumferuntur, sacrorum librorum, quatenus pro authentica habenda sit, innotescat: statuit et declarat, ut haec ipsa vetus et vulgata editio quae longo tot saeculorum usu in ipsa ecclesia probata est, in publicis lectionibus, disputationibus, praedicationibus et expositionibus pro authentica habeatur, et ut nemo illam reiicere quovis praetextu audeat vel praesumat.

It cannot fail to be noticed that in these pronouncements there is a palpable contradiction. If the books enumerated are alone to be deemed canonical, it seems difficult to understand how the Vulgate edition of the Bible as then received was to be treated as the conclusive authority in all disputes and controversies, since it contained, in very many if not in most existing copies, at least two additional works which were treated in them as of equal and co-ordinate authority with the remaining books, namely those which in the Latin Bibles were called Esdras III (that is *Ἐσδρα Β'*) and Esdras IV; while some copies of the Vulgate also contained a third book not above enumerated, namely, the Prayer of Manasses, as well as the so-called Third book of Maccabees.

This contradiction between the pronouncement of the Council and the contents of the Vulgate texts which were and had long been current, was apparently ignored by the fathers at Trent. It led, however, to a considerable change in the editions of the Vulgate subsequently printed, by which their contents were in a measure equated with the conciliar list of recognized books. A

is well known, in the famous and authoritative edition of the Vulgate issued by Pope Sixtus V in 1590, the two books Esdras III and IV, together with the so-called Prayer of Manasses, were omitted entirely. This was justified in the preface in the following sentence:—

Nos autem ut haec Vetus editio, quae nunc prodit nostro excusa prelo, eiusdem Synodi [*i.e. Trent*] praescripto modis omnibus responderet non solum veteres, et ab Ecclesia receptos loquendi modos conservavimus, sed etiam apocrypha reiecit, authentica retinuit. Nam tertium et quartum Esdrae libros inscriptos, et tertium Macchabaeorum, quos Synodus inter Canonicos non annumerat, assentientibus etiam in hoc praedictis Cardinalibus Congregationis super Typographia Vaticana deputatae, ab hac editione prorsus explosimus. Orationem etiam Manassae, quae neque in Hebraeo, neque in Graeco textu est, neque in antiquioribus Manuscriptis Latinis exemplaribus reperitur, sed in impressis tantum post Librum secundum Paralipomenon affixa est, tanquam insutam, adiectam et in textu sacrorum librorum locum non habentem repudiavimus.

In the subsequent and corrected and still more authoritative edition of Clement VIII, published three years later, and in all subsequent editions of the Roman Vulgate the three books just mentioned were reinstated, but instead of being placed in the old position they occupied in the mediaeval Latin Bibles, they were remitted to an appendix. This again was justified in the preface in the following words:—

Porro in hac editione nihil non canonicum, nihil adscititium, nihil extraneum apponere visum est: atque ea causa fuit, cur libri tertius et quartus Esdrae inscripti, quos inter canonicos libros sacra Tridentina Synodus non annumeravit, ipsa etiam Manassae regis Oratio, quae neque hebraice, neque graece quidem exstat, neque in manuscriptis antiquioribus invenitur, neque pars est ullius canonici libri, extra canonicae scripturae seriem posita sunt.

The appendix to which the three books were remitted is headed—

Oratio Manassae, necnon libri duo, qui sub Libri Tertii et Quarti Esdrae nomine circumferuntur, hoc in loco, extra scilicet seriem canonicorum librorum quos sancta Tridentina Synodus suscepit et pro canonicis suscipiendos decrevit, sepositi sunt ne prorsus interirent, quippe qui a nonnullis sanctis Patribus interdum citantur et in aliquibus Bibliis latinis tam manuscriptis quam impressis reperiuntur.

It will be noted that in Clement VIII's edition of the Vulgate, which is the one now authorized, not a word is said of the Third book of Maccabees, which had a place in some of the old copies of the Vulgate.

The removal of the three books above mentioned from the text of the Bible, and the planting of them in a kind of suspense account in an Appendix, while it made the text of the canonical books in the rest of the Bible consistent with the enumeration in the decree of the Tridentine Council, was clearly a tampering with the text of the Vulgate as previously received, though this had been declared by the same Council to be the official and authentic text. Let us, however, turn to the Council of Florence, which was held in 1439, and which the Fathers at Trent professed to follow and to be bound by.

In the Bull published on February 4, 1441, by Eugenius IV affirming the decision of the Florentine Council in regard to the pronouncement which was made in view of the reunion with the Church of Rome of the Jacobites of Egypt, we have an enumeration of the books then recognized as canonical by the Western Church. This list was followed implicitly by the Council of Trent. There are variations, however, of phraseology, and I think it better as the question is one involving polemical issues to transcribe it as it stands in the Bull. The important part for our purpose runs as follows:—

Unum atque eundem Deum veteris et novi testamenti, hoc est Legis et Prophetarum atque Evangelii profitetur auctorem; quoniam, eodem Spiritu Sancto inspirante, utriusque testamenti Sancti locuti sunt, quorum libros suscipit et veneratur, qui titulis sequentibus continentur: Quinque Moysis, id est Genesi, Exodo, Levitico, Numeris, Deuteronomio, Iosue, Iudicum, Ruth; Quatuor Regum; Duobus Paralipomenon: *Esdra, Nehemia*, Tobia, Iudith, Hester, Iob, Psalmis David, Parabolis, Ecclesiaste, Canticis Canticorum, Sapientia, Ecclesiastico: Isaia, Ieremia, Baruch, Ezechiele, Daniele; Duodecim Prophetis minoribus, idest Osee, Ioele, Amos, Abdia, Iona, Michea, Nahum, Habacuc, Sophonia, Aggeo, Zacharia, Malachia; Duobus Maccabaeorum.—*Bullarium Rom.* Romae 1638, I p. 273¹.

Then follows a list of the New Testament books.

It will be seen that this enumeration is in substance precisely

¹ In this extract from the Bull, as in the corresponding one from the Tridentine pronouncement, the italics are mine.

that of the Council of Trent, and that here, as at the subsequent Councils of Trent and the Vatican, no distinction whatever is made between proto-canonical and deutero-canonical, canonical and apocryphal, &c., but all the books enumerated were treated as equally canonical. It will also be noted that no mention is here made of the third and fourth books of Esdras, notwithstanding that virtually every copy of the Latin Bible then in use contained them.

In regard to the decision of the Council of Florence as pronounced by the Pope in his Decretal, we cannot appeal for justification to the minutes of the discussion upon its contents as we can at Trent, since they are not extant, and we must turn elsewhere to find some previous official pronouncement in the same behalf, for we can hardly doubt that on such an occasion the definition of the Biblical Canon would be made with especial care and with consideration for precedent. For such precedent we have to go back a long way. This is to be accounted for by the fact that questions as to the Canon had not disturbed men's minds in the Middle Ages, and there had not, therefore, been any necessity or occasion for an official pronouncement on the subject. We have to go back, in fact, to the famous African Code, which is headed 'The Canons of the 217 blessed fathers who assembled at Carthage', commonly called 'The Code of Canons of the African Church', and which was passed and authorized in the year 419 A.D. Johnson, in his *Clergyman's vade mecum*, London, second edition, 1714, part II, has given an excellent account of them, which has not been improved since. He says:—'Councils were nowhere more frequently called in the Primitive Times than in Africa. In the year 418-419 all Canons formerly made in sixteen Councils held at Carthage, one at Milevis, and one at Hippo, that were approved of were read, and received a new sanction from a great number of bishops then met in Synod at Carthage. This collection is the Code of the African Church, which was always in greatest repute in all churches next after the Code of the Universal Church. This Code was of very great authority in the old English Churches, for many of the exceptions of Egbert were transcribed from it. And though the Code of the Universal Church ends with the Canons of Chalcedon, yet these African Canons are inserted into the Ancient Code both of the Eastern and Western Churches.'

At the Council of Carthage held in 419 the Pope was represented by Faustinus, bishop of Potentia in the Italian province of Picenum, as legate. The Canon there enacted, and headed 'De Scripturis Canonicis' (Labbe iv 430), was a reiteration and reaffirmation of those enacted *inter alia* at the Councils of Hippo in 393 and of Carthage in 397.

The 36th Canon of the Council of Hippo declares that besides the canonical Scriptures nothing is to be read in the Church under the name of Divine Scriptures. It then enumerates what the Canonical Scriptures are, and, so far as I know, there is no conciliar pronouncement on the subject between these African Synods and the Council of Florence. Their enumeration of the Old Testament books is as follows:—

Genesis, Exodus, Leviticus, Numeri, Deuteronomium, Iesu Nave, Iudicum, Ruth, Regnorum libri quatuor, Paralipomenon libri duo, Iob, Psalterium Davidicum, Salomonis libri quinque, Duodecim libri Prophetarum, Esaias, Ieremias, Daniel, Ezechiel, Tobias, Iudith, Hester, *Hesdrae libri duo*¹, Machabaeorum libri duo.

The iteration of this Canon by the African Councils was probably due, as Father Loisy has suggested, to the fear, entertained by many, of the revolutionary ideas of Jerome. Nothing could well be more authoritative, however, and more precise than the position that the list of books above quoted was deemed by these three very important Synods to be the Catholic usage in the Western Church in regard to the contents of the Canon of the Old Testament at the end of the fourth century.

On comparing the list of books authorized as Canonical by the African Synods with those of the Councils of Florence and Trent, there is a superficial and misleading equation in regard to the books of Esdras which we are discussing, that accounts for what was really a mistake made by the latter councils.

In the Canon last quoted we have the phrase *Hesdrae libri duo*. In the Decree of the Council of Florence we have *Esdras Nehemia*. In that of Trent we have *Esdrae primus et secundus qui dicitur Nehemias*.

The fact is that the phrase *Hesdrae libri duo* in the decree of the earlier Councils does not mean the books of Ezra and Nehemiah. Ezra and Nehemiah in the Septuagint and in the

¹ These italics are my own.

early Latin prae-Hieronymian translation of the Bible which followed the Septuagint, and was alone recognized as canonical in the Latin Church at the end of the fourth century, formed a single book, which in the early Greek MSS was entitled *Ἑσδρας Β*, and which in the early Latin version was entitled Esdras II.

It was Jerome who altered the nomenclature of these books as he altered many other things (and, as some of us think, not too wisely). It was he who, having accepted the Jewish Canon and tradition, also accepted the Jewish division of the book hitherto known to the Greeks as *Ἑσδρας Β*, which in the old Latin Bibles was called Esdras II, and gave the two sections of it the new titles of Esdras I and Esdras II, equivalent to our Ezra and Nehemiah; and from him the titles passed into the revised Vulgate, of which he was the author, and eventually became dominant everywhere, and was thus dominant when the Council of Florence sat. It was he who poured scorn on two other books of Ezra contained in the earlier Latin Bibles, and refused to have anything to do with them, or to translate them, and gave them an entirely inferior status by numbering them Esdras III and IV, names by which they have since been styled in the Vulgate; and it was his violent and depreciatory language about them which made many doubt their value and authority.

When the fathers at Florence discussed and decided upon their list of authorized and canonical books, finding, no doubt, that the African Councils had only recognized two books of Esdras, they jumped to the conclusion that these two books must be those called Esdras I and Esdras II in their Bibles, namely, Ezra and Nehemiah; which in fact they were not. Hence their mistake, a great but a natural mistake, which is perpetuated in the Roman Canon.

The two books of Esdras recognized by the African Councils, and by all the Fathers who escaped the influence of Jerome, were the books labelled *Ἑσδρας Α* and *Ἑσδρας Β* in the Greek Bibles, that is to say, the first book of Esdras, which was remitted to the Apocrypha by the Reformers, and the joint work Ezra-Nehemiah. This evidence will not be doubted by any one who will examine the early Greek Bibles, and the Canonical lists of the Fathers who were uninfluenced by Jerome.

It is completely recognized by Roman Catholic theologians of the first rank. Thus Calmet, who wrote a special treatise on Esdras A, says: 'When the Fathers and the Councils of the earlier centuries declared the two books of Esdras to be canonical, they meant, following the current Bibles that First Esdras and Nehemiah formed only one book, while they styled First Esdras the work which is called third in our Bibles' (Calmet *Comm.* iii 250 'Dissert. sur le III livre d'Esdras'). Father Loisy, the most distinguished scholar among the recent writers on the Canon in France, similarly says: 'The two books of Esdras contained in them (i. e. in early copies of the Latin Bible) are not Esdras and Nehemiah; but as in the Greek Bible, the first book of Esdras is that we now call the third, which has been ejected from the Canon; the second comprised Esdras and Nehemiah' (*Histoire du Canon* 92).

It is quite clear, therefore, that the Council of Florence, afterwards followed by that of Trent, gave a decision about the Canon which is inconsistent and contrary to the decisions of the early Councils and the early Fathers of the Latin Church on the same subject, and thus broke the continuity of that Church's teaching on a most important point, namely the contents of the book which it makes the ultimate rule of faith. Thus, again, one book, namely the Esdras A of the Greek Uncials, recognized as canonical by all the early Church, was entirely evicted from Sixtus V's Bible, and remitted to the ignominious position of a suspense account in that of Clement VIII, and is so treated in all authorized Roman Catholic Bibles.

The omission of Esdras A from the modern Roman Canon of the Bible does not stand quite alone. In the same suspense account to which it is now remitted in the Vulgate we also find the Prayer of Manasses. For this treatment there is ample justification if we are to follow the decrees of Latin Councils; but the reason for it given by Clement VIII is incorrect.

The Prayer of Manasses is a canticle which, according to the preface to Clement VIII's Bible, does not occur in the Hebrew Bibles, nor yet in the Greek Bibles. This is not strictly accurate, as Walton long ago shewed by printing a copy of it from a Greek MS. The statement in the preface to Clement VIII's

Bible is not therefore correct. The Prayer occurs in fact in the third volume of the *Codex Alexandrinus* as an appendix to the Psalter, and with the Psalms, as Dr Swete says, it was transferred to that MS from a liturgical Psalter (*The Old Testament in Greek* II viii). It also occurs in the famous purple psalter at Zurich known as T (Turicense) which is of the seventh century and of western origin. It also occurs in the Ethiopic version of the Psalms edited by J. Ludolf. And it is quoted at length in the Apostolical Constitutions; so it has very respectable age and authority.

There is, however, no direct evidence of its having received any conciliar authority, as there is none that it occurred in early Bible texts or in early Canonical lists, and its exclusion from the Canon by the Sixtine and Clementine editors of the Bible is therefore quite defensible, if we are to follow the decisions of Councils as decisive.

There still remains a third book, namely that known as Esdras IV in the Vulgate, which was also excluded from the Bible of Sixtus and remitted to an appendix in that of Clement. This work does not occur in any Greek Bible. It occurs in Latin, Syriac, Ethiopic, an Armenian and two Arabic translations; it is found in several important Vulgate MSS, and is quoted in the Apostolical Constitutions; but inasmuch as it is excluded from the early lists of canonical books, and especially from those with conciliar authority, it has with plausibility been remitted to the same appendix as the Prayer of Manasseh in the modern authorized Latin Bibles.

Both these books stand on entirely different ground therefore from what we have described as Esdras A, whose undoubted and rightful presence in the Western Canon before the unfortunate mistake made by the Council of Florence cannot be gainsaid. Rome, no doubt, coupled it with the apocalyptic book Esdras V, with which it has nothing in common either in contents or authority, and poured scorn on them both. His action in this matter is an excellent instance of his hasty judgement in biblical matters, and of the prejudice that can be created and sustained against a genuine work by the tempestuous language of a masterful scholar.

It seems to me plain that it was a misfortune as well as

a mistake which excluded Esdras A from the modern Roman Canon, and that its reinstatement there would be a distinct gain to the cause of truth, and it would sustain the consistency of the Latin Church in its treatment of its Bible.

Perhaps I may be permitted in another paper to discuss the Anglican Canon as affected by similar issues.

HENRY H. HOWORTH.

NICETA AND AMBROSIASTER. II.

AMBROSIASTER is not a discovery of the present generation of patristic scholars in quite the same sense as Niceta. Three hundred years ago the Louvain edition of St Augustine had already posed the question, whether the author of the *Commentaries* on the Pauline Epistles, which Augustine attributed to Hilary but Cassiodorus and later tradition generally to St Ambrose, was to be identified with the author of the *Questions* on the Old and New Testaments, which the MSS unanimously ascribe to St Augustine—and had answered it in the affirmative. At beyond this general conclusion little progress was made until our own time. Who the Ambrosiaster was, where and when he lived, were questions that were hardly asked, much less answered. The Benedictines of St Maur, when publishing the *Quaestiones* in an appendix to the third volume of their edition of St Augustine, contented themselves with proving that it was certainly not a genuine work of that father: and they defended their retention of the separate and admittedly erroneous title for the last twenty-two Questions—‘*Quaestiones ex utroque [Testamento] mixtim*’—on the ground of the inconvenience of changing a customary arrangement in the case of a book of so little importance, *in opere asertim non magni momenti*. In effect, the Maurists and their contemporaries set themselves as their principal task (and it was no light one) to distinguish the genuine and the spurious in their editions of the leading authors of Christian antiquity: and perhaps we are in some danger now of inverting the proportions of things, and of allotting less than their real pre-eminence to the writings of the great fathers whose influence dominated not only their own but subsequent generations. Anyhow the old presumption that, when once a treatise was relegated to the appendix, its claim on intelligent study ceased and any sort of editing was good enough for it, has vanished for ever. The Vienna series of the Latin Fathers is to include a re-edition of both the *Commentaries*

and the *Questions*, which will be published for the first time with something like an exhaustive examination of the MSS: the former book is entrusted to Father Brewer, a Jesuit of Feldkirch, the latter is in the charge of a scholar well known to the readers of this JOURNAL, Mr A. Souter of Caius College, Cambridge, for several years assistant lecturer to Prof. W. M. Ramsay at Aberdeen, and now Yates Professor at Mansfield College. Meanwhile, pending the appearance of his edition, Mr Souter has published by way of *prolegomena* a disquisition on the manuscripts of the *Quaestiones* and a more general 'Study of Ambrosiaster'¹: and it is of these that we have now to speak.

Mr Souter begins at the beginning, and devotes the greater part of his 'Study' to a re-examination of the problem of the common authorship of the *Commentaries* and the *Questions*, and to a fresh defence of the identity. The outline of the argument was familiar ground enough. The *Commentaries* were written after, but not long after, the abortive persecution of Julian ('novissime', 2 Thess. ii 7), under the pontificate of Damasus ('ecclesia . . cuius hodie rector est Damasus', 1 Tim. iii 15); while the *Questions* were written when 'about 300 years' had been 'superadded' to the fulfilment of Daniel's seventy weeks at the Fall of Jerusalem (*Quaest.* 44 'adversus Iudaeos', *ad fin.*), and 'in this city of Rome' (*Quaest.* 115 'de Fato', *ad init.*): and the presumption from identity of time and place to identity of authorship was an obvious one. We have seen that the Louvain editors of St Augustine drew this conclusion as far back as the sixteenth century. The Benedictine editors of the same father spoke of it as an opinion which approved itself to 'eruditio hodie quamplurimis'. In our own generation the discussion was reopened on the same side by Dr Joseph Langen, the Old Catholic professor at Bonn, in a University 'programm' *De commentariorum in epistulas Paulinas qui Ambrosii et Quaestionum biblicalium quae Augustini nomine feruntur scriptore dissertatio* (1880). If one German writer in 1883 ventured still to maintain the opposite view—what is there that one German writer could not

¹ *De codicibus manuscriptis Augustini quae feruntur quaestionum Veteris et Novi Testamenti cxviii* (in the Transactions of the Vienna Imperial Academy of Sciences 1904: *A Study of Ambrosiaster* (vol. vii no. 4 in the Cambridge 'Texts and Studies'), 1905).

und to maintain?—Harnack in his *History of Dogma*,
 er in the *Realencyclopädie* of Pauly-Wissowa, Morin in an
 e to be further noticed below, treated the identity as a point
 assumed rather than argued: 'un examen tant soit peu
 if des deux séries d'écrits ne saurait laisser de doute
 ant l'identité d'auteur'.

t there is no reason to regret the time and space which
 ounter has given to the renewed investigation, not merely
 se the question has now been settled by him once for all,
 till more because of the valuable example of method set in
 apters headed 'Community of Illustrations and Allusions';
 parison of Scripture quotations'; 'Comparison of (1) Style,
 (2) Language'; 'Identity of Thought' as shewn by '(1)
 rite Texts of Scripture, (2) Interpretations of Scripture'.
 ethod of proof from internal evidence is the natural substi-
 or external evidence, when this is lacking, as it so often is:
 t is no inconsiderable advantage to have a sort of model
 andard argument set up in a case where the method
 e admitted on all hands to lead to conclusive results.
 ounter shews how the author in both works has the same
 st in Roman government and administration, in Roman law
 ie principles of law in general, in astrology, in pagan religion
 tual; the same special acquaintance with Egypt; the same
 e knowledge of Jewish traditions and customs¹. He shews
 he same Scriptural citations tend to recur in both works,
 the same interpretations and in the same form of text².
 he shews finally, with a fullness of detail which leaves
 ig to be desired, that the characteristic phraseology of
 works is one and the same. I do not indeed think that
 e items of his long list are of equal weight. I suspect,
 indications which reveal themselves here and there, that
 ounter's vast knowledge of Latin is founded (and there
 e no better foundation) on the classics, and that he has
 ached the study of Christian Latin through the two greatest

: latter subject, I do not quite know why, is treated by Mr Souter, not in
 pter on 'Community of Illustrations and Allusions', but at a much later
 p. 180-183). See more on this matter at the end of the present article.

150-152: 152-157: 41-62. It is again a little difficult to understand why
 ious parts of this subject are separated by the intervention of the long
 on 'Comparison of Style and Language'.

of Latin Christian writers, Augustine and Jerome. But the language of Jerome is much nearer the classical than the patristic standard: and even the language of Augustine is a good way removed above the average ecclesiastical style of his day. Those who have become more or less habituated to the style and language of the secondary Christian writers will hesitate to base any presumption of authorship on usages which have become to them as natural and familiar as 'necnon et', 'quanto magis', 'numquid', 'propter quod', or on words like 'adbreuiare', 'adimplere', 'advertere', 'qua audacia', 'cessare', 'de cetero', 'compendio', 'competit', 'congruus', 'devicta morte', or the like. But after all deductions have been made, enough, and more than enough, remains to prove the thesis to demonstration: among instances of special importance one might select the following:— 'adubi autem', 'per id quod', 'cum quando', 'abdico', 'absolutum (in absoluto) est', 'adaeque', 'addisco', 'apophoretum', 'apparentia', 'brutus', 'certus quia', 'coimaginare', 'dignus' and 'condignus' with dative, 'conlocare meritum', 'consubstantivus'¹, 'corrigo' intransitive, 'coruscus' as noun, 'credens' and 'diffidens' for believers and unbelievers, 'crementum', 'dehabeo', 'de non esse', 'de non fieri', 'dignitosus', &c. Taken as a whole these eighty pages form a quite invaluable introduction to Latin Christian lexicography. With the possible exception of Mr Watson—of whose remarkable essay on the 'Style and Language of St Cyprian' Mr Souter speaks with appropriate respect, not to say enthusiasm—Mr Souter has established himself as the leading authority in Great Britain upon this subject.

Of the two works which have now been proved to emanate from one and the same author, the fate has been singularly unequal. The Commentaries on St Paul have attracted more (if anything) than their due meed of attention, at least in the most ancient and the most modern times. Jülicher calls them 'the best commentary on St Paul's epistles previous to the sixteenth century', and Harnack has been no less lavish in his praise. At the other end of the centuries, Cassiodorus had heard of an exposition by St Ambrose of all the Pauline epistles, said to be 'suavissima expositione completum': and though this rather

¹ Among all the versions of the Nicene Creed, I know of only one which uses this rendering of *ὁμοούσιος*.

guarantees his contemporaries' opinion of the Ambrosiaster than his own, it is probable that another commentary which was in his hands, and which treated the thirteen epistles, as he tells us, 'non ignorabili adnotatione', was really nothing else than the same commentary of Ambrosiaster in its earlier and anonymous form. The evidence of the *scriptoria*, less direct but not less cogent, tells the same tale: Mr Souter catalogues about forty extant MSS, beginning from a Monte Cassino MS of the sixth century¹, and this list 'could be easily extended' (p. 16). On the other hand, in spite of the great name to which they became attached, the *Quaestiones* have been perhaps unduly overlooked. It is another merit of Mr Souter's book that it will do something to restore the balance; for as this is the work which he is himself engaged in editing, it is naturally the one which looms the larger in his 'Study'.

Of the *Quaestiones* not more than twenty-three MSS in all have been discovered as the result of Mr Souter's diligent researches, nor is it likely that many have escaped his eye; and these twenty-three are shared between three different recensions. The ordinary printed form of the book contains 127 *Quaestiones*, and this is the only recension represented in manuscripts anterior to the twelfth century: but the Benedictines were already familiar with another recension containing 151 *Quaestiones*, divided into two classes, *Q. ex Veteri* (56) and *Q. ex Novo Testamento*. In spite, however, of the larger total of the Questions, this recension is in fact shorter than the other: for the 62 Questions which appear among the 151 but are absent from the 127 are for the most part very brief, while the 38 which belong to the 127 but not to the 151 include such considerable treatises as *Q. 44* 'adversus Iudaeos', *Q. 102* 'contra Novatianum', *Q. 114* 'adversus Paganos', *Q. 115* 'de Fato'. The polemic against Photinus (*Q. 91* among the '127') seems to be the same in both editions: but that against Arianism attains considerably bigger proportions in the '127' edition (*Q. 97*), and the celebrated invective against the Roman deacons (*Q. 101*) is peculiar to it.

¹ Mr Souter appears to imply, on pp. 12, 13, that the portion of this MS which contains Origen on the Romans is homogeneous with the rest. But in fact while the Ambrosiaster leaves are not later than 569 A.D., the Origen leaves date from about 700 A.D. One would like to suppose that the sixth-century portion was written in the monastery of Cassiodorus.

A third recension of 118 Questions in three classes—38 on the Old Testament, 59 on the New, and 21 reckoned separately—was unknown to previous editors: but according to Mr Souter's present judgement (pp. 189, 192) it only represents the work of some later scholar, and unlike the other two is not to be attributed to the author himself¹.

The question of priority between the '127' and the '151' editions Mr Souter decides, and no doubt rightly, in favour of the shorter of the two, and that, as we have just seen, is the edition of the '151'. Thus the '127' edition is not only that which is given by most of the MSS and by all the older ones, but is also that which represents the writer's later and maturer views. On all grounds therefore it is entitled to, and will receive, the place of honour in the forthcoming Vienna edition.

Of the preface to this edition a preliminary sketch, dealing with the interrelations of the leading MSS of the '127' recension, has been published by Mr Souter in his already mentioned contribution to the transactions of the Vienna Academy. Eight early MSS—i.e. of the ninth and tenth centuries—have come down to us: and of these Mr Souter selects as the best a Metz MS (no. 322) of the tenth century. On the joint evidence of its orthography and of its mistakes he concludes that it was copied from an Italian uncial MS of the sixth or seventh century: though for my own part the confusions between s and r, r and s, would rather lead me to think of a semi-uncial exemplar. More nearly allied than the rest to the Metz MS is a ninth-century Col MS, known to the Benedictine editor and now preserved in Bibliothèque Nationale, lat. 2709, which perhaps betrays Anglo-Saxon or Irish line of descent. Of a second family three principal representatives are now respectively at Carlsruhe (Augiensis IX, from Reichenau), Ghent (cod. 95, from St Maximin at Trèves), and Munich (lat. 6312, from Freising). A connecting link between the two families is found in another Paris MS, lat. 17385, from Nôtre-Dame². It is noteworthy that, although Ambrosiaster was a Roman, these MSS come without exception

¹ A very convenient table of the three recensions is given on pp. 192-194.

² Mr Souter latinizes this MS as 'Nostradamensis', which led me at first to connect it with the astrologer. Personally I should employ the more cumbersome but more respectful form 'codex N. Dominae Parisinae' (or 'Parisiensis').

in the Rhine country or from Northern France: and we are therefore the less surprised to find that they descend from a common archetype, as is proved by the existence in all of them of a common *lacuna*. In fact to supply the ending of Q. 109 and the commencement of Q. 110, where a leaf must have been lost from the archetype of the transalpine family, we are obliged to have recourse to a late Padua MS of the thirteenth century¹—a palmary instance of the occasional value of quite late MSS. Nor is it only in supplying this *lacuna* that the Padua MS comes to the front: it is found to agree with many of the hitherto unsupported readings of the Metz MS, and, representing a wholly separate line of ancestry, it thus affords a striking confirmation of the general soundness of Mr Souter's judgement on the text. Altogether some three thousand passages will be altered by him, on manuscript authority, to a different form from that in which they appear in all existing editions. The work is due for publication within the course of the next year or two, and it is needless to say that scholars are expecting it with avidity. At the same time it is premature to enter into further details about the text, and we turn back to the problem of the authorship.

Who, then, was this active writer, whose *Commentaries* are the earliest extant commentary in either Greek or Latin on all the Pauline Epistles, whose *Quaestiones* too are the earliest substantial book on Biblical difficulties that has come down to us? Earlier than Ambrose, Jerome or Augustine—posterior indeed to no considerable Latin Christian writers but Tertullian and Cyprian, Lactantius and Hilary—can we not succeed in identifying this 'Anonymous', of whom at least we know for certain that he lived and wrote in the capital of the world and centre of Western Christendom at no obscure period of its history? For the internal affairs of the Roman Church during the pontificate of Damasus (366–384) are very far from being a blank page. The disputes which attended the election of that pope

¹ In the *JOURNAL* for Oct. 1904 (vi 61) Mr Souter published for the first time the commencement of Q. 110: the end of Q. 109 was wanting in the *editio princeps* called 'Ratisponensis' from the editor, but published at Lyons in 1497), but in the hitherto unexplained fashion found its way into later editions.

and crystallized into a schism coterminous with his papacy produced a literature of their own, and attracted the interest even of outsiders like the pagan historian Ammianus Marcellinus¹. At the death of pope Liberius the heartburnings which had been excited by his exile, and by the intrusion of the antipope Felix into his place, were not yet completely allayed. Although Felix had predeceased Liberius, and the latter had reconciled the clergy who had adhered to the intruder, yet some of those who had remained faithful all through to Liberius persisted in regarding the opposite party as involved in the guilt of heresy and as incapable of restoration—following in this the principles of the rigorist confessor Lucifer of Cagliari. When, soon after, Liberius himself died, this puritan minority elected the deacon Ursinus for his successor, while the choice of the majority fell upon another deacon, Damasus: and to escape the charge of setting up altar against altar, each side claimed that its bishop was the first to be set on the vacant throne. The partisans of Damasus, who included no doubt not only the vast majority among the clergy but the greater part of the laity, assailed the basilica of Sicininus, the chief stronghold of the Ursinians, with such vigour that at the end of the day over a hundred corpses were found within the sacred building. Not content with this success, the victorious party bombarded the civil power with requests for its interference, and a series of imperial rescripts to the prefect of the city completed the discomfiture of the Ursinians by depriving them of their last remaining churches—henceforward they met in the catacombs—and by banishing from Rome the antipope himself and his most conspicuous supporters. To continue the contest on the main issue was no longer possible: but the law-courts were open to an individual prosecutor, and a Jewish convert of the name of Isaac, acting no doubt as the mouthpiece of the Ursinians, brought criminal charges, involving apparently even a capital penalty, against the person of Damasus. The emperor however withdrew the case from the cognizance of the courts, acquitted the pope, and banished his accuser to Spain where he was said to have relapsed again into Judaism. Finally in 383 or 384, when Damasus' imperial protectors, Valentinian and Gratian, were both dead, two Ursinian presbyters, Faustin

¹ *Amm. Marc. Hist.* xxvii 3 §§ 12-15.

and Marcellinus—of whom Faustinus is known also as author of a dogmatic treatise entitled indifferently *de Trinitate* and *contra Arrianos*—addressed a long petition or 'libellus precum' to Theodosius, in which they gave a history of the whole schism from their point of view and appealed to the emperor's clemency for toleration. The death of Damasus at the end of 384 appears to have terminated the schism by removing its excuse: and its only further effect in history was that, just as it had been the cue of the Ursinians in the interests of Liberius to blacken the reputation of Felix, so the Damasine or official point of view tended to regard Felix as legitimate and with that end to emphasize whatever told to the discredit of Liberius.

This long digression into Roman Church politics is less remote than might be supposed from the literary problem of the authorship of the *Questions* and the *Commentaries*: for no less than three out of the four identifications of the Anonymous that have been proposed in recent years are with personages connected with the Ursinian movement. The most commonly accepted theory has perhaps been that which, starting from the ascription by St Augustine of a passage in the *Commentaries* to 'sanctus Hilarius', and explaining the error as due to a confusion of some other Hilary with St Hilary of Poitiers, selected the Luciferian deacon Hilary of Rome. Langen objected, not without reason, that the author of the *Quaestio* 'On the arrogance of the Roman Levites' can hardly have been a Roman Levite himself, and proposed instead the Ursinian presbyter Faustinus. On this hypothesis, he would interpret the closing words of *Quaest.* 125, 'iam enim in libello adversus Arrianam impietatem digesto reliqua plenius tractata sunt quae Trinitatis complexa sunt indiscretam unitatem', as a reference to Faustinus' treatise on the Trinity: but they are most naturally understood of the long *Quaest.* 97 against Arius. Yet a third Ursinian was suggested by Dom Morin in the *Revue d'histoire et de littérature religieuses* for 1899, Isaac the ex-Jew. Four years later Morin retracted that suggestion and, falling back on the earlier starting-point in Augustine's 'sanctus Hilarius', substituted the name of another Hilary, Decimius Hilarianus Hilarius, governor of Africa in 377, prefect of the city in 383, praetorian prefect of Italy in 396. To the latter view Mr Souter professes his adhesion: it 'entirely satisfies

the conditions of the problem' (p. 2), and 'those who differ from it will have to read the works of the author carefully in the forthcoming Vienna editions before coming to a conclusion on the subject' (p. 183).

This is strong language: and I am afraid I shall seem over bold if in the face of it, and without waiting for the forthcoming editions, and although my knowledge of the texts is (it is hardly necessary to say) vastly inferior to Dom Morin's or to Mr Souter's, I confess myself an obstinate and impenitent believer in Morin's discarded thesis. I am as strongly impressed to-day with what appear to me to be the weighty probabilities in favour of the authorship of Isaac the Jew, as I was when I wrote in the first number of this JOURNAL (Oct. 1899: i 155), 'it seems hardly premature to say that Dom Morin has solved one of the great problems of patristic literature'.

Let us begin by clearing the ground of any arguments that can be alleged in support of the candidature of Hilarianus Hilarius. These are, as far as I can see, only two. In the first place, with him, as with any other personage of the name of Hilary, we should have a ready explanation of the false ascription to Hilary of Poitiers. But in fact no explanation is needed. The *Commentaries* were published—we are all agreed on that point—anonously, and to Augustine's generation St Hilary stood on the same sort of pinnacle as did St Ambrose or St Augustine himself to the men of a somewhat later day. It is scarcely more strange to find the name of Hilary attached to the work at the beginning of the fifth century than to find the name of Ambrose in the same position at the beginning of the sixth: the passion for abolishing the anonymous was not born full-grown with our extant MSS. So much for the one argument in favour of Hilarianus. The other is based upon our author's manifest acquaintance both with the technicalities and with the principles of Roman law and administration. But this is rather a slight foundation on which to build up an identification with a particular administrator.

The *crux* of the whole problem is the silence of St Jerome. Nowhere in his voluminous writings—neither in his expositions of Scripture, nor in his correspondence, nor in his bibliography of Christian authors—does that father mention directly the existence

of the *Commentaries* or the *Questions*, still less name their author. Yet Jerome studied at Rome as a young man, returned to reside there during the last years of Damasus' pontificate, and to the end of his life kept up a lively intercourse with his friends in the capital. His acquaintance with theological literature was unequalled: biblical research and exegesis was the study to which above all others he devoted himself. If he ignored the substantial contributions made to his own subject by a Roman Christian contemporary, it cannot have been because he was ignorant of them. Indeed a careful examination of his works has detected points of contact, few but unmistakeable, with our author. The five problems from the early chapters of Genesis, which Damasus sent to Jerome for solution in the year 384¹, at a time when the scholar was in almost daily contact with the pope, all reappear among the first twelve of the *Quaestiones*. The same defence of the essential identity between the presbyterate and the episcopate is to be found in *Quaestio* 101 and in the 146th of St Jerome's letters. And even if there were nothing so far to prove that Jerome is not the original and our author the copyist, a third case shews decisively on which side the obligation lay: for in his 73rd epistle, written in the year 398, Jerome speaks of having received from his correspondent 'volumen ἀνώνυμον ἀδέσποτον, et nescio utrum tu de titulo nomen subtraxeris, an ille qui scripsit, ut periculum fugeret disputandi, auctorem noluit confiteri'; and the singular view which he proceeds to discuss and refute, namely the identification of Melchisedech with the Holy Spirit, is that propounded by our author in *Quaestio* 109.

The three references so far adduced are all discussed by Mr Souter in one part or another of his *Study*²: not so a fourth, in which it seems to me that St Jerome lets us glance for a moment beneath the veil which he kept so carefully drawn over the personality and writings of our author, and, though he still suppresses his name, allows himself to make some hardly obscure intimations about his history and character. The passage is so important, and has until lately passed so

¹ Jerome *Ep.* 35.

² *A Study of Ambrosiaster*, pp. 11, 170, 173.

entirely unnoticed¹, that I make no apology for transcribing it in full: it occurs in the Commentary on Titus (iii 9: Vallarsi vii 735)—

'Est et illis' [*sc.* the Jews] 'alia occasio superbiae, quoniam, sicut nos qui Latini sumus Latina nomina et origines de lingua nostra habentia [*al.* trahentia] facilius memoriae tradimus, ita illi a parva aetate vernacula sui sermonis vocabula penitissimis [*al.* peritissimis] sensibus imbiberunt [*al.* imbuerunt] et ab exordio Adam usque ad extremum Zorobabel omnium generationes ita memoriter velociterque percurrunt, ut eos suum putes referre nomen. hoc nos—qui aut alias litteras didicimus, aut certe sero credidimus in Christum, aut etiam si infantes sumus ecclesiae mancipati magis scripturarum sensum quam verba sectamur—si forte non ita novimus, putant se in nominibus referendis et in supputatione annorum et in nepotibus et abnepotibus, avis proavis et atavis, doctiores. audivi ego quendam de Hebraeis, qui se Romae in Christum credidisse simulabat, de genealogiis Domini nostri Iesu Christi quae scriptae sunt in Mattheo et Luca facere quaestionem, quod videlicet a Salomone usque ad Ioseph nec numero sibi nec vocabulorum aequalitate consentiant: qui cum *corda simplicium pervertisset*, quasi ex adytis et oraculo deferebat quasdam ut sibi videbatur solutiones, cum magis debuerit *iustitiam et misericordiam et dilectionem Dei* quaerere, et post illa (si forte occurrisset) de nominibus et numeris disputare. satis forsitan de Hebraeorum supercilio, et plus quam necesse fuerit, dixerimus: sed occasio nobis data est de *genealogiis et contentione et rixis quae ex lege veniunt* disserendi.'

Now it is natural to identify the lecture which Jerome had heard on the subject of the Gospel genealogies with no. 56 of our author's *Quaestiones* 'Quare in Mattheo pater Ioseph Iacob scribitur, et in Luca Heli': and that on the following grounds. The lecture was apparently given in Rome: the *Quaestiones*, as we know, belong to Rome also. The occasion of it, coinciding

¹ I have been anticipated in calling attention to it by the most erudite patristic scholar of our time, Dr Th. Zahn, who cited it, I find, when first noticing Dom Morin's Isaac-hypothesis in the *Theologisches Literaturblatt*, July 7, 1899. [I imagine it is to this that Mr Souter's note on p. 11 refers 'See also Zahn *op. cit.* for a passage which will be discussed later'. I cannot discover that Mr Souter has discussed it later: but in the absence of an index of subject-matter it is difficult to make sure.]

with one of Jerome's residences in Rome, must be placed between 365 and 385: and this is the date also of the *Quaestiones*. The method of the lecturer is described with the words 'facere quaestionem': the correspondence with the title of the book is exact. The explanation given of the discrepancies between the two genealogies Jerome scornfully alludes to as a 'so-called' solution, 'oraculary' given—i.e. not one which would satisfy a rational enquirer: and on turning to the text of the *Quaestiones*, we find that our author's two suggestions are (1) that the word *θεός*, throughout verses 23–38 of Luc. iii, is always to be referred back to *Ἰησοῦς* of verse 23, 'Jesus was son of Joseph, son of David . . . son of Adam, pre-existent Son of God', and (2) that each relationship is thus referred only to Jesus Himself, and the text itself emphasizes the putative character of His relationship to Joseph, so a similarly putative character applies to the other relationships also, and we need not suppose that any genealogical tree, or steps of actual descent through father and son, was intended by the third evangelist. It will hardly be denied that 'quasdam ut sibi videbatur solutiones' 'quasi adytis et oraculo' is not inappropriate (and for St Jerome not excessive) language to apply to exegesis of this sort. And the final sneer against 'disputation about names and numbers' is off one of the most marked characteristics of an author who can establish for instance (*Quaest.* 87) the doctrine of the Trinity by an exposition of the mathematical value of 9 as the square of 3.

But if it be once admitted that the lecturer whom St Jerome regarded as identical with the author of the *Quaestiones*, the problem which we set out to face is as good as solved. For we know, on this hypothesis, that he was a Jew: that he made a conversion at was in Jerome's opinion an insincere conversion to Christianity: and that he would have done better to have studied ethics than exegesis, 'justice and mercy and the love of God' rather than 'names and numbers'. Whatever else is uncertain, it is certain that this description can fit no one but Isaac. Isaac was an ex-Jew: his prosecution of Damasus on a capital charge tried in a civil court may well have seemed to the pope's partisans a negation of justice and mercy and the love of God: and if the assertions of the latter party may be believed, his adhesion

to Christianity proved in the day of his exile to be only skin-deep—'facto ad synagogam recursu caelestia mysteria profanavit'¹.

If then it appears that St Jerome both must have known, and did know, our author's works, his silence can only have been due to a consciously deliberate 'boycott' of one whom he felt he had strong and valid reason to disapprove. Nothing of a sort to satisfy even remotely this condition can be shewn to apply to Hilarius Hilarius². But assume that Jerome believed the writer of the *Questions* and the *Commentary* to have been a schismatic, a calumniator of the successor of St Peter, an apostate from the Christian faith, and there was every inducement for him to suppress all mention of the fact that such a man had made serious contributions to theological study, and to let the waters of oblivion flow over them and their author alike.

If it was true then to say, as I said above, that the *crux* of the problem lay in the silence of St Jerome, it is true also that in the case of Isaac, and it would seem of Isaac only, there would be a definite and satisfactory explanation of it. But the evidence of St Jerome is not the only evidence that can be brought into court in favour of the Isaac-hypothesis. The *prima facie* case so far made out admits of being strengthened on more than one side. There is reason for supposing that another theological treatise of Isaac's is extant, while as regards Hilarius there is nothing to shew that he was a writer at all: while at least one of the favourite topics of the author of the *Quaestiones*, his unusual knowledge of matters Jewish, points strongly in the direction of Isaac as against all other competitors. Something must be said on each of these two heads.

The writer of the *Quaestiones* was admittedly a man who was deeply interested in Christian theology, and expressed himself freely on its most mysterious dogmas, at whatever value his capacities for doing so may be estimated. Whatever praise or blame belongs to him in this respect may be predicated also of Isaac the Jew, if Sirmond was right in attributing to the partisan

¹ In the letter of Damasus' council [of 382, according to Father Puller] to the emperor *Et hoc gloriae vestrae*.

² As Mr Souter frankly admits (p. 185).

Ursinus the little tract which he discovered under the name of *Fides Isatis ex Iudaeo* and published in 1630¹, and in identifying it with a 'librum obscurissimae disputationis et involuti sermonis' on the Trinity and Incarnation which Gennadius of Marseille (*de viris illustribus* 26) ascribes to an Isaac who is not further particularized. Morin has established some quite remarkable resemblances between this fragment and the *Quaestiones*: to mention only one of them, 'Isaac the ex-Jew' discusses, in this theological treatise, the significance of the numbers 2, 3 and just as we have seen the author of *Quaestio* 87 under similar circumstances expatiate on the meaning of 3 and its square.

Again the *Quaestiones* and the *Commentary*, as more than one dependent reader has noticed, shew an acquaintance with Jewish history and customs which is quite unique among patristic writings in its range and detail. Mr Souter has himself collected (p. 180-183) a long—but, as he himself tells us, a far from exhaustive—list of such references, and there is no need to repeat them here: a single illustration from each work will suffice. In the *Quaestiones* (Q. 115) allusion is made to the fact that, though conversions from paganism to Judaism from time to time occurred, the opposite case of conversion from Judaism to paganism was quite unknown. In the *Commentary* on 1 Cor. xiv 30, 31 (ἐὰν ἄλλος ἀποκαλυφθῇ καθημένω) it is suggested that the apostle is commending to his Christian disciples of heathen origin the custom of the synagogue, where they 'dispute seated, the elders dignity on chairs, the next in order on benches, the lowest on mats on the floor'. As Mr Souter justly remarks, there is nothing either patronizing or hostile' in their attitude. But to find a Christian writer of the fourth century who refers a good deal to the Jews and Judaism, without being either patronizing or hostile, is remarkable enough in itself, and Mr Souter makes doubly difficult of explanation when he makes our author a Roman of high birth. He conjectures that Hilarius had perhaps held office as *dux* or *comes* in Egypt, and had therefore acquired his remarkable interest in the Jews'. But I experience no difficulty in conceiving of any governor who was both a Roman of high birth and a Christian, having intimate dealings

From a MS of Pithou's, containing much miscellaneous theological and canonical matter, now Paris. lat. 1564 (saec. ix).

with the Jewish provincials under him—except indeed in the way of borrowing money.

This quite unique interest in Judaism on the part of the writer of the *Commentary* and the *Questions*, taken together with his interest in Law, makes it natural to look to him as the author of a comparison of the Laws of Moses and the Laws of Rome, which some unknown Roman lawyer published not long after the year 390 and (as it appears) in Rome itself¹. The work is divided into sixteen chapters; the citation from 'Moses' or the 'divine law' in each case comes first, and is followed by citations from one or more of the jurists, Gaius, Papinian, Ulpian, Paulus, Modestinus, or from the collections of imperial *rescripta* made by Gregorianus and Hermogenianus: in one case a law of Valentinian Theodosius and Arcadius, of the year 390, is quoted not from the books but from direct personal knowledge. And the *a priori* arguments for the Ambrosiaster's authorship receive some confirmation from the curious fact that the edict or edicts of Diocletian against the Manicheans are mentioned in no other writings than the *Commentaries* of the Ambrosiaster and the *Collatio*².

It is tempting to pursue the policy of identification still further. A young Roman Catholic scholar, Dr Joseph Wittig, in a lately published paper bearing the title *Der Ambrosiaster 'Hilarius'*, has enumerated thirteen works which he attributes to our author. The support which he gives to the 'Isaac' hypothesis is very welcome, and his theory that 'Hilarius' is a vernacular rendering of the Hebrew Isaac (= 'laughing') is at the least extremely ingenious: but much of his paper loses itself, it seems to me, in fine-drawn subtleties, and the temptation to abolish the anonymous is one which the wise man will do well to resist.

Mr Souter is comparatively modest in this respect. He does not ascribe to the Ambrosiaster, apart from the *Commentaries* and the *Questions*, more than two other writings: and of one of these, a Vienna papyrus fragment *contra Arrianos*, he limits himself to saying (p. 164) that Dom Morin has with great probability

¹ *Mosaicarum et Romanarum Legum Collatio*, edited first by P. Pithou, Paris 1573, and with exhaustive prolegomena by Mommsen in the *Collectio librorum isagogici antejustiniani*, tom. iii (Berlin, 1890) pp. 107-198.

² The attribution of the *Collatio* to the Ambrosiaster has suggested itself independently also to Mr Souter and to the writer of the pamphlet mentioned in the next paragraph, my acquaintance with which I owe to Mr Souter's kindness.

imed it for our author. The other is the exegetical fragment

St Matthew xxiv, published first by Mercati and afterwards the JOURNAL (v 218-241) by myself. Mr Souter immediately inted out (v 608-621) a number of unmistakeable coincidences ith both the *Commentaries* and the *Quaestiones*, which would onvince every person who reads them attentively that they all me from the same author', and I welcome the present opportunity of expressing myself upon the subject in answer to this allenge. No one can deny the force of Mr Souter's parallels: at they establish some sort of connexion between the fragment nd the Ambrosiaster is quite clear, but it is not equally clear, to ie at any rate, that the connexion is that of common authorship.

still feel it rather difficult to understand a reference to the laurel crown' as a test of paganism after the middle of the outh century: nor does Mr Souter's allegation of Julian's quite bortive persecution help matters much. I feel it still more ifficult to believe, not that Chiliasm was still a topic of interest i the fourth century—Mr Souter misinterpreted me on this ead—but that a Chiliastic writer of the date and place of the mbrosiaster could have had to combat such a grossly material orm of Chiliasm as the fragment has in view. These were two f my original arguments: and I should now add a third, based a the consideration of Mr Souter's parallels, which do not leave a me the impression of common authorship so much as of emplar and copy. The style of the fragment is rugged, rcible, uncouth: the passages quoted from Ambrosiaster seem utherto expand and polish the material, and to whittle down its eculiarities. Two alternatives, besides that of common author- ip, are open: the one that the fragment belongs to some older atin author whom Ambrosiaster closely studied, the other that was Greek in origin and that Ambrosiaster was himself the anslator of it into Latin. Neither of these alternatives is with- it its difficulties: and Mr Souter's view, which is of course the mplest, may be also the truest.

I should like to have concluded this paper with some attempt estimate the value of the Ambrosiaster's contribution to biblical dy, and to account for the contrast between the opinion held him respectively by St Jerome and by modern German theo-

DOCUMENTS

CODEX TAURINENSIS (Y). IV.

ἰ' ΛΟΓΟΙ ΑΜΩΣ. Οἱ ἑΓΕΝΟΝΤΟ ἘΝ ἈΚΚΑΡΕΙΜ. ἘΝ ΘΕΚΟΨΕ. ΟΥΣ Ι
ΕΪΔΕΝ ὙΠΕΡ ἸΛΗΜ ἘΝ ἩΜΕΡΑΙΣ ὈΖΙΟΥ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ἸΟΥΔΑ ΚΑΙ ἘΝ
ἩΜΕΡΑΙΣ ἸΕΡΟΒΟΛΜ ΤΟΥ ἸΩΛΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ἸΗΛ ΠΡὸ ΔΥΟ ἙΤΩΝ
ΤΟΥ ΣΕΙΣΜΟΥ:

2^a καὶ εἶπε κῶ ἐκ σιὼν ἐφθόγγατο καὶ ἐξ ἰλημ ἔδωκε φωνὴν αὐτοῦ καὶ
ἐπίνθησαν αἱ νομαὶ τῶν ποιμένων καὶ ἐξηράνθη ἡ κορυφή τοῦ καρμύλου
3^a καὶ εἶπε κῶ ἐπὶ ταῖς τρισὶν ἀσεβείαις δαμασκοῦ καὶ ἐπὶ ταῖς τέσσαρασι
οὐκ ἀποστραφήσομαι αὐτὸν ἀνθ' ὧν ἔπριζον ἐν πρίοσιν σιδηροῖς *** ἐν
4 γαστρὶ ἐχούσας τῶν γαλαάδ^a **** ποστειλῶ πῦρ εἰς τὸν οἶκ . . . ταφάγεται
5 θεμέλια . . . ^b . . . ψω μοχλοὺς δαμασκοῦ . . . κατοικούντας . . . κόψω
6 φυλὴν ἐξ λωτευθήσεται γει κῶ^c ^d τάδε βείαις γάλης καὶ

II. Inscr Αμωσ β ΒΑQ I λογοι—ιλημ] Sermones Amos quos vidit super
[Jerusalem OL¹ εν ακκαρειμ] εν καριαθιαριμ 22 36^{ms} 51 97 228 εν καριαθιαριμ
Θ^{ms} 95 185 εν ποιμισιοτροφοις Αq εν τοις ποιμεσιν X Quint εν ρακεδειμ Θ εν 2^a] εκ
22 62 147* (εν 147^a) ειδεν] ιδεν 22 86 υπερ] επι 22 51 86 95 185 περι 62
7 228 Αq X Θ Quint Sext ιλημ] Ισραηλ Αq X Θ Quint Sext Syro-
[ex ημεραις 1^a] ημερα 153 οζιου] Οζιου Β* Q (-ιου Β^b) βασιλειω 1^a] ρη
ου 153 2. και ειπε] ομι 51* (hab 51^a) ειπε] -πεν Y* (-πε Y^a) ΒΑQ 22
5] +ο θεος 51 εφθεγγατο] βρυχησεται Αq X κρευζεται Θ εδωκε] -κεν ΒΑQ
τενθησαν] πειθησουσιν Αq X ποιμενων] ποιμνιασ Q (ποιμενων Q^a) 86 νομων (ρη
ροβατων!) Αq και 3^a] ομι 97 (hab 97^a) 3. ειπε] -πεν Y* (-πε Y^a) ΒΑQ
5] ομι 86 επι 1^a 2^a] Syro-Hex^{ms} τεσσαραις] -σιν ΒΑQ 22 (sic infra)
[εκ αποστραφησομαι] ου προσδεξομαι X αυτου] αυτην X (εκ 48 αυτου 97 228 αυτου)
ντου 86 eam OL¹ επιρ(ον—γαλααδ)] . . . ηλωαν εν αμαζαις . . . Αq ηλωσαν τροχοις
ιδηροις την Γαλααδ X . . . αφοσι (s. τροχοις) σιδηροις . . . Θ (OL = Y) εν πριοσιν]
κε εν ΒΑQ 48 86 153 228 233 πριοσι Q^{vid} ***] ομι Q* (τας Q^{ms}) εν 2^a] ομι Α
ων γαλααδ] των εν γαλααδ ΑQ Γ των γαλααδιτων 22 36 51 86^{ms} 95 97 185 των τη
αλααδ 153 των γαγβαδ 228 (των γαλααδ 228^{ms}) 4. **** ποστειλω] και εξαποστειλω
ι Q Γ X (εκ και αποστειλω 22) 86 εις] επι Γ θεμελια] ρη τα Q^a 48 86 153
28 233 βαρεις Αq X τας αυλας Θ 5. μοχλους] μοχλον Αq X Θ . . . κοψω
κλιν εν (ανδρων χαρραν)] και τον κατεχοντα (s. κρατουντα) ραβδον εξ οικου Εδεν X και
ου κατεχοντα (s. κρατουντα) σκηπτρον εκ οικου τρυφης Θ . . . λωτευθησεται]
ιχμαλωτισθησεται ΑQ^a ιχμαλωτισθησονται Γ 6. ταδε (λεγει κῶ)] ομι 147

14 γαστροὶ ἐχούσας τῶν γαλααδιτῶν ὅπως ἐμπαλύνωσι τὰ ὄρια αὐτῶν ¹⁴ καὶ
ἀνῶψ πῦρ ἐπὶ τὰ τεῖχη βραββά· καὶ καταφάγεται τὰ θεμέλια αὐτῆς μετὰ
κραυγῆς ἐν ἡμέρᾳ πολέμου· καὶ σεισθήσεται ἐν ἡμέραις συντελείας αὐτῆς·
15 ¹⁵ καὶ πορεύεται ***** αἰχμαλωσίᾳ οἱ ἱερεῖς αὐτοῦ καὶ οἱ . . . αὐτοῦ II
1 ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ λέγει κῶ ¹ τὰδε . . . αἰς τρισὶν ἀσεβείαις μωὰβ . . . ταρσιν II
2 οὐκ ἀποστραφήσομ . . . κατέκανσαν τὰ ὄστᾶ β . . . εἰς κονίαν· ² καὶ
ἐξα . . . καταφάγεται θεμέλια . . . καὶ ἀποθανέται ἐ . . . νῆς καὶ μετὰ
3, ³ κρ . . . ³ θρέψω κριτὰς ἐ . . . τας αὐτοῦ ἀπ . . . ⁴ τὰδε λέγει κῶ ἐπὶ
ταῖς τρισὶν ἀσεβείαις νῶν Ιούδα καὶ ἐπὶ ταῖς τέτταρσιν οὐκ ἀποστραφή-
σομαι αὐτούς· ἐνεκεν τοῦ ἀπόσασθαι αὐτοὺς τὸν νόμον κῶ· καὶ τὰ προσ-
τάγματα αὐτοῦ οὐκ ἐφυλάξαντο· καὶ ἐπλάνησεν αὐτοὺς τὰ μάταια αὐτῶν
5 ἃ ἐποίησαν· οἱς ἐξηκολούθησαν οἱ πατέρες αὐτῶν ὀπίσω αὐτῶν· ⁵ καὶ
6 ἐξαποστειλῶ πῦρ ἐπὶ Ιούδα· καὶ καταφάγεται θεμέλια Ιηρμ· ⁶ τὰδε λέγει
κῶ· ἐπὶ ταῖς τρισὶν ἀσεβείαις ιηλ καὶ ἐπὶ ταῖς τέτταρσιν οὐκ ἀποστραφή-
σομαι αὐτόν· ἀνθ' ὧν ἀπέδοντο τὸ δίκαιον ἀργυρίου καὶ πένητα ἐνεκεν
7 ὑποδημά· ⁷ . . . πατούντων ἐπὶ τὸν χοῦν τῆς γῆς· καὶ . . . κεφαλὰς πτωχῶν·
καὶ ὁδὸν ταπει . . . νίδς καὶ ὁ πῆρ αὐτοῦ εἰσπορεύ . . . παιδίσκην ὅπως

95 185 *οπως εμπλατυνουναι* Αq Θ *αυτων* εαυτων Β Q 48 233 14. *και αναφω* οι
ο' εξαφω Q^{mc} *και εξαφω* Σ *και αναφω* Θ τα 1^o) *οτι* 48 *ραββα* ραββαθ 48 228
233 τα 2^o) *οτι* Β Α Ξ (*εξ* 22 36 51 95 97 185) *κρωτης* + *ισχυρας* 86^{ms} *ut vid*
ημερα ημερας 86^{ms} 228 *εν ημερα πολλων* *και σισθησεται* *οτι* 51 *ημεραι*
ημερα Α Q Ξ (*εξ* 48 95 185 228) *συντελειας* *συντελει* Β* (*-λειας* Β^{ab}) 15
πορευσεται *πορευσονται* Β Α Q 48 153 228 233 *πορευθησονται* 86 (*πορευσεται* 86^{ms})
***** *οι βασιλεις αυτης* Β Α Q 36^a 48 233 (*sic sine α* 228) *μελχωμ* 22 86 51
62 86 (*οι βασιλεις* 86^{ms}) 97 147 Αq Σ *μελχωμ* 95 185 *οι ιερεις αυτου* *οι ιερεις αυτων*
Β Α Q *αυτου* Q Ξ (*εξ* 22 36 51 97 *αυτου* 95 185 *αυτοι*) ௮௩? 𐤀𐤒𐤁 Syro-Hex
𐤀𐤒𐤁? *λεσος* 99 *.ל .ש .י* Syro-Hex^{ms} *αυτου* 2^o) *αυτων* Β Α Q (*ομ[ν]ιας*) *οι γ'*
αυτων Q^{ms} + *εν αυμ[α]λωσια* 86.

II. 1. ἀσέβειας| ἀσέβειας B* (-εῖας Bab) (τε)ταραῖν| τεσσαραῖν B Q 𐤔 (exc 62
 τεταραῖν) τεσσαραῖν A* (τεσσαραῖν A*) κατεκαυσαν| -σαν 22 -σε 233 τα οὐτα
 β . . .| ponit post βασιλεως ιδουμαας 238 2. θεμελία| ᾗ τὰ B 48 86 + αὐτων 62
 βαρις Q^{ms} αποθαנהται| εναποθαנהται 95 185 (φω)νης και μετα κρ(α)νης|
 κρωνης και μετα φωνης B A Q 48 153 228 μετα| ομι 233 3. κριτας| κριτην
 B A Q 48 86 153 228 233 (ε)ξ αυτου και παντας αρχον(τ)ας αυτου| εξ αυτης και
 παντας αυτης B 48 ε(ξ αυτης και παντας τους (ομι τους Q*) αρχοντας αυτης A Q* ομι
 αυτου 2° 147 (𐤔 [exc 48] = Y) απ(ο)κτενω μετ αυτου| αποκτ. μετ αυτης (αυτου Q*)
 A Q* σ' αυτης Q^{ms} 153 (ομι μετ αυτου 228) αποκτενωμαι μετ αυτων 86 4. τετταραῖν
 (sic)| τεσσαραῖν A Q G 𐤔 αυτους 1°| αυτων B Q* (αυτους Q*) 22 48 233 ενεκεν|
 ενεκα Q G 36 48 153 228 233 αυτους 2°| ομι 228 (add supra lin) 𐤔| ᾗ τὸν
 B Q 48 ε(λ)αησεν| -σαν 153 228 ματαια| αιματα A* (ματαια A*) α ε(κ)οισεν|
 ομι 153 228 (hab 228°) ος| ᾗ και 36 228° 5. ε(ξ)αποστειλω| αποστειλω 97
 θεμελια| βαρις Aq 𐤔 οικησες ο ιλημ| ισραηλ 62 147 ᾗ επι 228 6. κ(α)
 adscr supra lin 228 ιηλ| ιερουσαλημ 228 τετταραῖν (sic)| τεσσαραῖν B A Q 𐤔
 αυτων| αυτων 62 147 αυτους 228 το δικαιον αργυριου| αργυριου δικαιον B A Q 48 86 153
 228 233 δικαιον αργυριου εν κρισει 62 147 ομι το 95 185 υποδημα(των)| ᾗ τῶν 86
 7. (τωσ) πατουτων| τα πατουonta B A Q 48 233 των καταπονητων 86 ομι 153
 ο 𐤔| ομι το B A Q 𐤔 (exc 36 51 97) αυτου| ομι 153 παιδικην| 𐤔𐤔𐤔𐤔

8 βεβηλω αὐτῶν⁸ καὶ τὰ ἱμάτια αὐ ὧ παραπετάσματα
 9 ἐ ἀσθηρίων καὶ οἶνον ἐκ συ κψ τοῦ θυ αὐτῶν⁹ ἐ κ προσ-
 ὡπου αὐ . . . δρον τὸ ὕψος αὐτοῦ ρα τὸν καρπὸν αὐτοῦ ἐπάνωθεν
 10 καὶ τὰς ῥίζας αὐτοῦ ὑποκάτωθεν¹⁰ καὶ ἐγὼ ἀνήγαγον ὑμᾶς ἐκ γῆς αἰγύπτου
 καὶ περιέγαγον ὑμᾶς ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ τεσσαράκοντα ἔτη τοῦ κατακληρονομήσαι
 11 τὴν γῆν τῶν ἀμορραίων¹¹ ἔλαβον ἐκ τῶν νιῶν ὑμῶν εἰς προφήτας καὶ ἐκ
 τῶν νεανίσκων ὑμῶν εἰς ἀγιασμόν μὴ οὐκ ἔστι ταῦτα υἱοὶ ἡλ λέγει κω
 12¹² καὶ ἐποτίζετε τοὺς ἡγιασμένους οἶνον καὶ τοῖς προφήταις ἐνετέλλεσθε
 13 λέγοντες οὐ μὴ προφητεύσητε¹³ διὰ τοῦτο ἰδοὺ ἐγὼ κυλίω ὑποκάτω ὑμῶν
 14 ὃν τρόπον κυλίεται ἡ ἄμαξα ἡ γέμουσα καλάμης¹⁴ λείπει φρυγὴ ἐκ
 δρομέως καὶ κραταῖος τήσῃ τῆς ἰσχύος αὐτοῦ καὶ ὁ μαχ ση τὴν
 15 ψυχὴν αὐτοῦ¹⁵ καὶ ὁ το καὶ ὁ ὄξυς τοῖς ποσὶν αὐτοῦ ὁ ἱππεὺς
 16 οὐ μὴ σώσῃ τὴν¹⁶ ταιὸς οὐ μὴ εὖρη τὴν κ αὐς ὁ γυμνὸς φεύγεται

II. 11. Chrys. In Ep. ad Tit. i Hom. ii 3 De Sac. vi. 11 12^a. De Virg. xxi

Syro-Hex^{ms} βεβηλω(σας)] βεβηλωσιν B 48 62 βεβηλωσωσιν A^a (σωσιν τ^o
 ὄνομα του sup ras) βεβηλωσούσι 86 153 S. καὶ τὰ ἱμάτια παραπετάσματα
 (ποιουν)] καὶ ἐπὶ ἱματία διεφθαρμένης ἐξεκλιναν Aq καὶ ἐπὶ ἱματία ἐνεχυράσμου ἐ
 κλινουσι Σ καὶ ἐπὶ ἱματιαν vi ablatorum κατεκλινοντο مصلح مصلح
 0001 مصلح مصلح Syro-Hex^{ms} παραπετάσματα παραπετάσματα
 συ(κοφαντιαν)] σικοφαντιαν 62 συκοφαντων 153 9. ε(γω δε εξηρα)] εγω δε εξεγειρα
 ως εγω εξηρα 36 48 153 ως εγω εξηρα 86 καὶ συνετριψα Aq (Σ Θ = Y) ομι εγω OI
 (τον ἀμορραιον ε)κ προσώπου] τον αμ. προ (εκ Q^a) προσώπου Q^a μητρος φωτισμου
 διαπικραινοντα 86^{ms} (καθως υψος κε)δρου] καθως υψ (sic) κεδρου 22 υψ υψος 22
 καθως υψος κεδρον (κενδρον 185) 95 185 (OL^a = Y) (εξη)ρα] εξηρα B A Q 36 48 86
 153 228 233 εξηρα 22 51 62 95 97 147 185 O L^a = Y επανωθεν] επανωθεν A
 10. εκ γης αἰγυπτου] και περιεγαγον υμας] ομι 185 περιεγαγον] ωδηγησα 233
 τεσσαρακοντα] μ' A Q L (exc 22 97 233) τεσσαρα 97 11. Chrys = Y
 ελαβον] ρη και B A Q (ανελαβον Q^a) L (exc 22 36 51 97) εις 1^o] ομι 22 εστι]
 -ιν B A Q υιοι] ρη οι 62 147 12. εποτιζετε] -εται 62 147^a (-ετε 147) εποτισατε
 Chrys τους ηγιασμενους] τους αγιασμενους 22 (ηγιασμ. 22^a) τους ραζιραιους 36^{ms}
 Aq Σ ραζοραιους Θ 86^{ms} sanctis (al sanctificatis) OL^{iet} + meis OL^{iet} τοις προ-
 φηταις] τους προφητας 147 ενετελλεσθε] ενετελεσθε 51 147 ενετελεσθαι 62 ου μη
 προφητευσητε] του μη προφητευσαι 228 13. ιδου] ομι 153 εγω κυλιω—η αμαξα]
 εγω τρι(η)σω υποκατω υμων καθα τριζει η αμαξα Aq αμαξα] αμαξ 147 (αμαξα 147^a)
 γεμουσα] φερουσα 147 καλαμης] καλαμην 62 95 147 185 14-15. ταιος (ου μη
 κρα)τηση—ιππευς] sup ras A^a 14. εκ δρομεως] ras 147 supra scr 147^a κομφου
 Aq Θ (κρα)τηση] -σει Q 22 ισχυος] ισχυως 147 (ισχυος 147^a) (ου μη σω)ση
 την ψυχην αυτου] ομι A^a (σω)ση] σωσει B Q (σωση Q^a) L (exc 22 97 228) την
 ψυχην αυτου] την ισχυν αυτου 228^{ms} 15. Totum comma deest 153 (και) ο
 ιππευς] ουδε (και Q^{ms}) ο ιππευς (ιππεις Q^a vid) B A Q ου δε ο ιππευς 233 σωση] σωσει
 B Q (σωση Q^a) L (exc 22 147 σωσει 147^a) την (ψυχην αυτου)] την ψ. εαυτου 86
 16. (και ο κρα)ταιος—φευγεται] και ο καρτερος καρδιαν αυτου εν δυνατοις γυμνος φευγεται
 Aq . . . εν τοις ανδρειοις γυμνος φευγεται Σ και ο εχων καρδιαν αυτου εν δυναστεια
 γυμνος φευγεται Θ (ο κρα)ταιος ου μη] ομι ου μη B^{ab} ομι A Q 228 (hab 228^{ms}) 233
 ομι ο κραταιος 153 ευρη] ευρησει B A Q (ηυρεθη Q^{ms}) 48 233 ευρεθη 153 مصلح مصلح
 Syro-Hex την κ(αρδιαν)] καρδια Q^{ms} η καρδια 153 φευγεται] διωζεται B A Q 22
 36 48 147^a 15 228 233 φευγεται 51 62 86 95 97 147 185

1 γει κω̄ ¹ ἐκούσατε σε κω̄ ἐφ' ὑμᾶς οἶκος ἤς ἀνήγαγον III
 2 ἐκ γῆ . . . ². γνων ἐκ πασῶν κήσω ἐφ' ὑμᾶς πάσας τὰς ἁμαρτίας
 3 ὑμῶν ³ εἰ πορεύσονται δύο ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ καθόλου ἐὰν μὴ γνωρίωσιν
 4 ἑαυτοὺς ⁴ εἰ ἐρεύζεται λείων ἐκ δρυμοῦ αὐτοῦ θήραν οὐκ ἔχων ⁵ εἰ δώσει
 σκύμνος φωνὴν αὐτοῦ ἐκ τῆς μάνδρας αὐτοῦ καθόλου ἐὰν μὴ ἀρπάσῃ τι·
 6 ⁵ εἰ πεσείται δρῶν ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν ἀνευ ἱκευτοῦ ⁶ εἰ σχασθήσεται παγὶς ἐπὶ
 7 τῆς γῆς ἀνευ τοῦ συλλαβεῖν τι· ⁸ εἰ φωνήσῃ σάλπιγξ ἐν πόλει καὶ λαὸς
 9 οὐ μὴ ποιοθήσεται· εἰ ἔσται κακία ἐν πόλει ἣν κω̄ οὐκ ἐποίησεν ⁷ διότι
 οὐ μὴ ποιήσῃ κω̄ ὁ θς πρῶ . . . μὴ ἀποκαλύψῃ παιδείαν αὐτοῦ πρὸς . . .
 8 αὐτοῦ τοὺς προφῆτας ⁹ λέων ἐ . . . ε οὐ φοβηθήσεται· κω̄ ὁ θς ἐλάλη
 9 οφητεύσει· ¹ ἀπαγγεῖλατε χά ἀχθῆτε ἐπὶ τὸ ὄρος σαμα . . . ἂ
 10 πολλὰ ἐν μέσῳ αὐ . . . ἐν αὐτῇ ¹⁰ καὶ οὐκ ἔγνω κω̄ οἱ θησαυρίζον
 11 . . . ἐν ταῖς χώραις . . . ¹¹ . . . κω̄ ὁ θς τύρος . . . αἰ· καὶ κατάρξει ἐκ σοῦ
 12 τὴν ἰσχύν σου· καὶ διαρπαγῇσονται αἱ χώραι σου ¹² τάδε λέγει κω̄ ὃν
 τρόπον ὅταν ἐκσπάσῃ ὁ ποιμὴν ἐκ στόματος λέοντος δύο σκέλη ἢ λοβὸν
 ὧτιον οὕτως ἐκσπασθήσονται οἱ υἱοὶ ἱηλ οἱ κατοικοῦντες ἐν σαμαρείᾳ

III. 2. *De Sac.* vi. 116^b. *In Proph. Dict.* iii8. *In Gen. Sermo* ii

III. 1. ἀκουσατε] + τοινυν 86 (ελαλη)σε] -σεν B A Q 36 48 51 95 153 185 233
 κω̄] ρτ ο 153 ἐκ γη(ς)] ομι 22 (hab 22^a) ἐκ της 95 2. πασων] πασης Q*
 (πασων Q) πασας] ομι Chrys αμαρτίας] κακίας 86^{ms} 228 κακίας της γης 153
 αμαρτίας Aq αδικίας Σ ασεβείας Θ Chrys (al αδικίας) υμων] αυτων A* vid (υμων A*)
 3. εαν μη γνωρισωσιν εαυτοις] εαν μη συνταξωνται Aq εαν μη συνελθωσιν αλληλοις Θ
 γνωρισωσιν] γνωρισωσιν 62 εαυτοις] εαυτους B A Q 48 86 95 147^a 153 185 228 233
 4. εἰ ἐρεύζεται] ܡܠܟܐ ܡܠܟܐ Syro-Hex^{ms} ἐρεύζεται] ἐξερεύζεται 22 36 51 62
 97 147 ἐκ της μανδρας αυτου] ομι 62 95 147 185 αρπαση] αρπασηται 153
 5. εἰ τὴν γῆν] εἰ της γης A 48 86 228 ἀνευ ἱκευτου] ܠܡܢ ܥܕܝܐ Syro-
 Hex^{ms} εἰς αἶμα νομ] σχασθησεται A* (σχαθ. A') 6. μὴ] ομι A 22
 6. εἰ εἰσται ad fin com] ουχι κακια κυριος ουκ εποιησεν· αλλ εν πολει την κυριος ουκ
 εποιησεν 86^{ms} εἰσται] εστιν 86 εστι Chrys εποιησεν] -σε 22 (-σεν 22^a) Chrys
 7. διότι ου μὴ] ου γαρ μὴ 86 ποιηση] ποιησει B Q 2 (εxc 22) αποκαλυψη] -ψει
 62 147 παιδειαν] παιδιαν 62 147 (-ειαν 147^a) απορρητον Aq ομιλιαν Σ την βουλην
 αυτου Θ αυτου 1^o] ομι B 48 (hab Syro-Hex) 8. Chrys = Y (πρ)οφη-
 τευσει] -ση 86 147 (-σει 147^a) 9. ἀπαγγεῖλατε] αναγγ. Q* 48 228 233 ἀπαγγει-
 λαται 62 χω(ραις)] ρτ εν 86 το ορος] τα ορη 95 185 σαμα(ρειας)] σαμα sup
 ras B^{ab} (θαυμαστ)α πολλα] αχορτασις πολλας Σ 10. και ουκ εγνω (α εἰσται
 εναντιον αυτης)] και ουκ εγνω α εἰσται εν αυτη A και ουκ εγνω α εἰσται (εστιν Q^{ms})
 εναντιον (εναντιον Q^a vid ει 1^{ms}) αυτης Q* και ουκ εγνω κ.τ.λ. 62 147 . . . ποιειν ορθοτητα
 Aq Σ Θ (ταλαιπωρι)αν] ܠܥܕܝܐ Syro-Hex εν ταις χωραις] εν ταις χερσιν 86^{ms}
 11. ο θς] ομι ο A τυρος] ρτ ερημωθησεται 228 τυρος Aq πολιорκεια Σ (36,
 Syro-Hex) (κυκλοθεν η γη σου ερημωθησεται) και περικυκλωσις της γης Σ την
 ομι B A Q 48 153 228 233 διαρπαγῇσονται] διαρπασθησονται 86 χωραι] χωραις 62
 12. τάδε] ρτ διότι 86^{ms} 228^{ms} εκσπαση] εκπαση B* (εκσπαση B^{ab}) ο] ομι 86
 στοματος] ρτ του 97 228 λεοντος] ρτ του 22 (exc 22 36 51 95 97 185) 86 η] ο
 B* (η B^{ab}) λοβον] λωβον 62 ωτιου] ωτιον 22^a (ωτιου 22^a) εκσπασθησονται]
 εκσπαθ. B αι 1^o] ομι 153 αι 2^o] ρτ και 36 228 εν 1^o] ομι Q* (hab Q*)

8 βεβηλῶ . . . αὐτῶν⁸ καὶ τὰ ἱμάτια αὐ⁸ s παραπετάσματα
 9 ἔ . . . αστηρίον· καὶ οἶνον ἐκ συ κω τοῦ θυ αὐτῶν⁹ ἔ κ προσ-
 ὠπον αὐ⁹ . . . ὄρου τὸ ὕψος αὐτοῦ· ρα τὸν καρπὸν αὐτοῦ ἐπάνωθεν
 10 καὶ τὰς ῥίζας αὐτοῦ ὑποκάτωθεν¹⁰ καὶ ἐγὼ ἀνήγαγον ὑμᾶς ἐκ γῆς αἰγύπτου·
 καὶ περιήγαγον ὑμᾶς ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ τεσσαράκοντα ἔτη τοῦ κατακληρονομήσαι
 11 τὴν γῆν τῶν ἀμορραίων¹¹ ἔλαβον ἐκ τῶν νιῶν ὑμῶν εἰς προφήτας· καὶ ἐκ
 τῶν νεανίσκων ὑμῶν εἰς ἀγιασμόν· μὴ οὐκ ἔστι ταῦτα υἱοὶ ἡλ λέγει κῶ
 12¹² καὶ ἐποτιζέτε τοὺς ἁγιασμένους οἶνον καὶ τοῖς προφήταις ἐνετέλλεσθε
 13 λέγοντες οὐ μὴ προφητεύσητε·¹³ διὰ τοῦτο ἰδοὺ ἐγὼ κυλίω ὑποκάτω ὑμῶν
 14 ὃν τρόπον κυλίεται ἡ ἄμαξα ἡ γέμουσα καλάμης¹⁴ λεῖται φινγὴ ἐκ
 δρομέως καὶ κραταῖδς . . . τήσῃ τῆς ἰσχύος αὐτοῦ· καὶ ὁ μαχ . . . σῇ τὴν
 15 ψυχὴν αὐτοῦ·¹⁵ καὶ ὁ το καὶ ὁ ὀξὺς τοῖς ποσὶν αὐτοῦ . . . ὁ ἱππεύς·
 16 οὐ μὴ σώσῃ τὴν¹⁶ ταιδς οὐ μὴ εὖρῃ τὴν κ αὐς· ὁ γυμνὸς φεύγεται

II. 11. Chrys. *In Ep. ad Tit.* i Hom. ii 3 *De Sac.* vi. 11 12*. *De Virg.* xxi

Syro-Hex^{ms} βεβηλω(σωσι)] βεβηλωσιν B 48 62 βεβηλωσιν A^s (σωσιν το
 νομα του sup ras) βεβηλωσιν 86 153 8. και τα ιματια . . . s παραπετασματα
 ε(ποιουν)] και επι ιματια διεφθαρμενης εξεκλιναν Aq και επι ιματια ενεχυρασμου εκ-
 κλινουσι Σ και επι ιματιων vi ablatorum κατεκλινοντο ܡܠܟܐ ܕܝܠܐ ܕܝܠܐ . ܕܝܠܐ
 ܕܝܠܐ Syro-Hex^{ms} παραπετασματα] παραπετασμα 22
 αυ(κοφαντιαν)] σικοφαντιαν 62 συκοφαντιαν 153 9. ε(γω δε εξηρα)] εγω δε εξεγειρα A
 ως εγω εξηρα 36 48 153 ως εγω εξηρα 86 και συνετριψα Aq (ΣΘ = Υ) οτι εγω OL^s
 (τον αμορραιον ε)κ προσωπου] τον αμ. προ (εκ Q^a) προσωπου Q^a μητρος φωτισμον
 διαπικραινοντα 86^{ms} (καθως υψος κε)δρου] καθως υψ (sic) κεδρου 22 υψ υψος 22^a
 καθως υψος κεδρον (κενδρον 185) 95 185 (OL^s = Y) (εξη)ρα] εξηρα BA Q 36 48 86
 153 228 233 εξηρα 22 51 62 95 97 147 185 OL^s = Y επανωθεν] απανωθεν A
 10. εκ γης αιγυπτου] και περιηγαγον υμας] οτι 185 περιηγαγον] οδηγησα 233
 τεσσαρακοντα] μ' A Q 22 (εξ 22 97 233) τεσσαρα 97 11. Chrys = Y
 ελαβον] ρr και BA Q (ανελαβον Q^a) 22 (εξ 22 36 51 97) εις 1^o] οτι 22 εστι]
 -ιν BA Q υιοι] ρr οι 62 147 12. εποτιζε(τε)] -εται 62 147^a (-ετε 147) εποτισατε
 Chrys τους ηγιασμενους] τους αγιασμενους 22 (ηγιασμ. 22^a) τους ραζοραιους 36^{ms}
 Aq Σ ραζοραιους Θ 86^{ms} sanctis (al' sanctificatis) OL^{icr} + meis OL^{icr} τοις προ-
 φηταις] τους προφητας 147 ενετελλεσθε] ενετελεσθε 51 147 ενετελεσθαι 62 ου μη
 προφητευσητε] του μη προφητευσαι 228 13. ιδου] οτι 153 εγω κυλιω—η αμαξα]
 εγω τριζησω υποκατω υμων καθα τριζει η αμαξα Aq αμαξα] αμαξ 147 (αμαξα 147^a)
 γεμουσα] φερουσα 147 καλαμης] καλαμην 62 95 147 185 14-15. ταιος (ου μη
 κρα)τησῃ—ιππευς] sup ras A^s 14. εκ δρομεως] ras 147 supra scr 147^a κωφου
 Aq Θ (κρα)τησῃ] -σει Q 22 ισχυος] ισχυως 147 (ισχυος 147^a) (ου μη σω)ση
 την ψυχην αυτου] οτι A^s (σω)ση] σωσει B Q (σωση Q^a) 22 (εξ 22 97 228) την
 ψυχην αυτου] την ισχυν αυτου 228^{ms} 15. Totum comma deest 153 (και) ο
 ιππευς] ουδε (και Q^{ms}) ο ιππευς (ιππεις Q^a vid) BA Q ου δε ο ιππευς 233 σωση] σωσει
 B Q (σωση Q^a) 22 (εξ 22 147 σωσει 147^a) την (ψυχην αυτου)] την ψ. εαυτου 86
 16. (και ο κρα)ταιος—φευγεται] και ο καρτερος καρδιαν αυτου εν δυνατοις γυμνος φευγεται
 Aq . . . εν τοις ανδρειοις γυμνος φευγεται Σ και ο εχων καρδιαν αυτου εν δυναστεια
 γυμνος φευγεται Θ (ο κρα)ταιος ου μη] οτι ου μη B^{ab} οτι A Q 228 (hab 228^{ms}) 233
 οτι ο κραταιος 153 ευρη] ευρησει BA Q (ηυρεθη Q^{ms}) 48 233 ευρεθη 153 ܡܠܟܐ ܕܝܠܐ
 Syro-Hex την κ(αρδιαν)] καρδια Q^{ms} η καρδια 153 φευγεται] διωζεται BA Q 22
 36 48 147^a 15 228 233 φευγεται 51 62 86 95 97 147 185

1 γει $\overline{\kappa\sigma}$ ¹ ἀκούσατε σε $\overline{\kappa\sigma}$ ἐφ' ὑμᾶς ὁλος ἦς ἀνήγαγον III
 2 ἐκ γῆ . . . ² . γνων ἐκ πασῶν κήσω ἐφ' ὑμᾶς πάσας τὰς ἀμαρτίας
 3 ὑμῶν ³ εἰ πορεύσονται δύο ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ καθόλου ἐὰν μὴ γνωρίσωσιν
 4 ἑαυτοῖς ⁴ εἰ ἐρεῖται λέων ἐκ δρυμοῦ αὐτοῦ θήραν οὐκ ἔχων εἰ δώσει
 σκύμνος φωνὴν αὐτοῦ ἐκ τῆς μάνδρας αὐτοῦ καθόλου ἐὰν μὴ ἀρπάσῃ τι·
 5 ⁵ εἰ πεσεῖται ὄρνειον ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν ἄνευ ἰζεντοῦ· εἰ σχασθήσεται παγὶς ἐπὶ
 6 τῆς γῆς ἄνευ τοῦ συλλαβεῖν τι· ⁶ εἰ φωνήσῃ σάλπιγξ ἐν πόλει καὶ λαὸς
 7 οὐ μὴ ποιοθήσεται· εἰ ἔσται κακία ἐν πόλει ἦν $\overline{\kappa\sigma}$ οὐκ ἐποίησεν· ⁷ διότι
 οὐ μὴ ποιήσῃ $\overline{\kappa\sigma}$ ὁ $\overline{\theta\sigma}$ $\overline{\pi\rho\alpha}$. . . μὴ ἀποκαλύψῃ παιδείαν αὐτοῦ πρὸς . . .
 8 αὐτοῦ τοὺς προφῆτας· ⁸ λέων ἐ . . . ε οὐ φοβηθήσεται· $\overline{\kappa\sigma}$ ὁ $\overline{\theta\sigma}$ ἐλάλη
 9 οφητεύσει· ⁹ ἀπαγγεῖλατε χώ ἀχθῆτε ἐπὶ τὸ ὄρος σαμα . . . ἃ
 10 πολλὰ ἐν μέσῳ αὐ . . . ἐν αὐτῇ· ¹⁰ καὶ οὐκ ἔγνω $\overline{\kappa\sigma}$ · οἱ θησαυρίζον
 11 . . . ἐν ταῖς χώραις . . ¹¹ . . . $\overline{\kappa\sigma}$ ὁ $\overline{\theta\sigma}$ τύρος· . . . αἰ· καὶ κατὰξί ἐκ σοῦ
 12 τὴν ἰσχύν σου καὶ διαρπαγίσονται αἱ χώραι σου· ¹² τάδε λέγει $\overline{\kappa\sigma}$ ὃν
 τρόπον ὅταν ἐκσπάσῃ ὁ ποιμὴν ἐκ στόματος λέοντος δύο σκέλη ἢ λοβὸν
 ὧτίου οὕτως ἐκσπασθήσονται οἱ υἱοὶ ἱηλ οἱ κατοικοῦντες ἐν σαμαρείᾳ

III. 2. *De Sac.* vi. 116^b. *In Proph. Dict.* iii8. *In Gen. Sermo* ii

III. 1. ακουσατε] + ταιινν 86 (ελαη)σε] -σεν BAQ 86 48 51 95 153 185 238
 $\overline{\kappa\sigma}$] $\overline{\pi\rho}$ ο 153 εκ γη(ς)] om 22 (hab 22^a) εκ της 95 2. πασων] πασης Q*
 (πασων Q*) πασας] om Chrys αμαρτίας] κακίας 86^{ms} 228 κακίας της γης 153
 απομας Aq αδικίας Σ ασεβείας Θ Chrys (αλ αδικίας) υμων] αυτων A* vid (υμων A*)
 3. εαν μη γνωρισωσιν εαυτοις] εαν μη συνταξωνται Aq εαν μη συνελθωσιν αλληλοις Θ
 γνωρισωσιν] γνωρισωσιν 62 εαυτοις] εαυτους BAQ 48 86 95 147^a 153 185 228 238
 4. εἰ ἐρεῖται] $\overline{\kappa\sigma}$ Syro-Hex^{ms} ἐρεῖται] ἐξερεῖται 22 36 51 62
 97 147 εκ της μανδρας αυτου] om 62 95 147 185 αρπαση] αρπασηται 153
 5. ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν] ἐπὶ της γης A 48 86 228 ἀνευ ἰζεντοῦ] $\overline{\kappa\sigma}$ Syro-
 Hex^{ms} εἰς nom σχασθήσεται] χασθησεται A* (σχασθ. A') 6. μὴ] om A 22
 εἰ εἰσται ad fin com] ουχι κακίαν κυριος ουκ ἐποίησεν· ἀλλ ἐν πόλει ἡν κυριος ουκ
 ἐποίησεν 86^{ms} εἰσται] εστιν 86 εστι Chrys ἐποίησεν] -σε 22 (-σεν 22^a) Chrys
 7. διότι ου μὴ] ου γαρ μη 86 ποιήσῃ] ποιησει BQ $\overline{\kappa}$ (εxc 22) ἀποκαλύψῃ] -ψει
 62 147 παιδείαν] παιδιαν 62 147 (-ειαν 147^a) ἀπορρητον Aq ομιλιαν Σ την βουλην
 αυτου Θ αυτου 1^o] om B 48 (hab Syro-Hex) 8. Chrys = Y (πρ)οφη-
 τευσει] -ση 86 147 (-σει 147^a) 9. ἀπαγγεῖλατε] αναγγ. Q* 48 228 238 ἀπαγγει-
 λαται 62 χω(ραις)] $\overline{\pi\rho}$ εν 86 το ορος] τα ορη 95 185 σαμα(ρειας)] σαμα sup
 ras B^{ab} (θανμαστ)α πολλα] αχορτασίας πολλας Σ 10. και ουκ εγνω (α εσται
 νωπιον αυτης)] και ουκ εγνω α εσται εν αυτη A και ουκ εγνω α εσται (εστιν Q^{ms})
 νωπιον (εναντιον Q* vid εστι) αυτης Q* και ουκ εγνω κ.τ.λ. 62 147 . . . ποιειν ορθοτητα
 Aq Σ Θ (ταλαιπωρι)αν] $\overline{\kappa\sigma}$ Syro-Hex εν ταις χωραις] εν ταις χερσιν 86^{ms}
 11. ο $\overline{\theta\sigma}$] om ο A τυρος] $\overline{\pi\rho}$ ερημωθησεται 228 τυρος Aq πολιορκια Σ (θε,
 Syro-Hex) (κυκλοθεν η γη σου ερημωθησεται) και περικυκλωσις της γης Σ την
 om BAQ 48 153 228 238 διαρπαγισονται] διαρπασθησονται 86 χωραι] χωραις 62
 12. ταδε] $\overline{\pi\rho}$ διоти 86^{ms} 228^{ms} εκσπαση] εκπαση B* (εκσπαση B^{ab}) ο] om 86
 στοματος] $\overline{\pi\rho}$ του 97 228 λεοντος] $\overline{\pi\rho}$ του $\overline{\kappa}$ (exc 22 36 51 95 97 185) 86 η] ο
 B* (η B^{ab}) λοβον] λωβον 62 ωτιου] ωτιον 22^a (ωτιον 22^a) εκσπασθησονται]
 εσπασθ. B αι 1^o] om 153 αι 2^o] $\overline{\pi\rho}$ και 36 228 εν 1^o] om Q* (hab Q*)

- 13 κατέναντι φυλῆς καὶ ἐν δαμασκῷ κλινεῖ ἱερεῖς· ¹³ ἀκούσατε καὶ ἐπιμαρ-
 14 ρασθε τῷ οἴκῳ ἰακώβ λέγει κ̄ς ὁ θς ὁ παντοκράτωρ. ¹⁴ διότι ἐν τῇ ἡμέ-
 ὅταν ἐκδικῶ ἀσεβείας τοῦ ἰηλ ἐπ' αὐτὸν καὶ ἐκδικήσω ἐπὶ τὰ θυσιαστή-
 βαιθὴλ· καὶ κατασκαφήσεται τὰ κέρατα τοῦ θ . . τηρίου καὶ πεσειταὶ
 15 τὴν γῆν· ¹⁵ καὶ σ***** ψω καὶ πατάξω τὸν οἶκον τὸν περίπτ . . . τὸν οἶκ-
 τὸν θερινόν· καὶ ἀπ . . . οἱ ἐλεφάντινοι· καὶ ἀφανισθῇ ροι πολλ-
 IV 1 λέγει κ̄ς ¹ ἀκο . . . τον αἱ δαμάλεις τῆς βασ σαμαρείας αἱ κατ-
 δυνα . . . καὶ καταπατοῦσαι πτω . . . τοῖς κυρίοις ἑαυτῶν ἐ ωμε-
 2 ² ὁμνεί κ̄ς . . . ἰδοὺ ἡμέραι ἔρχοντ . . . ὑμᾶς ἐν ὄπλοις· καὶ τοὺς με-
 3 ὑμῶν εἰς λέβητας ὑποκαιομένους ἐμβαλοῦσιν ἐμπυροὶ λοιμοί· ³ καὶ ἐξε-
 χθήσεσθε γυναιὶ γυνὴ καὶ ὁ ἀνὴρ αὐτῆς κατέναντι ἀλλήλων· καὶ ἀπορριφ-

σαμορεία] -ειαν Q κατεναντι φυλης και εν δαμασκω κλινει ιερεις] εν κλιματι κλινης (s. κοιτης) και εν Δαμασκω κραββατου Αq εκ κλιματος κλινη (s. κοιτη) και εν Δαμασκω κλινη Σ κατεναντι κλιματος και εν Δαμασκω κλινη Θ φυλης] pr της B 48 εν δαμασκω κλινει] om κλινει BAQ 48 86 (κλινη 86^{ms}) 95 185 233 εκ δαμασκου κλινει 36^{ms} εν δαμασκω κλινει 36^a) εν δαμασκω καινη 62 εν δαμασκω 147^a (εν δαμασκω κλινει 147^{ms}) ιερεις] κλινη Q^{ms} του κυριου 22^{ms} ut vid pr οι 185 13. ακουσατε] ακουσαται 86 (λαλησατε 86^{ms}) ακουσασθε 147 λαλησατε 153 και επιμαρτυρασθε] incip επι μαρτυρια Q* vid om και 51 και επιμαρτυρασθαι 62 και επιμαρτυρασθε 147 ιακωβ] ισραηλ 86^{ms} ο 233 ο παντοκρατωρ] των στρατιων 86^{ms} 14. τη ημερα] + εκεινη 86^{ms} 153 om τη 2 εκδικω] εκδικησω ΑQ 86 153 228 επισκεψωμαι Αq Σ Θ ασεβειας] -ειαν ΑQ* επι 1^o] om 86 βαιθελ] βεθελ Q 62 86 95 147 185 οικον θεου Σ κατασκαφησεται κατασκαφησεται Q* 147^a κατασφαγησεται 62 147 πεσειται] πεσονται 48 153 2 233 15. και σ*****ψω και παταξω τον οικον τον περιπτ(ερον επι) τον οικον τ θερινον] και κολαφισω (s. κονδυλισω) τον οικον τον χειμερινον επι τον οικον τον θερινον Αq και παταξω τον οικον τον χειμερινον επι του οικον του θερινου Σ και παταξω τον οικον τον χειμερινον συν τω οικω τω θερινω Θ και σ*****ψω] συνχω B* 48 86 (κ συντριψω 86^{ms}) συγχω B^{ab} ΑQ* (και συντριψω Q^{ms}) εγκεω 233 και παταξω] ο 153 228 (hab 228^{ms}) (οι οικoi) οι ελεφαντινοι] om οι 1^o 2^o BAQ (hab οι 2^o Q*) 62 147 153 228 233 οικoi οδοντος Σ Θ αφανισθη(σονται)] προστεθησονται BAQ 48 86 (αφανισθησονται 86^{ms}) 153 228 233 (Sygo-Hex) (οικoi ετε) πολλοι] ετεροι οικoi πολλοι B 48 om ετεροι 86 (ετεροι πολλοι και προστεθησονται οικ πολλοι 86^{ms}) πολλοι] πολλοι 147 (πολλοι 147^a) κ̄ς] om B

IV. 1. ακο(υσατε)] pr ταδε λεγει κυριος 86 αι 1^o] om BAQ L (ex 22 36 51 6 97 147) δαμαλεις] δαμαλις Α δυναμεις 147 δαμαλεις της βασ(αντιδος)] αι βοε βασαν Αq Θ αι βοε εντροφιο Σ της βασ(αντιδος)] της σαντιδος 22 (της βασαντιδο 22^a) της βασαν εντροφιας 86^{ms} του βασαν 228 πτω(χους)] πειντας B L (ex 233 εαυτων] αυτων BAQ 48 153 228 233 εαυτον 86 2. κ̄ς (κατα των αγιων αυτου) κατα της αγιοσυνης αυτου Σ (κατα της αγιοσυνης αυτου 86^{ms} sine nom) οπλοις] ε θυρεοις Αq εν δορασι Θ και τους μεθ υμων] και τα εκγονα (υμων) 86^{ms} εις λεβητα υποκαιομενους εμβαλουνσιν εμπυροι λοιμοι] εν λεβησιν ιχθυδιων . . Αq υποκαιομενους υποκειομενους B* (υποκαιομ. B^{ab}) υποκαιομενους εμβαλουνσιν] om ΑQ* (hab Q^{ms} 233 υποκαιομενους εμβαλω 153 εμπυροι λοιμοι] om 95 153 185 εμπυροι sup gas 22^{ms} Sygo-Hex 3. εξεχεθησεσθε] εξεχεθησονται 86 γυναι] γυμνοι 36 86 95 185 γυνη Αq Θ εκαστη Σ γυνη και ο ανηρ αυτης] om BAQ 48 153 228 233 (hab Sygo-Hex) om αυτης 62 86 95 147 185 κατεναντι] απεναντι 95 185 pr και 153 + γυνη και ανηρ αυτης 228^{ms} απορριφσεσθε] αποριφ. B* ΑQ (απορριφ. B* (vid) Q^a) εις] επι 233 το αρματα] το Ρορμαν B 48 51 233 το Ρερμαν ΑQ*

4 σεσθε εις το ὄρος τὸ ἀρμάνα λέγει κω· εἰσῆλθετε εἰς βαιθὴλ καὶ ἡγομή-
 5 σατε· εἰς γάλλα καὶ ἐπληθύνετε τοῦ ἀσεβῆσαι· καὶ ἡνέγκατε εἰς τὸ
 6 ἐξω νόμον καὶ . . . σαντο ἐξ ὁμολογίαν· ἀπαγγεῖλατε ὅτι ταῦ . . . οἱ υἱοὶ
 7 ἐπὶ λέγει κω ὁ θς· καὶ ἐγὼ δώσω σμὸν ὀδόντων ἐν πάσαις ταῖς
 8 πόλιν μίαν ἐπὶ μερὶς μία βραχῆσεται· καὶ ἀνθήσεται·⁸ καὶ
 9 συνα εἰς πόλεις εἰς μίαν πό ἐμπλησθῶσι· καὶ κω·
 10 ἐπάταξα ρω· καὶ ἐπληθύνετε τοῦ ἀσεβῆσαι· οὗς ἐπληθύνετε
 κήπους ὑμῶν· καὶ ἀμπελῶνας ὑμῶν καὶ συκῶνας ὑμῶν καὶ ἐλαιῶνας ὑμῶν
 10 κατέφαγεν ἡ κάμπη· καὶ οὐδ' ὥς ἐπιστρέψατε πρὸς με λέγει κω·¹⁰ ἐξαπέ-
 στείλα εἰς ὑμᾶς θάνατον ἐν ὁδῷ αἰγύπτου· καὶ ἀπέκτεινα ἐν βομφαίᾳ τοὺς
 νεανίσκους ὑμῶν μετὰ αἰχμαλωσίας ἱππων σου· καὶ ἀνήγαγον ἐν πυρὶ τὰς

IV. 5^a. Chrys. *Contra Iud.* xvii
 7^b Chrys. *De Mund. Creat.* Orat. iii 6

5. *In Psal.* xcvi i
 9^a *Expos. in Ps.* cx iii

6^a. *Ibid.*

(Ἑρμωνα Q^{ms}) ορος της Αρμενίας supra lin al man 22 ρεμαν supra lin al man 36
 το αρβανα 86 (Ρεγμα et λ. αναθεμα αυτων αρβανα 86^{ms}) om το 95 185 του ραμαν 153
 αρμωνα Αq εις Αρμενιαν Σ υψηλον ορος Θ [αωδ] [ε] [αωδ] Syro-Hex κω + ο θς
 ΑQ + κυριος 22^a + ο θεος 36 86^{ms} 233 4. εισηλθετε] εισηλθατε ΒΑ (-θετε Q^{vid})
 22 48 62 86 147 ρr και 228 βαιθελ] βεθελ 62 86 147 ηγομησατε] ησεβησατε Β
 48 62 86 147 228 233 εις 2^a] ρr και ΒΑQ 48 62 86 147 153 228 233
 om ΒΑQ 48 62 86 147 153 228 233 θυσιαν] θυσιαν 153 εις την τριημεριαν] εις
 την τριτην ημεραν 86^{ms} εις 2^a ρr και 147 εις τρεις ημερας Αq εις την τριτην ημεραν Σ εν
 τρισιν (ημεραις) Θ 5. Chrys = Υ νομον] ευχαριστιαν Αq εφ] om ΒΑQ Ξ
 ομολογιαν] ομολογιας ΒΑQ 48 86 153 228 233 απαγγεiliate] αναγγ. ΒΑQ^a (απαγγ.
 Q^a) 48 153 228 233 om] διστι Q 153 233 οι] om 153 κω] bis scr 153 228
 ο θς] om 48 153 228 233 6. και] om 51 Chrys εγω] + κυριος sup lin 22
 (γομφιασμον οδονταν] πληγην οδονταν Αq καθαρισμον οδονταν Σ Θ εν πασι τοις
 πο(ποις)] εν πασαις ταῖς πολεσιν Α πασι] πασιν Q Ξ (ex 22) 7. τριων] τισω
 Α^a (τριων Α¹) (του θερισμου] του τρυγητου ΒΑQ (του θερισμου Q^{ms}) 48 86 (του
 θερισμου 86^{ms}) 233 του θερισμου Αq Σ Θ Syro-Hex βρεξω—μερις] om 95 185
 βρεξω ad fin com] OL^a = Υ βρεξω] εβρεξα Αq Σ βρεξει Chrys βραχῆσεται]
 [ε] [αωδ] Syro-Hex^{ms} (ξηρ)ανθησεται] εξηρανθη Σ 8. OL = Ξ πολεις εις
 μιαν πο(λιν)] πολεις εις πολιν μιαν ΒΑQ (ε πο sup ras B^{vid} πολεις εις sup ras Α^a)
 μιαν πο(λιν)] tr Ξ (ex 22 51 97) εμπλησθωσι] -σιν ΒΑQ Ξ (εμπλησθωσι 62 147
 εμπλησθωσι 147^a) ενεπλησθησαν Σ 9. επαταξα] ρr και 86 επαταξα (υμας)] v sup
 ras B¹ επαταξα αυτους Chrys (και εν ικτε)ρω] και εν ικτερω Αq Σ και εν ωχριασει Θ
 και επληθυνατε του ασεβησαι] ους επληθυνατε κηπους υμων] om και επληθυνατε του
 ασεβησαι] ους ΒΑQ 48 86 (hab του ασεβησαι 86^{ms}) 153 228 (hab 228^{ms}) 233 επληθυ-
 νατε του ασεβησαι] νοσοις υμας περιεβαλον ποικιλαις υμεις δε εκτετεινετε την ασεβειαν·
 ους επληθυνατε 95 185 το πληθος των κηπων υμων Σ Θ hab Syro-Hex επληθυνατε 2^a] om 22
 και αμπελωνας] om και ΒΑQ 48 86 153 228 (hab 228^{ms}) 233 συκανας]
 συκανας 48 233 συκονας 62 147 (συκανας 147^a) και ελαιωνας υμων] και τους ελ.
 υμων 86 om 228 η καμπη] η ερυσιβη 86^{ms} και ουδ απ] και ουδ ουτα 95 153 185
 228 προς με] om 62 147 10. εξαπεστειλα] κω sup lin 22^a εις] om 147
 θωρατον] λαιμον Αq και ανηγαγον εν πυρι τας παρεμβολας υμων εν τη οργη μου] και

παρεμβολὰς ὑμῶν ἐν τῇ ὀργῇ μου· καὶ οὐδ' ὡς ἐπιστρέψατε πρὸς μέ
 11 λέγει κσ· ¹¹ κατέστρεψα ὑμᾶς καθὼς κατέστρεψεν ὁ θς σόδομα καὶ . .
 νεσθε ὡς δαλὸς ἐξεσπασμένος ἐκ πυρ . . οὐδ' ὡς ἐπιστρέψατε πρὸς μέ λέγει
 12 . ¹² . . τοῦτο οὕτως ποιήσω σοι ἰηλ . . . ποιήσω σοι ἐτοιμάζου τοῦ . . ὄν
 13 σου ἰηλ· ¹³ διότι ἰδοὺ στε . . . κτίζων πῦρ καὶ ἀπ . . . χν αὐτοῦ π . . ὄν
 V 1 ὄρθ . . . πιβαίνων ἐπὶ τὰ ὕ τοκράτωρ ὄνομα . . ¹ . . . γον τοῦτο . . ὄν
 2 ἐγὼ κος ἰηλ ² ἔπescen ναι· παρθένος τοῦ ἰηλ ἔσφαλεν ἐπὶ τῆς
 3 γῆς αὐτῆς· οὐκ ἔστιν ὁ ἀνιστῶν αὐτήν· ³ διότι τάδε λέγει κσ ἐκ πόλ . . . εως
 ἐξ ἧς ἐξεπορεύοντο χίλιοι ὑπολειφθήσονται ἐν αὐτῇ ἑκατόν· καὶ ἐξ ἧς
 4 πορεύοντο ἑκατὸν ὑπολειφθήσονται ἐν αὐτῇ δέκα τῷ οἴκῳ ἰηλ· ⁴ διότι τ . . . ἄδε
 5 λέγει κσ πρὸς τὸν οἶκον ἰηλ ἐκζητήσατέ με καὶ ζήσεσθε· ⁵ καὶ μὴ ἐκζητ . . . εἴτε
 βαιθὴλ· καὶ εἰς γάλαλα μὴ εἰσπορεύεσθε . . . πὶ τὸ φρέαρ τοῦ ὄρκου . . . μὴ
 διαβαίνετε . . . λα αἰχμαλωτευομένη αἰχμαλῶ . . . καὶ βαιθὴλ ἔσται . . . ὡς

11^a Ibid.V 2^b Contra Iud. 17

ανεβίβασα σαπριαν παρεμβολων υμῶν εἰς τοῦ μυκτηρας υμῶν Αq . . . την δυσοςμῶν τῶν
 παρεμβολων υμῶν εἰς τοὺς μυκτηρας υμῶν Σ . . . εἰς τοὺς μυκτηρας υμῶν Θ υμῶν 2^a 2^a
 οἱ 36 48 97 μου] υμῶν B Q¹ me (μου Q*) 48 153 228 233 οἱ 86 οὐδ' αὖς] οὐδ' αὖς
 οὕτως 95 153 185 228 11. κατέστρεψα] ο κσ θς sup lin 22 υμῶν] αὐτοῦ Chrys
 καθὼς] ὡς Chrys (εγε)νεσθε] + φησιν 86 αὖς] οὕτως 86 95 153 185 228 ἐξ
 σπασμενος] ε 2^a sup ras (ubi a prius ut vid) B² ἐξεσταλ[σμενος Q* (-νος Q*) ἐξα
 πισταλμενος Q^{me} 12. σοι 1^a—σοι 2^a] οἱ 95 185 ἐτοιμαζου του (ἐπικαλεῖσθα
 τον) ὄν σου] . . . κατεναντι του θεου σου Αq ἐτοιμαζου ut adverseris τῷ θεῷ σου Σ Quint
 ἐτοιμαζου εἰς ἀπαντησιν του θεου σου Θ του] οἱ 62 86 147 153 13. διότι ἰδου] διότι
 διότι B διότι ἰδου ἐγὼ B^{ab} me A Q 22^a 36 51^a 62 97 147 qui OL^{tert} κτιζων] condidit
 (al condit OL^{tert} απ[αγγελων]) αναγγελων Q* (απαγγ. Q*) απαγγελων 62 147
 (απαγγελων 147^a) χν] KΘ sup lin 22 θ' λογον Q^{me} (τον) χν αυτου] τις η ομιλια
 αυτου Αq . . . το φωνημα αυτου Σ . . . τον λογον αυτου Θ . . . η αδολεσχια αυτου Quint
 ποιαν] ρη ο B 36 48 51 95 153 185 233 τα υ(ψη)] τα υψηλα Q* (τα υψη Q*) 48 86
 (τα υψη 86^{me}) 233

V. 1. (τον λο)γον τουτον] τον λογον κυριου τουτον B Q 36 48 51 62 86 147 153 228
 233 τον λογον (κν τουτῶ) sup ras A^b οἱ κν A* vid] A ἰηλ] ρη του A Q 2.
 (προσθη του αναστη)ναι] προσθησει του αναστ. B 48 62 228 προσθη (sed oσθ sup ras
 Q^a vid) του αναστ. A Q προσθηση του αναστ. 86 προσθησω του αναστ. 147 προστεθη του
 αναστ. 233 του] οἱ 153 εσφαλεν] εσφηλεν 147 εσφαλλεν Chrys επι της γης
 αυτης] ουκ εν αιγυπτ αλλ εν τη ιουδα 147^{me} οἱ Chrys αυτης] αυτου B 48 153 οἱ A
 ουκ εστιν ο ανιστων αυτην] ου μη αναστη ετι Chrys ανιστων] αναστησων BA Q (οι ο'
 ανιστων Q^{me}) 48 86 (αναστων 86^{me}) 233 αναστων 153 ανιστων Αq Σ Θ (Syro-Hex = Y)
 3. διότι] δια τουτο B 48 διο (sic) 62 κσ] bis scr BA Q (κσ ο θς Q*) 22 36 48 228
 233 εκ πολεως] η πολις BA Q 48 86 153 228 233 εξ ης 1^a] οἱ B* (καθ B^a)
 ἐξεπορευοντο 1^a] επορευοντο (sic infra) A 228 υπολειφθησονται 1^a—εκατον 2^a] οἱ
 62 εν αυτη 1^a 2^a] οἱ BA Q 48 95 153 185 233 εκατον 1^a 2^a] ρ' B ἐξεπορευοντο
 2^a] οἱ 153 υπολειφθησονται 2^a] οἱ 153 4. ἰηλ] Ισαηλ B* (Ισαηλ B^{ab})
 ἐκζητησατε] ἐκζητησαθε 228 (ζησεσθε] ζησεσθαι 62 5. ἐκζητειτε] ἐκζητητε
 22 36 51 97 βαιθελ 1^a] βεθελ Q (Βαιθελ Q*) 62 86 95 147 185 και 2^a] οἱ 51
 (και επι το φρεαρ του ορκου] και εἰς βηρσαβε Αq Σ Θ διαβαινετε] αναβαινετε A Q^a
 (αναβαινεται Q*) 95 153 233 (ras aliq 147* διαβαινετε 147*) αιχμαλωτευομενη] οἱ
 228 και βαιθελ εσται] οἱ 62 βαιθελ 2^a] βαθελ Q* vid] (Βαιθελ Q*) βεθελ 95 147

6 οὐχ ὑπάρχον· ὅ· ἤσατε τὸν κν̄ καὶ ζήσεσθε ὅ· ἡ ὡς πῦρ ὁ οἶκος ἰωσήφ
 7 καὶ . . . καὶ οὐκ ἔσται ὁ σβέσων τῷ· ὡν εἰς ὕψος κρίμα καὶ . . .
 8 θηκεν· ὅ· ποιῶν πάν· . . . καὶ ἐκτρέπων εἰς νυ· καὶ ἡμέραν εἰς νυ· . . .
 9 καλούμενος τὸ· . . κχέων αὐτὸ ἐπὶ· . . ὁ παντοκράτωρ ὄνομα αὐτῷ· ὁ
 διαιρῶν συντριμμὸν ἐπ' ἰσχύν· καὶ τάλαιπωρίαν ἐπὶ ὀχύρωμα ἐπάγων·
 10, 11 ἐμίσησαν ἐν πύλαις ἐλέγχοντα· καὶ λόγον ὅσιον ἐβδελύξαντο· ὁ δὲ
 τοῦτο ἀνθ' ὧν κατεκονδυλίζετε πτωχόν· καὶ δῶρα ἐκλεκτὰ ἐδέξασθε παρ'
 αὐτοῦ· οἶκους ξεστοὺς οἰκοδομήσετε καὶ οὐ μὴ κατοικήσῃτε ἐν αὐτοῖς·
 ἀμπελώνας ἐπιθυμητοὺς ἐφυτεύσατε καὶ οὐ μὴ πίητε τὸν οἶνον αὐτῶν·
 12 ὅτι ἐγνων πολλὰς ἀσεβείας ὑμῶν καὶ ἰσχυραὶ· ἀμαρτίαι ὑμῶν κατα-
 πατοῦντες ὁ· λαμβάνοντες ἀλλάγματα καὶ πένητα· λαις ἐκκλίνοντες·

V. 8^a. Chrys. *Expos. in Ps. cxlvii* 2. *In Ep. I ad Tim.* v Hom. xv 4. Theod.
 8^b. *In Ps. xxxii* 9. Chrys. *Expos. in Ps. cxii* 5

185 ων] om 22 51 62 97 147 (hab 147^a) 233 6 τον κν̄] deum OL^a dominum
 OL^a (ζησεσθε] ζητε B (ζησατε B^{ab} Q^a 48 86 (ζησεσθε 86^{ms}) 228 233 ζησετε A Q^a
 ζησεσθαι 62 vivet OL^a vivite OL^a + anima vestra OL^a (αναλαμφ)η αναλημψη B
 (αναλαμφη B^{ab}) αναλαμφει 62 147 (ψη 147^a) οικος ἰωσήφ] Εφραιμ 22^{ms} + προστιθων
 86^{ms} ἰωσήφ] ρτ του 95 185 και (καταφαγη)] και καταφαγεται A Q 233 καταφαγει
 86 (κατεδετα 86^{ms}) σβesson] σβesson 86 σπesson 95 185 τω (οικω ἡλ)] τον
 οικον ισραηλ 95 185 228 τω βαθηλ Aq Σ τω οικω βαθηλ Θ com 7 et 8 tr 153
 7. (κσ ο ποιων] om κσ B 48 95 185 OL^a κσ ο θσ ο ποιων A 8. ο ποιων] om ο
 A Q^a (hab Q^a) 233 ποιων παν(τα)] tr 147 παν(τα και μετασκευαζων)] αρκτουρον
 και ωριανα Aq πλειαδες και αστρα Σ πλειαδα και εσπερον Θ και εκτρεπων εις (το
 πρην)] στρεφον 86^{ms} και μεταλλαττοντα εις το πρην Σ και στρεφον . . . Θ και εκτρεπων
 αυτα εις το πρην Chrys εις (το πρην σκιαν θανατον)] om θανατον B A Q (hab Q^{ms}) 48
 233 (hab B ex 48 233 Syro-Hex) (ο προσ)καλουμενος ad fin com] OL^a = Y επι
 (προσωπον)] επι προσωπον A Q^a (-πον Q^a) Theod (al -πον) (ο θσ) ο παντοκρατωρ]
 κυριος B 48 ܡܠܟܐ Syro-Hex (ܡܠܟܐ ܡܥܠܐ ܡܥܠܐ ܡܥܠܐ ܡܥܠܐ ܡܥܠܐ ܡܥܠܐ Syro-
 Hex^{ms}) 9. ο διαιρων—επαγων] τον ποιοντα καταγελασαι αφανισμον επι ισχυν και
 αφανισμον επι οχυρωμα επαγοντα Σ ο διαιρων] om ο A Chrys ο διοριζων Q ο μειδιων
 Aq επ] επι A 62 συντριμμον] συντριμμα (al συντριμμον) Chrys τάλαιπωρίαν]
 τάλαιπωρίαν 62 147 (-πωρίαν 147^a) 10. και λογον οσιον] και ρημα αμωμον Σ et
 verbum aequissimum OL^a 11. δια τουτο] + ουτως ειπε κυριος 36 + ουτως λεγει
 κυριος 86 228 κατεκονδυλιζετε] κατεκονδυλιζον B A Q 48 86 (-λιζετε 86^{ms}) 153
 233 (Syro-Hex = Y) πτωχον] πτωχους B 48 86 228 εις κεφαλαις πτωχων A Q^a
 (πτωχους Q^a) 86^{ms} 153 233 πτωχων 62 ܡܠܟܐ ܡܥܠܐ ܡܥܠܐ ܡܥܠܐ ܡܥܠܐ ܡܥܠܐ ܡܥܠܐ Syro-Hex
 (: ܡܠܟܐ ܡܥܠܐ ܡܥܠܐ ܡܥܠܐ ܡܥܠܐ ܡܥܠܐ ܡܥܠܐ Syro-Hex^{ms}) εδεξασθε] εδοξασθαι 62 αυτου]
 αυτων B A Q 48 86 153 228 233 ξεστον] ξεστονι A Q^a (ξεστον Q^a) 153 228^a
 οικοδομησετε] οικοδομησατε B Q^a (οικοδομηθησεται Q^a) 48 86 228 223 οικοδομησατε (sic)
 22 οικοδομησατε 22^a 62 95 147 153 185 οικοδομειτε Aq οικοδομησατε Σ Θ κατοικη-
 σγητε] κατοικησεται Q^a (-κησετε Q^a) κατοικησει 86 οικησητε 95 185 αμπελωνας] ρτ
 και A 233 επιθυμητους] επιθυμιτους 147 (-μητους 147^a) εφυτευσατε] φυτευσατε
 A Q^a (φυτευσατε Q^a) και ου μη πιητε] και ουδ ουτως μη πιετε 86 πιητε] πιετε 36
 ποιητε 62 τον οινον] om τον Q^a (hab Q^a) αυτων] ρτ ef B Q 86 12. κατα-
 πατοντες] καταπατουσαι B 36 48 51 95 153 185 233 οι ο' καταπατουσαι Q^{ms} (κατα-
 πατοντες Q^a) (ܡܠܟܐ ܡܥܠܐ ܡܥܠܐ ܡܥܠܐ ܡܥܠܐ ܡܥܠܐ ܡܥܠܐ ܡܥܠܐ Syro-Hex^{ms})
 θ(ικαιον)] ρτ το 95 185 αλλαγματα] ανταλλαγματα B 36 48 51 95 153 185 233

13, 14 ¹³ διὰ τοῦτο ὁ συνίω . . . καιρῷ ἐκείνῳ σιωπήσεται . . . ρὸς ἑστίαν ¹⁴ ἐκζη-
 τήσατε τὸ κ . . . νηρόν ὅπως ζήσητε· καὶ ἔ . . . μῶν κῶ ὁ θς ὁ παντο-
 15 κράτωρ . . . τε ¹⁵ μεμισήκαμεν τὰ πον . . . μεν τὰ καλὰ· καὶ ἀποκ . . .
 16 λαις κρίμα ὅπως ἐλ . . . κράτωρ τοὺς περὶ λ . . . ¹⁶ ἀ τοῦτο τάδε λέγει
 κῶ ὁ . . . σαις ταῖς πλατεαῖς κοπετὸς καὶ ἐν πάσαις ὁδοῖς ῥηθήσεται
 οἶαι οἶαι· κληθήσεται γεωργὸς εἰς πένθος καὶ εἰς κοπετόν· καὶ εἰς εἰδότης
 17 θρήνον· ¹⁷ καὶ ἐν πάσαις ὁδοῖς κοπετός· διότι διελυσόμεναι διὰ μέσου σου
 18 εἶπε κῶ ¹⁸ οἶαι οἱ ἐπιθυμούντες τὴν ἡμέραν κῶ· καὶ ἵνα τί ὑμῖν αὕτη ἡ
 19 ἡμέρα τοῦ κῶ· καὶ αὕτη ἐστὶ σκότος καὶ οὐ φῶς· ¹⁹ ὃν τρόπον ἔαν ἐκφύγῃ
 ἄνθρωπος ἐκ . . . σώπου τοῦ λέοντος καὶ ἐμπέσῃ αὐτῷ . . . ε καὶ εἰσπῆδῇ
 εἰς τὸν οἶκον καὶ ἀ[περίσῃται] τὰς χεῖρας αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ τὸν τοίχον· καὶ . . . ν ⁰
 20 ὄφιν· ²⁰ οὐχὶ σκότος ἡ ἡμέρα τοῦ . . . ὡς· καὶ γνώφος οὐκ ἔχων φέγγος

18. Chrys. In Isai. v 6 19. In Pascha. vi 2 Ad Stag. ii 2 20^b. In Isai.

ἐξίλασμα Aq Σ Θ πενήτα(ς) πενήτας Q^a (-τα Q^a) (πενήτας L) εκκλιοντες]
 sup ras A² βαρυνοντες Σ 13. συνιω(ν) u sup ras 22 σιωπησεται] σιωπησητε]
 σιωπησεται B^{ab} A^b (σεται sup ras 7 forte litt Q) σιωπηθησεται A^a vid (οτι καιρ-
 ποιη)ρος εστιν] . . . πονηρων B 48 om 153 (Syr-Hex = Y) 14. εκζητησατε
 pr ουν 86 ζησητε] ζησειςθαι 62 ζησηθε 147 ζησετε 228 (ουτας μεθ υ)μων] ποι-
 μεθ υμων post παντοκρατωρ 153 228 μεθ υμων ουτας 95 185 15. μεμισηκαμεν
 εμησησαμεν 62 εμισησαμεν 147 τα ποι(ηρα)] το πονηρον A τα καλα] το καλον A
 και αποκ(αταστησατε)] και καταστησατε 153 και αποκαταστησατε Aq Σ Θ ραυο
 Syro-Hex ελ(εση)] -σει A 62 147 (-ση 147^a) + υμας 86 περιλ(οιπους)] καταλοιπον
 L (επε 48 153 233) (του ιηλ)] του ιωσηφ BA Q 48 62 95 147 185 233 τω ιωσηφ 153
 16. κῶ ο (θς)] ομι ο θς 62 (εν πα)σαις ταις πλατειαις] εν πασαις πλατειαις (-ταις A)
 A Q 51 86 95 153 185 228 233 εν πασιν αμφοδοις Σ κοπετος] ras i lit post τ A²
 οδοις] pr ταις B 22 48 86 95 185 ρηθησεται] κληθησεται 86^{ms} οναι οναι] θρηνος 95
 185 εις κοπετον] ομι εις BA Q 48 86 153 233 και εις ειδотας θρηνον] προς ειδотα
 θρηνον Aq τους γινωσκοντας μελος Σ ειδотας] ιδотας A 17. και εν πασαις οδοις]
 (και εν) πασιν αμπελωσιν Aq Σ Θ οδοις] pr ταις 62 147 διоти] οτι 228 διελεν-
 σομαι] ελευσομαι B Q 48 233 επελευσομαι A δια] εν 62 147 σου] om 36 86
 ειπε] -πεν BA Q 22 (-πε 22^a) λεγει 62 95 147 185 (Syr-Hex = Y) 18. οναι
 -κῶ 2^a] OL^a = Y οναι οι επιθυμ in mg et sup ras A^a επιθυμουντες] επι-
 θυμουνται 62 και 1^a] om 48 153 228 233 (hab OL^a) υμιν αυτη] tr BA Q 48 153
 228 Chrys om υμιν 233 η] om 51 (hab 51^a) του] om 62 147 153 εστι]
 εστιν BA Q 147^a Chrys επι 62 147 σκοτος] dies tenebrae OL^a 19. ον
 τροπον-(αρκο)ς] OL^a = Y εαν] οταν A 62 147 εκφυγη] φυγη B Q 48 86 153
 228 pr τις (al pr γαρ εαν) Chrys ανθρωπος] om (al ανηρ) Chrys εκ] απο Chrys
 του] om 36 62 86 147 Chrys εμπεση-εισπηδηση] εμπεσει A^a vid (εμπεση αυτω η
 αρκοις εισπηδη in mg et sup ras A²) εμπεση] -σει 62 συναντηση Chrys εισπηδηση]
 -σει A 62 228 οικον] + αυτου BA Q 36 48 153 233 Chrys + suam OL^a (Syr-
 Hex = Y) α(περισηται)] απερησειται 62 απειρεισει 86 απειρειση 95 185 228 233 Chrys
 απερησηται 147 (απερεισηται 147^a) απειρεισει 153 (infulciat OL^a) (Syr-Hex = Y)
 τας] om 36 51 97 τας χειρας] την χειρα Chrys manum suam (al manus suas) OL^a
 (Syr-Hex = Y) επι] προς A εις Q 22 147 233 Chrys in OL^a (Syr-Hex = Y)
 ο] om BA Q 48 86 95 153 185 233 20. (20^b. Chrys = Y) ουχι σκοτος η ημερα]
 nonne tenebrae sunt dies illa OL^a και γνωφος ουκ εχων φεγγος] et nebula sine
 lumine OL^a γνωφος] σκοτος 86 φεγγος] φθεγγος A^a vid αυ***] αυτης Q L

εἰς ***** μεγάλην καὶ κατάβητε ἐκεῖθεν εἰς . . ἄλλοφύλων τὰς
 κρατίστας ἐκ πασῶν . . . σιλειῶν τούτων· εἰ πλείονα ἐστὶν . . . τῶν ἱμε-
 3 τέρων ὀρίων· ³ οἱ ἐρχόμενοι . . . κακὴν· οἱ ἐγγιζόντες καὶ ἐφαπτόμ· —
 4 . . τῶν ψευδῶν ⁴ οἱ καθευδόντες . . . φαντίνων καὶ κατασπατ . . . στρωμαῖ—
 5 αὐτῶν· οἱ ἐσθιόντες . . . μνίων· καὶ μοσχάρια ἐκ μέσου θηνά· ⁵ ο—
 6 ἐπικροτοῦντες . . . τῶν ὀργάνων· ὡς ἐστηκότα χ ὡς φεύγοντα· ⁶ ο—
 πῖνο . . . οἶνον καὶ τὰ πρῶτα μύρα χριόμενοι· καὶ οὐκ ἐπασχον οὐδὲν ἐπ—
 7 τῇ συντριβῇ τοῦ ἰωσήφ· ⁷ διὰ τοῦτο νῦν αἰχμάλωτοι ἐσονται ἀπ' ἀρχῆς
 8 δυναστῶν καὶ ἐξαρθήσεται χρεμετισμὸς ἱππῶν ἐξ ἐφραΐμ· ⁸ ὅτι ὡμοσε κω
 καθ' ἑαυτοῦ λέγει κω ὁ θς τῶν δυνάμεων διότι βδελύσσομαι ἐγὼ πᾶσαν

VI. 3-6^a. Chrys. *De Virg.* I 5. *In Ep. ad Col. I*, Hom. i 6 5^b. *De Res.*
Mor. v 6^b. Chrys. *Quod Reg. Fem.* ii

videte OL^w ³ ⁴ Syro-Hex καὶ διελθετε ἐκεῖθεν] om Q (διελθετε
 BA 48 51 233) ***** μεγάλην] Εμαθ Ραββα B 48 51 97 153 228 Αιμαθ Ραββα
 Α Μαθ Ραββα Q αιμαθ την μεγαλην 22 αιμαθ ραβα 36 αιθαμ την μεγαλην 95 185 ημαθ
 την μεγαλην 86 (εματραβα 86^{ms}) σημαθ την μεγαλην 62 147 εμετραββα 233 . . τη
 πολλην Αq . . την μεγαλην Σ in Samarhabam OL^w ³ ⁴ Syro-Hex + και
 διελθατε (-θετε Q^a) ἐκεῖθεν Q ἐκεῖθεν 2^o] om Q 153 233 OL^w καὶ διελθατε ἐκεῖθεν
 86^{ms} αλλοφυλων] αλοφυλων 147 (αλλοφ. 147^a) (βα)σιλειων] βασιλειων Α 233
 τουτων] eorum OL^w εἰ πλείονα ad fin com] OL^w = Y πλειονα] πλεονα B Q πλιονα Δ
 ἐστιν . . .] τα ορια (ορεία Q) αυτων ἐστιν BA Q 48 153 228 233 των] om 51
 (hab 51^a) υμετερων] ημετερων 86 147 228 οριων] ορειων Q 3. oi 1^a]
 ρη οναι 36 228 Chrys oi ἐρχομενοι] oi ευχομενοι Α Q^a (oi ἐρχ. Q^a) Syro-
 Hex^{ms} oi αποκεχωρισμενοι Αq oi αφαιρισμενοι Σ oi απαγομενοι Θ qui optastis
 OL^w oi ἐγγιζοντες ad fin com] OL^w = Y 4. (Chrys = Y) καθευ-
 δοντες] -δωντες 62 κατασπατ(αλωντες)] luxuriamini OL^w deliciamini OL^a
 (ἐπι ταις) στρωμαῖς] (στρωμαῖς 147) in stragulis OL^w super thoros OL^a oi
 ἐσθιοντες] καὶ ἐσθοντες BA 48 86 233 ai (καὶ Q^a) ἐσθοντες Q καὶ ἐσθιοντες 51 153 228
 qui manducatis OL^w ³ ⁴ Syro-Hex μεσου] om Α OL^a (hab OL^w) μεσον 62
 μεσω 153 5. oi ἐπικροτουντες] oi επικρατουντες 48 51 86 95 185 233 scrutantes
 Αq oi εξαρχοντες Σ qui plauditis OL^w qui plaudetis OL^a complaudentes OL^{ms}
³ ⁴ Syro-Hex ως ἐστηκότα] ως ἐστῶτα Α Q L (exc 48) 86 Chrys
 sicut permanentia OL^w sicut sempiterna OL^a tanquam perseverantia OL^{ms}
³ ⁴ Syro-Hex ως ἐστηκότα ad fin com] OL^w = Y 6. (Chrys = Y)
 oi πινο(ν)τες] qui bibitis OL^w qui bibunt OL^a OL^{ms} τα πρωτα μυρα] των μυρων Σ
 primis unguentis OL^w optima unguenta OL^a primariis unguentis OL^{ms} χριο-
 μενοι] χριωμενοι 62 147 (χριομ. 147^a) χριομενα 185 unguemini OL^w unguuntur OL^a
 OL^{ms} και ουκ ἐπασχον ουδεν] (ἐπασχων 62) om ουδεν 95 185 et passi sunt nihil
 OL^w non dolebant nihil OL^a ἐπι τη συντριβῇ] ἐπι την συντριβην 153 contribulatione
 OL^w in interitum OL^a του] om BA Q 48 86 153 233 7. (OL^w = Y) νιν]
 om 62 147 απ] ἐξ Q^a επ Q^{ms} απ αρχης δυναστων] εν αρχη των αιχμαλωτισ-
 μενων Αq και εξαρθησεται χρεμετισμος ιππων ἐξ ἐφραιμ] και περιαιρεθησεται εταιρεια
 τρυφητων Σ χρεμετισμος] χ sup ras B^{ab} ἐξ] om Q 233 8. om] quoniam
 OL^w quia OL^a ωμοσε] -σεν BA Q 22 καθ εαυτου] per semetipsum ³ ⁴
 Syro-Hex^{ms} sine nom λεγει κω ο θς των δυναμεων] om BA Q 48 153 233 OL^w OL^a
³ ⁴ Syro-Hex λεγει] λεγων L (exc 22) (om 48
 153 233) διоти] om Α quoniam OL^w quia OL^a ³ ⁴ Syro-Hex την

τὴν ὕβριν ἰακῶβ καὶ τὰς χώρας αὐτοῦ μεμίσθηκα· καὶ ἐξαρῶ πόλιν σὺν
 9 πᾶσιν τοῖς κατοικοῦσιν αὐτήν· ⁹ καὶ ἔσται ἐὰν ὑπολειφθῶσι δέκα ἄνδρες
 10 ἐν οἰκίᾳ μιᾷ ἀποθανοῦνται καὶ ὑπολειφθῶσιν οἱ κατάλοιποι· ¹⁰ καὶ
 λήμψονται οἱ οἰκεῖοι αὐτῶν καὶ παραβιώνται τοῦ ἐξεργεῖν τὰ ὄστα αὐτῶν
 ἐκ τοῦ οἴκου· καὶ ἐρεῖ τοῖς προεστηκόσι τοῦ οἴκου εἰ ἔτι ὑπάρχει παρὰ σοί·
 11 καὶ ἐρεῖ οὐκ ἔτι· καὶ ἐρεῖ σίγα . . . ὀνομάσαι τὸ ὄνομα κῶ· ¹¹ διότι . . . καὶ
 12 πατάξει τὸν οἶκον τὸν . . . καὶ τὸν οἶκον τὸν μικρὸν . . . ¹² . . . αἱ ἐν πέτραις
 13 ἵππου· . . . ται ἐν θηλείαις· ὅτι ἐξε . . . μα καὶ καρπὸν δικαί . . . ¹³· εὐ-
 φραϊνόμενοι ἐπ' οὐδενὶ λόγῳ ἀγαθῷ οἱ λέγοντες οὐκ ἐν τῇ ἰσχύϊ ἡμῶν
 14 ἔσχομεν κέρατα· ¹⁴ διότι ἰδοὺ ἐγὼ ἐπεγείρω ἐφ' ὑμᾶς οἶκος ἰηλ φησὶ κῶ
 ὁ θεὸς στρατ**** ἔθνος καὶ ἐκθλύψουσιν ὑμᾶς τοῦ μὴ εἰσελθεῖν εἰς αἱμαθ
 1 καὶ εἰς τοῦ χειμάρρου τῶν δυσμῶν· ¹ οὕτως ἔδειξέ μοι κῶ· καὶ ἰδοὺ ἐπιγονή VII
 2 ἀκριδῶν ἐρχομένη ἐωθινή· καὶ ἰδοὺ βροῦχος εἰς γῶγ ὁ βασιλεὺς· ² καὶ ἔσται
 ἐὰν συντελεσθῇ τοῦ φαγεῖν τὸν χόρτον τῆς γῆς· καὶ εἶπον κῆ κῆ ὡς

VI 13^b In Dan. ivVII 2^b Ad Stag. iii 2

ὑβριν] το ὑφος Θ iniuriam OL^m superbiam OL^s αὐτου] αὐτων A 153 eius OL^m
 illius OL^s πολιν] πολεις 153 συν πασιν] συμπασιν (1 συμ πασιν) B συν πασι 22
 αὐτήν] αὐτας 153 9. υπολειφθῶσι] -σιν BAQ ἀνδρες] ομι B αποθανοῦνται]
 ρι και BQ 48 86 153 233 καὶ υπολειφθῶσονται οἱ καταλοιποι] ομι 153 228 (hab
 228^m) 10. λημψονται] ληψονται 22 147^a (λημψ. 147) οικειοι] οικιοι Q^s
 (οικειοι Q^s) αὐτων 1^o] ρι οι BQ + οι καταλοιποι 153 παραβιωνται] οι παραβιωται
 A παραβιουνται 153 εξεργειν] εξεργει BAQ 48 86 153 228 233 εκ] ομι 95
 185 οικου 1^o] + μου 36 προεστηκοσι] -σιν A Q L (εxc 22) -ωσι 62 του οικου
 2^o] της οικιας BAQ 48 86 95 153 185 228 233 σιγα—το ονομα κῶ] ησυχασθητι του
 αναμνησαι εν ονοματι κυριου Aq σιωπα· ου γαρ εστιν αναμνησαι το ονομα κυριου Σ . . .
 οτι ουκ εις (το) αναμνησαι εν ονοματι κυριου Θ σιγα] σιγα 62 (μη) ονομασαι] ομι
 μη] Q^s (hab Q^s) 12. ιππου] ιππου 95 185 (ει παρασιωπησον)ται εν θηλειαις] ει
 αρσισμαθησεται . . . Aq . . . πετρα δια βοαν Σ οτι] + υμεις A Q 36 228 233 + υμων 153
 εφε] (στρεψατε)] contrivistis Σ 13. ευφραινομενοι] ευφρεν. 62 επ] εν 86 επ
 ουδενι λογω] αλογως Σ αγαθω] ομι BAQ 48 153 233 Syro-Hex οι λεγοντες
 ad fin com] Chrys = Y εσχομεν] ρι ουκ 86 εχομεν 95 185 14. διοτι] δια
 το αὐτο 36 εγω] ομι 153 επεγειρω] επεγειρω 48 62 86 147 228 233 ἰηλ] + εθνος
 B A Q ρι του A Q 62 147 233 φησι κῶ ο θεὸς στρατ****] λεγει κυριος των δυναμεων
 B 48 233 ομι A Q φησι κῶ ο θεὸς στρατιων L (exc 48 233)] ܟܕܝܢܐ ܕܥܡܐ ܕܝܫܬܐ ܕܥܡܐ
 X Syro-Hex στρατ****] ρι των 86 εθνος] pon post ἰηλ 48 233 εκθλι-
 ψουσιν] -σι 22 θληψουσιν 62 θλιψουσιν 147 υμας] ημας 62 του μη εισελθειν]
 του μη εισελθειν B Q ομι εισελθειν A απο εισοδου Σ αιμαθ] Εμαθ BAQ 228 ημαθ
 62 86 ιμαθ 147 (ειμαθ 147^a) αιμαθα 233 εως] ως B 48 86 97 (εως 97^a) και
 εως του χειμαρρου των δυσμων] εως του χειμαρρου της ομαλης Aq εως της φαραγγος της
 πεδιαδος Σ εως του χειμαρρου της αραβα Θ
 VII. 1. εδειξε] -ξεν BAQ 22 εδοξε 95 185 κῶ] κυριος ο θεος B Q^s (ομι ο θεος Q)
 48 97 bis scr 228 ακριδων] βοραδων Aq και ιδου βρουχος εις γωγ ο βασιλευς] και
 ιδου οψιμος οπισω της γαζης του βασιλεως Aq και ως ειπειν οψιμος μετα την κουραν του
 βασιλεως Σ και ιδου οψιμος μετα την κουραν του βασιλεως Θ βρουχος] ρι ο 147
 εις γωγ] ως γωγ 51 εις γωγην 147 εις γωγ 153 ο] ομι 86 147 2. εαν] αν 153
 συντελεισθη] συντελειση B^{1b} (συντελειση B^s) A Q 48 51 86 95 153 185 233 συντελεισει
 62 147 τον φαγειν] εσθιων Σ φαγειν] καταφαγειν BAQ 48 153 228 233

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C C

VII 3^a Chrys. *Ad Stag.* iii 10 7 *In Psal.* lxxxiii 2 12^b Theod. *Dial.* ^{III}

ειπον] ειπα BAQ 48 86 153 228 233 ειπουν 62 γενοι + κυριε Chrys
στρεσει τον Ιακωβ] τι (fort. τις) αν υποστηρεται Ιακωβ Σ αναστησαι -ση 147
εστιν B A Q L̄ (ex c 22) Chrys 3. μετανοησον—τουτω] Chrys = Y
νοησον κ̅ε] παρεκληθη κυριος Αq παρεκληθητι (κυριε) Σ ου μη γενηται] ουκ ε
BAQ 48 153 228 233 ου μη γενησεται 86 λεγει] ειπεν 153 228 4. εδο
-ξεν BAQ 22 εδοξε 95 185 κ̅ς 1^ο] + θς A bis scr Q* 228 και ιδου εκalse
δικην] και ο καλον την δικην Θ εκalse] -σεν BA Q 22 κ̅ς ο θς] ομι ο θς B.
(hab Q^{ms}) 86 48 51 62 97 233 κυριος κυριος 153 228 + ܐܠܗܐ ܕܡܪܝܢܐ Syro-H
+ ܐܠܗܐ ܕܡܪܝܢܐ ܕܥܡܐ Syro-Hex^{ms} και καταφαγε την αβυσσιν την πολλ.
omi 62 κατεφαγεν] -γε B 22 μεριδα] + κυριον B 48 86 5. ειπον] ειπα B A
48 86 153 233 κ̅ε κ̅ε semel tantum B 48 86 233 αναστησαι] -ση 62 147 6.
ο θς] κυριος B A 48 86 233 κ̅ς κ̅ς Q 153 228 7. (Chrys = Y) και ιδου ανη
σιν ανηρ B Q* (hab Q^{i ms}) 48 οτι εφανη κυριος Σ ιδου αδανα κυριος Θ (Syro-Hex = Y
(επι τειχους αδαμαντι)νου) . . . splendentem Aq . . . τηκομενον Θ 8. τι σ
bras—και ειπε κυριος προς με] omi 228 (hab 228^{ms}) 233 ειπε] -εν (v ras) Y* B A
κ̅ς 2^ο] + ο θεος 51 εν μεσω] εις μεσον A Q* (εν μεσω Q*) 233 λαου] ρr τοι
Q 147 προσθ] προσθησα A Q* (προσθα Q*) 36 τον παρελθειν αυτον] αναβαλομα
αυτον Σ 9. βωμοι] ρr οι L̄ (ex c 48 153 228 233) 86 βωμοι του γελωτος] τα
ψηλα του Ιακωβ Σ ερημωθησονται] εξερημωθησονται A 86 10. αμασιαι
αμασιαι 62 μεσιαι 147 αμασιαι 153 Βαιθλ] Βεθλ 86 185* εις Βεθλ 62 147 in
Bethel OL^{cc} OLⁱ συστροφας ποιειται] συνεδσε Αq ανεπισεν αναταρασσ̅ς con
ventum facit OLⁱ conglobationes facit OL^{co} ܬܠܦܘܟܐ Syro-Hex^{ms} sine nom
δυνηται] γενηται A potest OL^{cc} poterit OLⁱ υπερεικειν] υπενειkein B A Q L̄ (ex
υπερεικειν 62 επενεικειν 147) υπενεικαι 86 παντας] απαντας A 233 omi OL^{cc} OLⁱ
αυτου] + et ob hoc insuper expellitur OL^{co} II. (OLⁱ = Y) διوتي] + φρην 86
λεγει] + κ̅υ (sic) 95 185 τελευτησει] -ση 147 αχθησεται] αρθησεται 86^{me} ρr
ληφθησεται 153 12. αμασιαι] αμασιαι 62 147 αμασιαι 153 ο οραν] omi OLⁱ
βαδις] + συ 22 48 153 228 εκχωρησον] + συ B 51 95 97 185 omi Theod + ܕܡܪܝܢܐ
Syro-Hex (OLⁱ = Y) εκχωρησον] εκχωρισον 95 185 και εκει καταβιον] omi 153

προσθήσεις τοῦ προφητεύσαι· ὅτι ἁγίασμα βασιλέως ἐστὶ καὶ οἶκος
 14 βασιλείας ἐστί· ¹⁴ καὶ . . . πρὸς ἀμασίαν· οὐ . . . οὐδὲ υἱὸς προφήτου
 15 . . . ν συκάμυνα κνίζων ¹⁵ . . . τῶν προβάτων . . . ζε καὶ προφήτευσον
 16 ἐπὶ τὸν λαόν μου ἱηλ· ¹⁶ καὶ νῦν ἄκουε λόγον κῡ· σὺ λέγεις μὴ προφήτῃ
 17 ἐπὶ τὸν ἱηλ· καὶ οὐ μὴ ὀχλαγώγει ἐπὶ τὸν οἶκον ἰακώβ· ¹⁷ διὰ τοῦτο τὰδε
 λέγει κῡ· ἡ γυνὴ σου ἐν τῇ πόλει πορνεύσει καὶ οἱ υἱοὶ σου καὶ αἱ
 θυγατέρες σου ἐν ῥομφαίᾳ πεσοῦνται· καὶ ἡ γῆ σου ἐν σχοινίῳ κατα-
 μετρηθήσεται· καὶ σὺ ἐν γῇ ἀκαθάρτῳ τελευτήσεις· ὁ δὲ ἱηλ αἰχμάλωτος
 1 ἀχθήσεται ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς αὐτοῦ· ¹ οὕτως ἔδειξέ μοι κῡ κῡ· καὶ ἰδοὺ ἄγγος VIII
 ἰξευτοῦ· καὶ εἶπε κῡ πρὸς μέ τί σὺ βλέπεις ἀμώς· καὶ εἶπον ἄγγος ἰξευτοῦ·
 2 ² καὶ εἶπε κῡ πρὸς μέ· ἦκει τὸ πέρασ ἐπὶ τὸν λαόν μου ἱηλ· οὐκέτι μὴ

VII 14^b Chrys. *Ad Pop. Antioch.* iv 1. *In Isai.* i 1

(hab 153^{me}) 13. δε] om A 62 βαιηλ] βεηλ 62 147 + iam OL¹ ουκετι
 προσθησεις] ουκετι μη προσθη A Q* (om μη Q* ουκετι προσθησεις Q¹ (me)) 62 (προσθεις
 147 ²¹ vid) 147 233 ου προσθησεις ετι 86 non adicies OL¹ εστι 1^o εστιν B A Q 22
 (εστι 22^a) 62 147 βασιλειας εστι] tr 62 95 147 185 εστι 2^o εστιν B A Q 22
 (εστι 22^a) 62 147 erit OL^w OL¹ 14. και 1^o] om 86 αμασιαν] αμεσιαν 62 147
 αμασεαν 153 amessiam OL^w amasiam OL¹ ου . . . ad fin com] ουτε προφητης ημην
 ουτε προφητου υιος ημην δε αιπολος εγω συκαμυνα κνιζων 95 185 ουκ ειμι μεν γαρ προ-
 φητης ουθ υιος προφητου αλλ η αιπολος συκαμυνα κνιζων Chrys (ημη)ν συκαμυνα
 κνιζων] αιγαν κνιζων συκαμυνα 86 συκαμυνα κνιζων] ηρ και B 2 (ex 36 51 62 97 147)
 tr B 48 86 153 228 233 ερεινων συκομορους Aq εχων συκομορους Σ χαρασσαν συκα-
 μινους Θ bellicans mora OL^w vellicans mora. OL¹ 15. προβατων] προφητων B
 (προβαταν B*) ποιμωνιων Aq Σ Θ ovibus OL^w OL^o ܐܝܬܪܗܝܠ Syro-Hex και] om 86
 153 233 μου] om 86 ἱηλ] ηρ τον A 36 ηρ του 86 ܐܝܬܪܗܝܠ OL^w
 16, 17. hab sub ~ 22 16, 17. γησεις επι τον οικον Ιακωβ δια τουτο τα sup gas
 ut vid B¹ 2^o 16. μη 1^o] om 147 επι τον ἱηλ] εν τω Ισραηλ Aq επι τον Ισραηλ Θ
 ἱηλ] ηρ οικον 147 153 istrahel OL^w μη 2^o] ηρ ου 48 86 95 153 185 228 233
 οχλαγωγει] οχλαγωγεις B 48 153 228 233 οχλαγωγησης A Q 86 95 185 ου σταλαξεις
 Aq ουκ επιτιμησεις Σ congregabis turbas OL^w congregabitur OL^o ιακωβ] του
 γελωτος Aq του Ισαακ Σ Θ 17. κῡ] + ds OL^w OL^o εν τη πολει—και η γη
 σου] om Q* (hab Q^{me}) πορνευσει] -ση 62 147 πορνευθησεται Σ Θ prostabit OL^w
 OL^o πεσουνται] πεσανται 62 εν σχοινιω] om 97 καταμετρηθησεται] κατα-
 μεταθησεται 62 μερισθησεται Aq Σ συ] om Q* (hab Q*) εσυ 147 (OL^w OL^o Syro-
 Hex = Y) τελευτησεις] -σης 147 ἱηλ] istrahel OL^w OL^o (sic infra) αχθησεται]
 ληφθησεται 153.

VIII. 1. ουτως εδειξε μοι] εδειξε γαρ μοι φησι 95 185 εδειξε] -ξεν B A Q 22^a 62
 147 κῡ κῡ] κῡ A Q 2 (ex 48 153 228) dms dš OL^w ܐܝܬܪܗܝܠ Syro-Hex αγγος
 1^o] αγγελος 62 185^{me} αγγος ἰξευτου 1^o] καλαθος οπωρας Aq καλαμος οπωρας Σ αγγος
 οπωρας θερινης Θ vas aucupis OL^w ἰξευτου 1^o—ἰξευτου 2^o] om 62 228 (hab 228^{me})
 ειπε] -πεν B A Q κῡ προς με] om B A Q 48 153 228 233 om κῡ 86 μοι κῡ 147 (OL^w
 Syro-Hex = Y) συ] σοι 147 βλέπεις] opas A 153 ειπον] ειπα B A Q 48 95
 153 185 228 (ειπον 228^{me}) 233 αγγος 2^o] NT superscr 22 2. ειπε] -πεν
 B A Q 22 (-πε 22^a) περας] + vere OL^w τον λαον μου] τον οικον 62 147 153 233
 ἱηλ] ηρ τον 86 ουκετι μη προσθω ετι του παρελθειν αυτον] ου προσθω ετι του
 παρελθειν αυτον B 48 153 om μη Q* (hab Q*) και ουκετι ου μη προσθω 36 om του 86
 ουκετι αναβαλουμαι αυτον Σ iam non adiciam ut praeteream eum OL^w ܐܝܬܪܗܝܠ

10 φῶς· ¹⁰ καὶ μεταστρέψω τὰς ἑορτὰς ὑμῶν εἰς πένθος· καὶ πάσας τὰς ᾠδὰς
 ὑμῶν εἰς θρήνον· καὶ ἀναβιβῶ ἐπὶ πᾶσαν ὁσφὶν σάκκον καὶ ἐπὶ πᾶσαν
 κεφαλὴν φαλάκρωμα· καὶ θήσομαι αὐτὸν ὡς πένθος ἀγαπητοῦ καὶ τοὺς
 11 μετ' αὐτοῦ ὡς ἡμέραν ὀδύνης· ¹¹ ἰδοὺ ἡμέραι ἔρχονται λέγει κῶ καὶ ἐξα-
 12 ποστελῶ λιμὸν ἐπὶ τῇ . . . ἐ δάψαν ὕδατος· ἀλ . . . κῶ· ¹² καὶ σαλευθήσῃ
 . . . [ὑδατα ἀπὸ θαλάσσης] ἕως θαλάσσης· τολῶν περιδραμύνονται
 13 ζητοῦντες τὸν λόγον κῶ καὶ οὐ μὴ εὗρ**** ¹³ ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἐκείνῃ ἐκλεί-
 14 ψουσιν αἱ π . . οἱ αἱ καλαὶ καὶ οἱ νεανίσκοι ἐν δάψει ¹⁴ ο . . . οντες κατὰ
 τὸν ἱλασμόν σαμαρείας . . . γοντες ζῆ ὁ θς σου δάν· καὶ ζῆ ὁ θς σου . .
 1 βεῖ· καὶ πεσούνταί καὶ οὐ μὴ ἀναστῶ . . . ¹ εἰδὸν τὸν κῆ ἐφεστῶτα ἐπὶ τοῖς
 θυσιασθ . . . καὶ εἶπε πάταξον ἐπὶ τὸν ἱλαστήρ . . . , θήσεται τὰ πρόπυλα
 καὶ διάκω . . . φαλὰς πάντων· καὶ τοὺς καταλο . . . τῶν ἐν ῥομφαίᾳ καὶ

VIII 10^a *In exalt. ven. Crucis* 11^a Theod. *In Ezech.* xxxiv. *In Psal.* xxxvi.
In Psal. cvi 11, 12 Chrys. *Serm. in Pseudoproph.* ii IX 1^a Chrys. *De*
Incomprehens. Dei Nat. iv 3

contenebrescet OL^a obtenebrabitur OL tenebrabitur (al tenebracavit) OL^{test} συσκοτασει επι της γης] συνεσκοτασε την γην Σ Θ ομι επι της γης 233
Chrys (al hab) εν ημερα το φως] εν ημερα φωτος 22 (εν ημ. το φως 22^a) 62 147 εν
ημ. του φωτος 97 εν ημερα φωτος Aq Σ dies lucis OL^a die lucis OL^a dies luminis OL^a
OL^{test} η ημερα (al = Y) Chrys **יְהוָה יִשְׂרָאֵל** Syro-Hex 10. **יְהוָה יִשְׂרָאֵל**
ημων 153 **πάσας τας αδας υμων**] cantica eorum (al omnia cantica vestra) OL^c
θηρνον] θηρνους 86^{ms} Chrys και αναβιβω ad fin com] et imponam super lumbos
vestros saccum et super omne caput calvitium et ponam eum quasi luctum delicti
et eos qui cum eo quasi diem moeroris OL^{test} (OL^a OL^c = Y) αναβιβω] αναβι-
βασω 86 αυτον Q^a 62 147 153 ως 1^o] εις 153 αγαπητου] αγαπητου
153 μονογενοϋς Σ και τους μετ αυτου] και το εσχατον της γης Σ Θ 11, 12. και
εσται εν ταις ημεραις κειναις επαγω λιμον επι την γην ου λιμον αρτου ουδε διψαν
υδατος αλλα λιμον του ακουσαι λογον Θεου. και περιδραμουνται απο ανατολων
ως δυσμων **ήρουντες** του λογον Κυριον Chrys 11. **ερχονται**] venient OL^a
venient OL^a **κω** + **κω** Q^a 153 228 (OL^a OL^a Syro-Hex = Y) **εξαποστελω**] εφω
Theod επι τη (γη) επι την γην BA Q **ל** (εκς 228 εις της γης) Theod (al omi
Theod) διψαν] οι ο διψος Q^{ms} 12. και] ομι 95 185 **σαλευθησεται**
σαλευθησονται B Q^{ms} 48 86 153 228 233 **συναχθησονται** Q^a movebuntur OL^a OL^a
υδατα απο θαλασσης] **υδατα** της θαλασσης B 36 48 51 95 153 185 233
υδατα εις θαλασσης A Q (υδ. απο θαλασσης Q^{ms}) aquae usque ad mare OL^a OL^a
יְהוָה יִשְׂרָאֵל Syro-Hex (ανα)τολων] δυσμων 233 orientem
OL^a austrum OL^a περιδραμουνται] omi OL^a (hab OL^a) **כֹּו** pr του A 48 86 228
υρ****] + αυτον 95 185 13. **εκλειψουσιν**] **εκληψουσιν** 147 (εκλειψ. 147^a) **εκλυθη-**
σονται Aq Σ Θ Quint Sext οι νεανισκοι] ομι οι 62 + electi OL^a 14. ο(ι) ομι
62 147 **κατα** του ιλασμου] εν τη πλημμελεια 86^{ms} sine nom ο θς 1^o] pr **כֹּו** A 86
σου 1^o] ομι 62 86 95 147 185 (βηρσα)βει] βηρσαβει 62 **αναστωσης**] αναστη-
ουσιν 62 147 ανιστωςιν 95 185

IX. 1. ἐφεστῶτα] εστῶτα Chrys του θυσιαστ(ηριου)] τω θυσιαστηριῳ 62 147
 ἐπε] -πεν (ν ras Y*) BA Q + μοι Chrys + mihi OL^w ἐπι το ιασητηριον] ἐπι
 το θυσιαστηριον A Q (ιαστ. Q^{ms}) 86 147 228^{ms} 233 το οικοδομημα Aq ἐπι το
 κβαριον Σε ܡܠܟܐ ܕܝܫܘܥ Syro-Hex τα προφυλα τα προφυλαια 22 (προφυλα

ἀποκτενῶ . . . γῇ ἐξ αὐτῶν φεύγων· καὶ οὐ μὴ . . . αὐτῶν ἀνασωζόμεναι
 2² ἐὰν κ[ατορυγῶσιν] . . . ἄδου ἐκείθεν ἢ χεῖρ μου ἀνασπ . . . ἐὰν ἀναβῶσι
 3 εἰς τὸν οὐνόν . . . αὐτούς· ³ καὶ ἐὰν κατακρυ[βῶσιν] . . . φῆν τοῦ καρμήλου
 ἐκεῖθ . . . λήψομαι αὐτούς· καὶ . . . φθαλμῶν μου εἰς τὰ . . . ἐντελοῦμαι
 4 τῷ ὄρ . . . ⁴ καὶ ἐὰν πορευθῶς . . . σῶπον τῶν ἐχθρῶν . . . ῥομφαία
 καὶ ἀποκτενεῖ αὐτούς· καὶ στηριῶ [τούς] ὀφθαλμούς μου εἰς κακὰ καὶ οὐκ
 5 εἰς ἀγαθὰ· ⁵ . . . ὁ θς ὁ παντοκράτωρ ὁ ἐφαπτόμενος τῆς γῆς . . .
 σαλεύων αὐτὴν καὶ πειθήσουσι πάν . . . κατοικοῦντες αὐτὴν καὶ ἀναβήσεται
 6 . . . ἀμὸς συντέλεια αὐτῆς· καὶ καταβή . . . ταμὸς αἰγύπτου· ⁶ ὁ οἰκοδομῶν
 ἐπὶ
 . . . τὴν ἀνάβασιν αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν ἐ . . . τοῦ ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς θεμελιῶν· ὁ προσ
 . . . τὸ ὕδωρ τῆς θαλάσσης καὶ ἐκ . . . πρόσωπον τῆς γῆς κς ὁ θς ὁ . . . ὡρ
 7 ὄνομα αὐτῷ· ⁷ οὐχ ὡς υἱοὶ αἱ . . . ε μοι υἱοὶ ἱηλ . . . γύπτου καὶ τοῖς
 8 ἀλλοφύλους . . . καὶ τοὺς σύρους ἐκ βόθρου· ⁸ . . . τοῦ θυ ἐπὶ τὴν βασι-
 9 λεῖαν τὴν . . . ὦ αὐτὴν ἀπὸ προσώ . . . εἰς τέλος οὐ μὴ ἐξαρώ . . . ⁹ . . . ὅτι
 ἰδοὺ ἐγὼ ἐντέλλο[μαι καὶ λικμήσω τὸν οἶκον] ἱηλ ἐν πᾶσι τοῖς ἔθνε[σιν
 10 ὃν τρόπον λικμᾶται ἐν τῷ] λικμῶ· καὶ οὐ . . . γῆν· ¹⁰ ἐν ῥομφαίᾳ τελευ-

IX 6^b Theod. Haer. Fab. Compend. Lib. ii In Am. ix 7 Chrys. Exp.
 in Ps. xlvii. In Matth. Hom. viii 4, xi 1. Theod. In Am. ix 8 In Am. ix

22^a) 153 om τα 233 luminaria OL^w καὶ οὐ μὴ οὐδε A om καὶ Q (superscr ε Q^a)
 οὐδε μὴ 86 233 ανασωζομενος] ανασωμενος 147 (ανασωζ. 147^a) 2. κ(ατορυγῶσιν)]
 κατακρυβῶσιν B 48 95 185 233 (καὶ) εαν αναβῶσιν ad fin com] om 147 153
 3. καὶ εαν] hab sub X Syro-Hex om καὶ BA Q 48 95 147 153 185 228 233 (hab sup lin
 228) κατακρυ(βῶσιν)] εγκατακρυβῶσιν B 48 86 (κατακρ. 86^{me}) 95 185 εγκρυβῶσιν
 A 233 ενκρυβῶσιν Q^a (εγκρυβ. Q^a) ἐκειθ(εν)] ἐκει 62 147 ληψομαι] λημφομαι
 BA L (εxc 22 62 147) ληψονται 22 (καταδυσῶσιν ἐξ ο'φθαλμων—εντελομαι] fas
 aliq B⁷ vid τα (βαθ της θαλασσης)] τα θεμελια της θαλασσης 86^{me} alne uom εν τω
 πυθμενι της θαλασσης Aq ΣΘ Quint Sext 4. καὶ 1^o] om 51 αποκτενι]
 αποκτενω 22^{ut} vid (αποκτενι (τ sup lin) 22^a) 62 (τονς) οφθαλμοις] το προσωπον A
 μου] + επ αυτους BA Q L (exc 22 95 97 185) 86 κακα] pr τα 185 5. ο 3^o] om
 153 της γης] την γην 147 (ως ποτ)αμος συντελεια αυτης] απο συντελειας αυτης 228
 συντελεια] fas aliq 22¹ (συντελεια 22^a) pr η 36 6. την 1^o] om BA Q (hab Q^{me}) 48
 228 233 αναβασιν] επιβασιν 22 (αναβασιν επι superscr Y^a 228) τα υπερωα αυτου Σ
 ο προσ(καλουμενος)—της γης 2^o] Theod=Y επι της γης] om της 62 333 προσωπον]
 προσωπου A Q 22 36 97 κς ο θς ο (παντοκρατ)ωρ] κυριος παντοκρατωρ B 48 86 95 185 228
 κυριος ο παντοκρατωρ A Q κς ο θς παντοκρατωρ 147 dms OL^w OL^{int} 4. 22 36 95 185 228
 Syro-Hex 7. (εστ)ε] εσται 62 εμοι] εμου B 48 62 μοι Chrys Theod (al
 om Chrys) καὶ τους αλλοφυλους] τους φιλισταιους Aq ΣΘ Quint Sext ουχι
 τους αλλοφυλους Chrys et alienigenas OL^w τους συρους] τους ασσυριους Chrys
 (al συριους) Theod Syros OL^w εκ βοθρου] απο κυρινης 86^{me} απο χειρ Aq Quint
 απο κυρηνης Σ εκ τοιχου Θ de fovea OL^w 8. (OL^w=Y) την (αμαρτωλον)]
 των αμαρτωλων BA Q Theod (al την αμαρτωλων) (εξα)ω 1^o—εις τελος] om 62
 εις τελος ου μὴ] ουκ εις τελος BA Q 48 86 153 228 233 9. ιδου] om B 48
 (λικμησω)] λιμω A^{*} λιγμω A¹ λικμω Q^a vid (λικμησω Q^a) κοσκινω Aq Σ (τον
 οικον] ἱηλ] ροη post εν πασι τοις εθνε[σιν] B A Q 48 153 233 πασι] πασιν A Q
 τοις εθνε(σιν)] om 153 228 (hab 228^{me}) (λικμαται εν τω) λικμω] λικμαται εν τω
 λικμω (λικνω B) B^a Q 48 51 95 153 233 λιγμαται εν τω λιγμω A λικμαται εν τω

NOTES AND STUDIES

THE CODEX OF THE PASCHAL CHRONICLE
USED BY HOLSTEIN.

To the issue of this JOURNAL for Jan. 1901, vol. ii No. 6, I contributed a note on the Composition of the Paschal Chronicle, in which on the basis of a recently published letter of the French scholar Bigot I combated the view, propounded by Prof. Gelzer and accepted by Mommsen, Car. Frick, Krumbacher, and others, that the so-called *Codex Holstenii* of the Paschal Chronicle never really existed. For Ducange believed in the reality of a codex acquired by Holstein through Messina from Constantinople, in which the Chronicle was only carried up as far as the year 354, and of which the text omitted not only all matter inconsistent with that earlier date, but also much which was consistent with it.

We only learn from Ducange's Preface to his edition that Holstein collated his codex in the margin of a copy of Rader's edition, adding some conjectures of his own, and especially noting what the supposed *continuator* of the age of Heraclius had interpolated before the year 354. In the rest of the *Chronicon* Holstein had added emendations of his own. All this, says Ducange, we have relegated to our notes: 'quae quidem omnia in Notas nostras retulimus.'

Bigot, in his letter to Ducange, attests that when at Rome, he had finished in the margin of Holstein's copy the collation which the latter through sickness could not complete, and that, after Holstein's death in Feb. 1661, he restored the codex to Holstein's executor, but brought the collation to Paris, where he lent it to M. Thoinard. This information seemed to me to make it certain that Holstein had such a codex as Ducange describes. But I concluded my note with the remark that in Ducange's papers preserved in No. 9467 of the *Fonds français* of the Bibliothèque Nationale 'further information would, if anywhere, be found to supplement' my note.

On examining these papers in the Spring of 1904 I found three collations¹ of the *Chronicon Paschale*. Of these the first regards a few

¹ These collations are separate documents merely bound together in the one volume.

passages only, and is headed thus: 'Chronici Alexandrini exemplar optimae notae quod modo in Bibliotheca Vaticana asservatur, No. 1941, ex Sicilia comparatum fuit, Messanae emptum a Georgio C P vi L. Octob. [1651]' MΔLI ut initio codicis adscriptus legitur. Codex est Membranaceus scriptus ab annis circ. 700.

'Lacuna quae habetur in editis pag. 552 (= ed. Dindorf p. 437) ibidem reperitur in MS Cod. ob unum quaternionem avulsum, ut eodem in loco notatur.'

This collation gives but a few readings of the codex, and occupies the side only of a sheet, and is followed by a note of the Benedictine scholar who made it, and which ends thus: 'Voilà à peu près, mon cher Monsieur, ce que vous souhaitiez du Ch. Alex. que nous avons conféré mieux que nous avons pû. On ne sçait ce qu'est devenue la copie corrigée de Mr Holstenius. Il n'y a guères d'apparence que l'on puisse avoir la liberté de copier ce MS tout entier. Mr Schelstrate est fort jaloux de sa bibliothèque, et il garde tant de mesures lorsqu'il en communique quelques-uns que ce ne seroit jamais fait encore qu'il donnât la faculté de la copier' &c.

It is clear that Ducange, who is the *cher Monsieur* addressed, had not the least idea that the Vatican MS 1941, about the existence of a lacuna in which he had asked for information of his Benedictine friend, was the very *Codex Holstenii* of which he speaks in his preface.

The second collation preserved in his papers bespeaks the same ignorance. It is in two hands, for Ducange² has written out select passages or words from Rader's edition, and Bigot adds in an opposite column the variant reading of the Vatican codex, or a mere *sic* in case there is no variation. This collation is headed in Ducange's handwriting: 'Chronicon Alexandrinum edit. Raderi emendandum ex MS Vaticano.' It fills three pages.

It is noteworthy that several of the readings of the Vatican MS signalized in this second collation are absent or are differently reported in the third collation, which must now be considered³. This circumstance may have encouraged Ducange to suppose that this Vatican MS was other than that which he calls Holstein's codex.

¹ The date bracketed is crossed out as also an X after the Δ in that which follows.

² It seemed to me that the hand is that of Ducange, yet I do not feel quite sure about it.

³ I may instance the following. At p. 62 l. 29 (ed. Raderi) Bigot gives the variant: διακονίας . . . ἐγένετο κακῆς διακονίας. Here the third collation has no note. At p. 108 l. 10 Bigot reports the readings αἰώνιον for αἰάνων: βάδιζε θνητὲ for θνητὲ βάδιζε: διανύων for διανοίων. Here again no note in the third collation. At p. 468 l. 14 Bigot reports τανὺν, where the third collation gives τοίνυν which is actually the reading of the Vatican cod. 1641.

The third collation fills seven folios of which the last two should precede the rest, having been bound up in a wrong order. It hardly seems to be in Ducange's hand, but I am not sure of this, and if any of Thoinard's¹ writing could be found with which to compare it, it might turn out to be his. Anyhow, it is a seemingly faithful transcription of the marginal notes in Holstein's copy of Rader's edition. In this edition the Latin version faces the Greek text, and Holstein's corrections of this are equally given with his notes and collation of the Greek MS. This collation was headed thus originally: 'Chronicon Alexandrinum Thoinard.' But another(?) hand has scored through the name *Thoinard*, and added in blacker ink the words *ex Holstenio*.

It is clear therefore that Ducange succeeded in obtaining from Thoinard or Thoinard either Holstein's copy of Rader's edition or a transcript of its marginal notes. The latter is the more probable hypothesis, for if he obtained the book itself, why should he make so elaborate a copy? If Bigot recovered the volume from Thoinard, he may have had the marginal notes copied by a third person, perhaps by M. Fromentin. Thoinard told Bigot that he had written notes of his own in Holstein's copy of Raderus lent him by Bigot, no less than in Bigot's own, similarly lent him. It is possible therefore that in this third document now before us Thoinard's notes are mixed up with Holstein's, though Ducange evinces in his preface no suspicion of any such thing.

In this third collation each note is referred to page and line of Rader's edition of the *Chronicon*, and as it is almost certainly the only document through which Ducange knew his *Codex Holstenii*, I venture to transcribe parts of it. It begins thus:—

p. 38 ἀπὸ 'Αδάμ | πρωτοπλάστου ἀνθρώπου H. MS | καθολικῇ καὶ ἀποστολικῇ H. MS.

40 B τοῦτον ἐγέννησεν | ἀδὰμ σλ. ἐπέζησεν | πλ. 930 | ὃς ἠξιώθη | τε αὐτοῦ | H. c ἐκβέβηκεν.

42 A τὴν ἰσοτιμίαν | χρέος ἀπέτισεν σχίσας εὐλόγως | B τὸ δοκεῖν.

H. c ubique pro ὁμοῦ, κόσμον exemplo 2. 4. 6. 8. 10 et ultimo.

44 A λύσιν δέξεται | H. c In 1. 3. 5 pro ὁμοῦ, κόσμον | μέχρι τοῦ |

46 A delet marginem | ἀπέστειλε | κεκόπακε.

48 A οὗτοι ἐκείναις τέκνα ἐποίησαν τὴν ἡλικίαν μεγίστους καὶ γίγαντας | B ἐπεὶ δὲ | C μετ' αὐτῶν f. ou | περὶ παιδείαν | delet ex, καὶ με usque ad pag. 50 A τὸν Σήθ.

50 A In marg. φαρμακίαι καὶ μαγείαι et delet ἀσελγεία |

A ἀδικίαι ἐχρημάτισαν | B σεαντῶ κιβωτὸν | ὅθεν καὶ | Κλήμεντι | delet Νῶε, σὺν τοῖς ἐξ αὐτοῦ | προανήγγειλεν | πάντων τῶν ἀκαθάρτων | ἀσεβεῖν

¹ *Bibl. Nat. Fonds Nouv. Acq.* 560–563 are four vols. indexed 'Correspondants de Thoinard', but these contain letters written to him and none by him.

Junge lin. 21, 22 p. 52 ἐκ τῶν etc. | Νῶε δίκαιος del. usque ad pag. 5 lin. 13 ἐκτελουμένων, reponit p. 52 l. 26 post ἀπέθανεν |

BC δὲ Νῶε ἀπὸ τοῦ οἴνου (μετὰ τὸ) | C οὔτε τούτους ἠύλογησεν | τάξει C. p. 574 B.

52 A καὶ τὸν χαναὰν | γὰρ τῆς κατοικίας | τοῖς ἐκ τοῦ Σῆμ | B τοῦτο οὖν | τὰ κατὰ τὴν | ἐκτελούμενα | αἱ τῶν αἰρέσεων etc. usque ad u. βουλήματος ἐγένετο delet | C δι' οὗς | in 1^o et 3^o pro ὁμοῦ lege κόσμον.

54 A In 1^o. 3. 5. pro ὁμοῦ lege κόσμον | εβερφαλεγ ex 70 B φαλὲγ φαλὲγ | κατὰ τοῦτου | B καὶ εἶπεν ἄνθρωπος | C ex ἐπὶ οὖν τούτων usque ad pag. 110 lin. 24 λοιποῖ, dele | C ἔκ τε |

58 B φαλὲγ | συνδύσαντας | πυργοποιῖαν | C κατῴκησεν | οἱ τινες.

70 B Ἀρφαξὰδ ui p. 52.

72 B Ῥινοκούρων.

Schol. pp. 58 A B, 60 B A.

At p. 680 in this collation we have this note :

l. 8 Αἰγούστου. Hic desiit auctor Chronici Paschalis, caetera sunt Continuatoris.

This is the entry from which Ducange concluded that Holstein codex contained an earlier form of the Chronicle carried up to A.D. 35 only. After this note the collation continues in the same hand as follows :—

l. 9 Ἀρβετίωνος καὶ λολλιανοῦ Socrates | l. 13 ad ἴσῳ in marg.—πεθαλάμονα τὴν νῆσον Cedren etc. | l. 15 ad ὀκτοβρίων in marg. νοεμβρίων | l. 19 ad ε. In marg. η | l. 23 σὺν πάσῃ | l. 25 ad κ'. In marg. θ | l. 26 ἐξ Ἰνδικτιῶνος ιε | l. 31 . . . ex ἀπελέθη¹.

682 l. 18 ad ιβ. In marg. ι.

684 l. 18 ad πρότιμον. In marg. πρὸ τῇ μονῇ iuxta monasterium.

l. 22 ν' Ἰνδικτιῶνος ε | l. 26 β. κόσμον, εωβ 3872.

688 l. 17 ὅς λαοδικείας (-κιος supra vs.) τῆς συρίας | l. antep. τυγχάνει

689 l. huic haeresi ansam praebuit Apollinaris qui fuit ex Laodice Syriae grammatici fil.

Turning to the long lacuna which occurs in the Vatican codex p. 55 of Rader's edition we have the following note :—

552 l. 2 εὐαγγέλιον οἶμαι. Media de⟨le⟩.

Here the *delenda* are the lemma : ὡς λέγει ὁ χρυσόστομος. The lacuna itself is not noticed, and the next note refers to the next page of Rader and is as follows :—

554 l. 8 ad marg. Κανονάρχης.

Now it is inconceivable that a codex containing an earlier form of the Paschal Chronicle, as Holstein's hypothetical codex is said to have done, could contain a lacuna which first arose by the loss of a quaternion in

¹ A word is undecipherable. Rader has ἀπετέθη in mg.

the existing tenth-century Vatican Codex 1641. At one time I explained the circumstance of Ducange's not having filled up this lacuna from the earlier form by supposing either that Holstein did not copy out from it the missing matter, or that, the matter being too long for a marginal note in his edition of Rader, he copied it out on a separate *Scheda* which was lost or never reached Ducange. But the existence of the note in this third collation: 'εὐαγγέλιον οἶμαι. Media dele' proved conclusively that Holstein paid attention to the particular passage wherein the lacuna begins, and made such suppositions highly improbable. I was already on the way to resign my belief in the reality of such a codex as Ducange supposed to have been in Holstein's hand, when in reply to a letter in which I asked for information about the lacuna in Cod. Vatic. 1641, Dr Mercati, out of the rich stores of his learning, addressed me in the form of a letter the essay which is here subjoined. Dr Mercati has, I need not say, convinced me that my first position was untenable, and it is evident to me now that Ducange, reading in Bigot's letter of a real codex which he and Holstein had jointly collated, misinterpreted the copy sent to him by Thoinard of Holstein's marginal notes. It is not impossible, of course, that Thoinard's own notes are mixed up in this; and the entry at p. 680 'Hic desiit auctor Chronici' &c., may even have been a conjecture of Thoinard's and not a note of Holstein's at all. One or the other was led, by a comparison of the *Chronicon* with some Latin Chronology terminating in that year, to postulate an earlier form of the Chronicle, and to mark in the text those passages which were inconsistent with such a date. This is Gelzer's idea, and the only fact against it is that long passages of Josephus and of other writers equally consistent with the date 354 are ruled out. The author of the hypothesis cannot therefore have been guided exclusively by the motive to exclude only matter subsequent to 354. There is something here that needs to be cleared up. It is just possible that Holstein or Thoinard had seen a Latin text carried up to that date, and corresponding much more fully than any we have in its contents to the Paschal Chronicle.

Frick, in his *Chronica minora*, has proved that long sections of the *Chronicon Paschale* were rendered into Latin before the year 400; and it therefore comes to much the same thing, whether we call its final redactor of the age of Heraclius a compiler or a *continuator*. I have shewn in the pages of the *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* that the matter it has in common with Malalas was not taken from Malalas, but by both from a common source; for the History of Moses of Khorene embraces much of this common matter, and agrees in its readings sometimes with Malalas, sometimes with the *Chronicon*. There existed then a middle text which renders not only superfluous but impossible the ordinary

assumption that the Heraclian compiler copied Malalas. And this conclusion holds good, whether Moses wrote late in the fifth or early in the eighth century.

I have shewn in the same way¹ that the sections supposed to be taken from Epiphanius's tract *On weights and measures* are not really taken therefrom, although headed by a rubric to that effect.

It is satisfactory to think that no one of the four scholars—Holstein, Bigot, Thoinard, and Ducange—was guilty of any mystification in regard to the text of the *Chronicon*. Ducange made a mistake, and we can see how he fell into it: but no one tried to hoax him. In my anxiety to vindicate Holstein's good faith I have fallen into the same error as Ducange, and I hope I may be excused.

FRED. C. CONYBEARE.

A STUDY OF THE *PASCHAL CHRONICLE*.

THE substance of the following pages was written in the summer 1904, in reply to a question by Mr F. C. Conybeare about the Vatican MS of the Paschal Chronicle, and in particular about the great *lacuna* p. 436. The answer turned out much longer than I had anticipated beforehand, but remained and remains more or less within the four corners of the question—though I have now added something about the final *lacuna*, which, if the theory lately propounded by a scholar of my own country had held good, would have been a considerably more serious one than had hitherto been supposed.

I have also, as a matter of fact, continued my investigations in a third and more lengthy chapter. But this extends beyond the limits of the *JOURNAL*, and only the introductory words of it appear here. I hope to publish the whole paper in my own language in the Vatican *Studi e Testi*.

The present translation from the Italian is the work of my friend Mr C. H. Turner, to whom is due also the choice of a somewhat ambitious title. 'Study', properly so called, of the Chronicle these pages are not, but only of certain points about the Chronicle which had hitherto been either discussed inadequately or not discussed at all.

I. *The MS of Lucas Holsten and the Vatican MS.*

The Vatican MS gr. 1941 is without doubt the same MS which was bought by Jerome Zurita at Messina in A.D. 1551, and by him after-

¹ In my edition of the *Dialogues of Athanasius and Zacchaeus and of Timothy and Aquila*, Oxford, Clarendon Press.

wards bequeathed to the Carthusian house of 'Aula Dei' near Saragossa, which in 1626 or 1627 passed by forcible means into the library of the Conte Duca Olivares, and then, being stolen and sold for very little at some date before Oct. 22, 1639, was acquired by the Sicilian abbé Martino de la Farina Madrigal, chaplain to the king of Spain. De la Farina had it still in his possession at Madrid in the year 1648, but later on took it to Rome—perhaps passing through his native Sicily on the way—and in 1660–61 first lent and then gave it to Holsten, who intended to place it in the Vatican library. And in that library in fact it was (and for some little time had been) in 1671.

This summary statement of facts rests on the following grounds:—

(a) on the inscription by the purchaser, Zurita, at the beginning of the MS¹, given in substance by the Benedictine correspondents of Ducange and quoted by him inexactly, *praef.* § 43, and by Batiffol exactly, *L'Abbaye de Rossano* 98 n. 2, 'Messanae emi a Georgio Constantinop.⁴ VI kls. Octobris M.D.LI'; and on the *ex libris*—carefully cancelled, but still legible—on the upper margins of foll. [1 δ] and 303 a, 'Hie[ronymi] Suritae':—

(b) on the letters referred to by Graux *Essai sur les origines du fonds grec de l'Escorial* in the notes to pp. 332, 334, 349–350, compared with the statements of Labbe *de Byzantinae historiae scriptoribus* *πορ* *πρεπτικόν* (A.D. 1648) p. 8 n.v, and with the letter of E. Bigot to Duca *ige,* published by Delisle *Le Cabinet des manuscrits* etc. i 326–327 (and *ain* in the *Bibliotheca Bigotiana manuscripta* p. xiii, from which latter edi *tion* it was quoted by Mr Conybeare in *J. T. S.* ii [1901] 292–294):—

(c) finally, on the protocol R in the archives of the Vatican lib *ary,* which on fol. 5 attests for the year 1671–1672 A.D. the existence in *the* Vatican *fonds* of 1978 Greek codices (1378 in the great hall + 600 *in* the first 'stanza Paolina'): for from this total it follows that no. 19 *941* was already in the library, and indeed was not quite the last arrival.

Thus since the identity of Zurita's MS with the Vatican MS is incor

¹ Fol. 1 [5] b. The MS has two paginations: the one older, of the sixteenth century, at the bottom of the leaves, which does not take into account the guard leaves—four at the beginning and three at the end of the MS; they contain part of the Passion of St Theodula and of the life of St Ephrem by Gregory Nyssen (compare and supplement the *Catalogus codd. hagiograph. Biblioth. Vat.* 173)—and reckons with several mistakes up to 300 leaves: the other later (saec. xvi–xvii?), at the top of the leaves, which reckons in the guard-leaves at the beginning and, making fresh mistakes of its own, is only carried as far as fol. 222. [I now find that this pagination has been continued, but by whom I do not know.] For this reason I cite habitually the first pagination, adding however within square brackets the second, wherever it exists.

² Of this same George, called by some authorities a merchant, see a subscription reproduced by Batiffol *op. cit.* 166 n. 56 . . . ἐν πόλει Μηθύνη ἐπὶ ἔτους ςζ' . . . : and another of the same year in Stevenson *Codd. MSS Graeci Reg. Suecorum*, etc. 157.

testable, while the identity of the abbé de la Farina's MS with that of Holsten is equally certain¹, it remains only to prove that the MS of the Sicilian abbé was the very one bought by the great Spanish historian. Now Labbe *loc. cit.* writes as follows: 'Chron. Alexandrinum . . . Iis iam publicatis, accepimus Madriti apud Reverendissimum Abbatem de Farina Siculum Regi Catholico ab Oratorio² reperiri uetustissimum ac emendatissimum exemplar Alexandrini Chronici': and Pedro Valero in a letter to Baluze, dated July 31, 1690, referring to the information collected by Ducange about the MS of the Chronicle, makes the following statement: 'Del Chrónicon griego de Zurita, . . . pudiera decir yo algo mas, porque le ví, y le tuve en mis manos en Madrid, y de allí, creo, levó á la librería Vaticana el abad Don Martin de la Farina Madrigal: pero no hay lugar agora de hacer en esto reflexion. Tengo por incierto lo que se dice en la prefacion de Cangio n. 10 que esto S^{or} abad compró un exemplar en Constantinopla' (Graux 349-350). Add to this that the Farina-Holsten MS had 'à la teste . . . plusieurs extraits des anciens qui regardoient la Pasque, qui se trouvent dans le manuscrit et non dans l'édition de Raderus' (Bigot)—exactly like the MS that was once Zurita's and is now in the Vatican³.

¹ Bigot *loc. cit.*: 'Holstein me dit qu'il avoit l'original de cette chronique, que l'abbate della Farina, Sicilien, avoit apporté de Sicile à Rome; que cet exemplaire avoit esté apporté à Messine par un marchand' [is this a guess of Bigot's?] 'de Constantinople' [compare Zurita's inscription recording the purchase].. 'M. l'abbé de la Farina presta ce MS à M. Holstein, qui transcrivit ces traités qui sont au devant de cette chronique qui regardent la Pasque . . . L'original doit avoir esté mis dans la bibliothèque du Vatican: pour le moins c'estoit l'intention de M. Holstein . . .' Although it is true that Bigot was writing twenty-three years after Holsten's death, and although there are *lacunae* in his information—for instance, he does not say how a MS that was only lent to Holsten could become the property of the Vatican—yet the indications given by him are so precise, and fit so clearly with Vat. gr. 1941, that there remains no room for doubt about its identity with the 'original' that was in the hands of de la Farina and Holsten. And it would be in my opinion a sophistry to postulate the existence of a second and quite different codex of Holsten's, seeing that both Bigot and the supposed 'notae Holstenianae' speak always of a single codex.

² i.e. chaplain to the King of Spain. Ducange himself (cited in *J. T. S.* ii 294) refers to this passage of Labbe. From some confusion of the chaplain with the king must have originated the report that Holsten's MS 'pertinuit regi Hispaniarum Bigotio (!) referente'; see *J. T. S.* *ib.*

³ These are the extracts published by Petavius *Doctrina temporum* II (Venice, A.D. 1757) 501-502 and III 213-215 = *Chronicon Paschale*, ed. Bonn, I 28-31; 7.3-27.3. Mommsen *Chronica minora* I 203 n. 1—possibly misled by the vagueness of Petavius's account II 508 ('quas ex veteri codice suapte manu descripsit ad nosque misit R. P. Petrus Castelnavius Societatis nostrae, ex Caesaraugustano Collegio in Hispania': and cf. the same writer's *Epistolae* III 45, *ib.* III part iii 348)—and before him Ducange *praef.* § 7 and Krusch *Studien zur christlich-mittelalterlichen Chronologie: der 84-jährige Ostercyclus und seine Quellen* (A.D. 1880) 85 n. 2,

Consequently it seems to me impossible to maintain either (i) the view of Graux¹, that Holsten's is the Munich MS (which MS lacks the extracts at the beginning on the Paschal question); or (ii) the conjecture—insufficiently founded on the note in the Bodleian copy of Rader's edition of the Chronicle²—that the MS in question was bequeathed to the King of Spain, and had then perished in the fire at the Escorial; or (iii) any other hypothesis whatever which involves a distinction between Holsten's MS and Vat. gr. 1941.

I quite see the objection raised by Mr Conybeare³ against Gelzer and the other scholars who disbelieve in the existence of a lost MS of Holsten's—an objection based on unique readings and omissions of the 'codex Holstenii' which are not to be found in the Vatican or in any other extant MS: and I admit too that, if Holsten really used the Vatican MS and that only, it seems difficult to believe in his good faith, for he would have affirmed about this MS things directly contrary to fact. But it is probable that the good faith of Holsten, which on other grounds is above suspicion and which has been so valiantly defended by Mr Conybeare, can and ought to be saved by another and less obvious way, though one that is really natural enough.

For (a) we have no knowledge of the autograph, or even of any exact copy, of the *notae Holstenianae*: we have in fact nothing but an account of them in words of Ducange, a diligent and truthful scholar, but in secondary matters occasionally inexact. (b) Nor is it certain that Ducange had had in his hands the actual copies that had belonged to Holsten and to Bigot, since in the letter already cited Bigot says that he would be satisfied if Toinard⁴, who was keeping back the books, would at least permit 'que l'on copie les corrections du texte' supposed that the first extract (that from Theophilus) was derived from a copy preserved in the Jesuit College. But any one who considers first that Zurita's MSS were preserved down to A.D. 1626 in the Carthusian *Aula Dei* at Saragossa, and secondly that the Jesuit Father Castellarnau, of the College of the same city, had written to Petau on Dec. 23, 1624, and again on April 8, 1626 (see Sommervogel *Bibliothèque de la Compagnie de Jésus: Bibliographie* ii 843), and had had, as he says, in his hands the 'old' MS, can have no doubt that Petau's edition (A.D. 1627, 1630) is derived directly from the Vatican MS, both as to the extract from Theophilus, and as to the other extracts, which Ducange § 44 mistakenly says were edited 'ex schedis Andreae Schotti Romae antea descriptis'.

¹ *Op. cit.*, and again in his *Notices sommaires des MSS grecs de Suède* in the *Archives des missions scientifiques*, 3rd series, xv 315-317.

² *J. T. S. loc. cit.* The note in fact might be understood of possession on the Spanish king's part anterior to Holsten's ownership: though even so it would be inexact. See above, p. 399 note 2.

³ *J. T. S. ut supra: Byzantinische Zeitschrift* xi 401 sqq.

⁴ Toinard was in other respects a very worthy person, and the successful editor of a *Harmonia Evangelica*, distinguished for the great purity of its Greek text: see Gregory *Textkritik des N. T.* i 947-948.

grec et de la traduction'. What Toinard then did, I do not know: but from the complete silence of Ducange about him (whereas he names all his other coadjutors) I conjecture that neither Ducange nor Bigot was very well satisfied with him. (c) Add to this that Toinard had increased Holsten's notes by others of his own ('il me dit de plus qu'il y avoit escrit sur ces deux exemplaires', Bigot); and further that (d) Holsten had worked at his collation while ill, and owing to illness had left the work incomplete, so that it is possible that marks indicating conjectures, clear enough to himself, may have been less clear to others and so have been misunderstood. (e) Lastly it appears that in the phraseology of Ducange *codex Holstenii* sometimes means not Holsten's MS but his *printed* copy of the Chronicle; for instance, in the preface n. 10 'ex doctissimi Holstenii observationibus, quas *codici suo* Chronici Alexandrini edito subinde affixerat': n. 47 'prout hos *suo codici edito* ascripserat Antonius Allenus vir doctissimus'. After all this, can any one claim to feel secure in attributing to Holsten the responsibility for these notes, not all of them (it may be) his, and many of them probably misunderstood and misquoted? No one, certainly, who has known by experience how many and how serious errors creep into copies of collations—as I have learnt myself in regard to the different transcriptions of the *variae lectiones* of the lost Verona and Benevento MSS of St Cyprian.

So, to speak my whole mind, at the cost even of appearing sceptical, I feel some doubt whether Holsten did really make the conjecture of placing the original composition of the Chronicle in A.D. 354, in spite of the fact that Ducange (both in his preface, § 10, and in his notes) expressly affirms that he did, and cites as Holsten's own the text of a note in which the conjecture is embodied. Bigot, who in his letter to Ducange refers at length to Holsten's ideas about the Chronicle, not only makes no mention of the date in question, but reports other ideas of his which would be hardly consistent with it. Thus he tells us that according to Holsten 'cette Chronique devoit estre appellée *Chronicon Constantinopolitanum*, ayant esté composée à Constantinople et par un citoien de cette ville là, parce que l'auteur, parlant des affaires de cette ville là, il disoit *ἡμεῖς, nos*'. But where can any expression of this sort be found in the Chronicle, other than in the latter part of it, well after the year 354? Moreover, 'il se flattoit d'avoir trouvé le nom de l'auteur dans Suidas, qui dit que un certain (dont je ne me souviens plus du nom présentement, je l'ay indiqué à M. Thoinard) avoit escrit *Chronicon valde pium*'. Unfortunately, Toinard either forgot the name of the supposed author or was unwilling to communicate it to Ducange: but

¹ The words 'd'avoir . . . qui dit' are wanting in *J. T. S.* ii 293: I take them from Delisle *Le Cabinet* etc. i 326. I regret not to have the opportunity of looking up the passage of Suidas.

(if Bigot's information is correct) it ought not to be impossible to identify the passage in Suidas and so to fix the epoch to which Holsten really assigned the Chronicle. But even if no passage exactly satisfying the reference could be found, might we not safely assume that neither in Suidas nor elsewhere is there mention of any Constantinopolitan chronicler writing at a date so early as 354?

For all these motives, as long as the copy with Holsten's *autograph* notes eludes discovery, while I should never venture to call in question his good faith, I should still not put any great reliance on supposed readings of the *codex Holstenii*, which are probably either readings of the Vatican MS, or conjectures indicated as such in the margin of his printed copy but misunderstood as MS collations. Further, I have no hesitation in believing that Holsten used no other codex than the Vatican one, and that, in the absence of other grounds than the supposed lost codex of Holsten, it is waste of time to talk about a primitive chronicle of A.D. 354, interpolated and worked up in the time of Heraclius or soon after into our existing *Chronicon Paschale*¹.

II. *Some interpolations and the great lacunae of the Vatican MS and of the editions.*

1. The Vatican MS, foll. 18, 19 [22, 23], has the order of the edition of Rader and of Dindorf (pp. 40. 8-42. 20), and not that introduced by Ducange in accordance with a conjecture attributed to Holsten. This latter is indubitably the true order, in so far as the words of p. 42. 17—*ἐκ τῶν προκειμένων δέδεικται δι' οὓς ὁ κατακλυσμὸς γέγονεν. εἰπωμεν δὲ λοιπὸν καὶ τὰ ἀπὸ τοῦ κατακλυσμοῦ*—attach themselves obviously to p. 40. 20, that is to say, to the chapter commencing *τὰ προκείμενα εἰπόντες διδάξομεν καὶ διὰ πόλιν αἰτίαν ὁ κατακλυσμὸς ἐγενήθη καὶ διὰ τίνας*: but it does not follow that the rest of the conjecture is sound, i.e. that the words in question ought to come next after the passage on heresies, *αἱ τῶν αἱρέσεων . . . ἐγένετο*, and that on Noah, *Νῶε δίκαιος . . . ἐκτελουμένων*. The passage about heresies in general and 'Barbarism' in particular is certainly a marginal *scholion* which has found its way into the text, as is clearly proved by the case of the corresponding and connected *scholion* on 'Scythism' on p. 88. 14, which in the Vatican MS, fol. 36 [40] *δ*, still stands in the margin with the *lemma* *σχόλιον*². (The same is to be said

¹ Mabillon and Germain *Museum Italicum* I 61 noticed the MS of the Chronicle at the Vatican in the following significant words: 'Aliud est exemplar rarissimum, atque (ut creditur) unicum, Chronici Alexandrini, Messanae saeculo superiori comparatum.'

² The edition is misleading at that point. The marginal *scholion* ends in the MS with the words *Θρηῆς γεγῶσιν*: the rest stands in the *text*, after p. 88. 14 (and rightly, because it continues what precedes in the text). The *scholion*, if one wished to put it in the text, would run on at p. 87. 6. It is well known that these passages are derived from St Epiphanius *adv. haer.* pref. (P. G. xl 165 C-168 D).

of the two other connected *scholia*, now found in the text, that of p. 87 on 'Hellenism' and that of pp. 118-119 on 'Judaism': in the MS, fol. 47 [51], the latter notice has an asterisk prefixed to it, just like several of the marginal notes.) As for the article on Noah, which was already in the text before the interpolation of the *scholion* on the heresies, it too, from its unsuitable position, appears to be most probably a non-original addition, whether by the chronicler himself or by another hand: in any case it was not the chronicler's own composition, but was borrowed from a writer of the fifth or sixth century, as will be shewn in the next section of this paper. Thus Holsten's restitution seems to me not only a conjecture, but an unsatisfactory conjecture—in so far as it presupposes the precedency of the *scholion* on the praise of Noah—and useless for the purposes of those who maintain the existence and the excellence of the supposed *codex Holstenianus*, seeing that (if my argument is correct) the supposed *codex* would be not less interpolated with passages from later writers, and from one point of view not less disordered in arrangement, than the Vatican MS.

2. The *lacuna* of the Chronicle at Olympiad CCVI sqq., after p. 437. 16, is not only certain, but is also much larger than has been hitherto supposed. Not one leaf merely—as Rader, Ducange, and Gelzer (*Sextus Julius Africanus* II i 162) believed—nor even one gathering merely—as Zurita has marked in the MS¹—but two whole gatherings had fallen out at least as early as the sixteenth century, between foll. 169 [172] and 170 [173]. In fact, while foll. 162-169 [165-172], containing of the Bonn edition 418.3 τῆς ἀρχιεπιστοσύνης-437. 16, constitute sheet K (signed on the outside upper corner of fol. 162 a), foll. 170-173, 178-181¹, [173-180], and foll. 182-187, 189-190², [181-188], constitute two complete gatherings of uninterrupted and continuous text, of which the second still bears the signature KΔ, and the first must therefore have borne the signature KΓ. Consequently the gatherings KA and KB have fallen out, and therewith the consulships etc. of 20 years, and long pieces either of calculation or of history, enough to fill perhaps thirty-five to forty pages of the Bonn edition³.

Fortunately however we still possess in another compilation no small

¹ Fol. 169 [172] b 'Desideratur quaternio et cum eo xx annorum Cos. [= Consulships]'. So also the Bonn edition, in a note.

² The earlier pagination has omitted the numbers 174-177 and 188: there is no break at all in the MS. The later pagination is here more correct, and has avoided these mistakes.

³ Thus, for example, the gathering K corresponds to pp. 418.3-437. 16 with 14 consulships, and the gatherings KΓ KΔ to pp. 438. 1-479. 1 with 80 consulships. Naturally the greater or lesser quantity of space occupied depends on the number of the consulships and on the length of certain lists etc., which in the MSS are spaced out and written in larger characters.

part of what was here contained: in other words, we can reduce the gap considerably, at least for the *substance* of the subject-matter, though by reason of certain differences between the Chronicle and the other compilation alluded to we cannot be sure of the *order* of the extracts or articles. The necessity for making good this assertion involves a lengthy digression, but one (as I think) neither uninteresting nor unprofitable, seeing that in the course of it there will be revealed definitely and precisely a source which, although hitherto nothing has been known, or at any rate nothing has become common knowledge, about it¹, was largely used, or even absorbed in its entirety, in the Chronicle.

(*Cosmas Indicopleustes and the Paschal Chronicle.*)

A book in support of the thesis of the two (and only two) *Καταστάσεις*, which owed the inspiration both of its thoughts and of its language to Theodore of Mopsuestia², was inserted piecemeal, at various points more or less suitable, in the Chronicle; and the same treatise is found as a consecutive whole—apart from the interpolation of *παραγραφαί* or paraphrastic additions—in lib. v of the *Topographia christiana* of Cosmas surnamed Indicopleustes. Whether Cosmas himself was the author of the book, or only (as Gelzer holds), like the Paschal Chronicler or the pseudo-Dorotheus of the 'Lives of the Prophets', a borrower from it, I am not at present in a position to say, not having the opportunity for making a thoroughgoing examination of this interesting treatise. It is

¹ It is true that Gelzer *op. cit.* ii 140, 152, noticed and called attention to the connexion which according to him exists between Cosmas, pseudo-Dorotheus, and the Chronicle ('das von Dorotheus, Kosmas und dem Schreiber der Osterchronik benutzte Erbauungsbuch'), and even promised to discuss elsewhere 'all this literature' and to indicate all the passages in the Chronicle derived from it. But I have not succeeded so far in discovering whether or where he carried out his promise: in any case, whatever treatment he may have given it has not yet become common knowledge and is not mentioned by certain scholars whose erudition is such that it is difficult to think it could have escaped their notice, did it exist. [The earlier article by Gelzer, 'Kosmas der Indienfahrer', in *Jahrbücher für protestantische Theologie*, 1883, pp. 105-141, has never come into my hands.]

² On the two *Καταστάσεις* in Theodore and in his follower Junilius (to whom we may add Cosmas) see Kihn *Theodor von Mopsuestia und Junilius Afrikanus als Exegeten* (A.D. 1880) 171 sqq., 410 sqq. The doubt at first suggested itself to me, on reading Cosmas, whether, notwithstanding the occurrence, on p. 281. 9, of the name Eutyches (before the names of Arius and Apollinaris, and therefore perhaps interpolated?), the book was not really written by Theodore himself, and the work of Cosmas limited to the addition of the *παραγραφαί* to the *κείμενον* or (*Chron.* p. 92. 4) *ἐπιγράμμα*—i.e. (on this hypothesis) to the text of Theodore: and whether too the 'Dorotheus' of the Lives of the Prophets, extracted from the same book, was not an intentional inversion of the name Theodore, after the latter had become an object of odium to the orthodox. However that may be, the book appears to me worth a detailed study.

certain, at any rate, that the Chronicle does not depend on pseudo-Dorotheus, who lacks some portions that are common to the Chronicle and Cosmas: and it seems to me not impossible that the Chronicle drew from Cosmas before his text fell into its present mutilated and disordered condition.

There is nothing really surprising in the author or editor of the Chronicle—whichever of the two it was in this case¹—having used as a favourite source a book so relatively recent (the sixth century or at earliest the end of the fifth: cf. Gelzer II 140. 28) and shewing such clear traces of some of Theodore's peculiarities (cf. for the Psalms, Kihn *op. cit.* 157 sq.). If its thesis is dogmatic, the development of the thesis is to some extent historical, and the Chronicler found there ready for use a whole series of articles on the chief characters of the Old and New Testaments: articles which had simply to be distributed over the Chronicle, and copied out word for word at the supposed dates of the lives of these men of God, or indeed at any other point that seemed convenient.

The scope and system of the book appear most clearly in Cosmas from the preface (*P. G.* lxxxviii 220–221), but they could also be easily gathered from several passages quoted in the Chronicle; e. g. 443. 7 Ἰδοὺ δέδεται διὰ τῶν ἀρχαίων ἀνθρώπων καὶ τῶν προφητῶν πάντων, εὐαγγελιστῶν τε καὶ ἀποστόλων, ὡς προειρήκασιν ἅπαντες ὡς ἀπὸ τοῦ πρωτοπλάστου Ἀδὰμ μέχρις Ἰωάννου τοῦ βαπτιστοῦ εἰς τὴν μέλλουσαν κατάστασιν ἀφορῶσιν: 445. 19–446. 3: 449. 20 Ἰδοὺ δέδεται οὐ μόνον διὰ τῶν προφητῶν, ἀλλὰ γὰρ καὶ διὰ τῶν εὐαγγελικῶν φωνῶν καὶ μὴν καὶ ἀποστολικῶν, ὡς καὶ αὐτοὶ συμφώνως τοῖς παλαιοῖς εἶπον ταύτας καὶ μόνας τὰς δύο καταστάσεις παρὰ Θεοῦ γεγενῆσθαι, ταύτην πρώτην ἐν ᾗ καὶ διάγομεν νῦν, καὶ τὴν μέλλουσαν ἐν ᾗ πάντες οἱ Χριστιανοὶ ἀφορῶμεν². And under the guidance of these passages all or almost all the chapters on the Patriarchs, Prophets, and

¹ I abstain intentionally from pronouncing for the one or the other possibility, for I have not probed to the bottom this complicated question. But in any case the following conclusions appear to me tolerably certain: (1) that the extracts from the book on the two *Καταστάσεις* were already present in the archetype of the Vatican MS of the Chronicle, as is shewn by two *lacunae* in the article on David which were caused by the loss of two conjugate leaves in the archetype (there is no loss in the Vatican MS itself at this point); see however § 4 *infra*: (2) that these extracts found their way into the Chronicle at an earlier moment than certain other elements, such as the extracts on the seven mother-heresies (cf. § 1 *supra*), or the biographical notices about the Prophets drawn from pseudo-Epiphanius or his source (see below p. 408 n. 1). In other words, the book in question was—after the Chronographers proper—the first source systematically drawn on in the process of the expansion of the Chronicle, while the rest were only employed at a subsequent stage to supplement it.

² In view of these sentences and of the whole long passage on pp. 443, 444, I do not quite understand how Gelzer can define the treatise as 'a book of edification'.

Apostles can be recognized as having passed into the Chronicle from the book in question: compare the following list¹ :—

| | | |
|-------------|---------------------------|------------------------------------|
| Adam : | Cosmas 224 A B | = <i>Chron. Pasch.</i> 33. 1-34. 2 |
| Abel | 228 A B | 34. 3-17 |
| Enoch | 229 D-232, 3 ² | 35. 16-36. 9 |
| Noah | 232 C-233 B | 41. 1-42. 8 |
| Melchisedec | 236 D-237 A | 92. 5-15 |
| Abraham | 237 D-240 C | 101. 13-103. 18 |
| Isaac | 241 B D | 104. 16-105. 21 |
| Jacob | 244 A C | 108. 1-109. 2 |
| Moses | 245 A D ³ | 142. 4-143. 17 |
| David | 248 B-260. 9 | 158. 12-168. 3 ⁴ |
| Elijah | 260 A C | 274. 18-275. 13 |
| Hosea | a' 260 D-261 A | a' 275. 15-276. 12 |
| Joel | β' 261 B C | δ' 278. 8-279. 3 |
| Amos | γ' 264 A B | β' 276. 16-277. 5 |
| Obadiah | δ' 264 C | ε' 279. 7-12 |
| Jonah | ε' 264 D | ς' 279. 21-280. 5 |
| Isaiah | ς' 265 A C ⁵ | A 289. 8-290. 14 |
| Micah | ζ' 265 D-268 A | γ' 277. 11-278. 2 |
| Nahum | η' 268 B | ζ' 281. 5-9 |
| Habakkuk | θ' 268 C | η' 281. 18-282. 6 |
| Jeremiah | ι' 268 D-269 B | B 292. 5-293. 2 |
| Zephaniah | ια' 269 C | θ' 283. 6-18 |

¹ I put Cosmas first, because he is the older writer and because in him the text or *κείμενον* is continuous. The *παραγραφαι* of Cosmas, however, never reappear in the Chronicle. Dorotheus I purposely leave out of sight. For the Prophets, where Cosmas has got into disorder, mixing up the Major and the Minor Prophets, I mark the different orders of Cosmas and the Chronicle with Greek numerals. Only occasionally and incidentally do I note where one text serves to correct and supplement the other. There can be no doubt that to future editors of the book the existence of the three lines of tradition will be of great service.

² At 232 B a *lacuna* in Cosmas, to be partly filled up by the help of the Chronicle 32. 13 sqq. (?)

³ At 245 C correct Deut. xviii 15, 18 from *Chron.* 143. 3-5.

⁴ The commencement of this article is excerpted as a prologue to the Catenae on the Psalter (see Karo and Lietzmann *Catenarum graecarum catalogus* 42, no. 6), and is also printed under the name of St John Chrysostom, *P. G.* lv 531. On two serious *lacunae* in the Chronicle, see below no. 4, p. 411.

⁵ The disarrangement in Cosmas is evident: the Major Prophets are not only strangely separated from one another and intercalated among the Minor, but the preface belonging to them has been detached from its place and transported to the end. Who can suppose that such a hotch-potch is original? It should be added that, by exception, to Haggai (and also to St Matthew) the *παραγραφή* is wanting; while Isaiah has not one only but two, the second being identical with the *παραγραφή* to Malachi (273 C).

| | | |
|---|----------------------|---|
| Ezekiel | 269 D-272 A | Γ 295. 15-296. 4 |
| Daniel | 272 B C | Δ 298. 4-13 |
| Haggai | 272 C | ι' 284. 2-7 |
| Zechariah | 272 D-273 A | ια' 284. 13-285. 3 |
| Malachi | 273 A C ¹ | ιβ' 285. 15-286. 11 }
286. 20-287. 1 } |
| Preface to the
Major Prophets } | 273 D-276 D | 287. 1-289. 6 |
| John the Baptist | 276 D-277 B | 378. 15-379. 11 |
| Zacharias, Eliza-
beth, Mary, Si-
mon, Christ } | 277 C-280 C | (wanting) |
| Πρόλογος περὶ
τῶν ἀποστόλων } | 280 C-285 C | 443. 11-449. 19 |
| Peter | 296 B C | { 438. 1 (mutilated)-
439. 7 |
| Stephen | 297 A B | 433. 5-19 |
| Paul | 297 C-301 B | 439. 9-443. 7 ² |

Now that the *κείμενον* of Cosmas on the patriarchs and prophets and on Peter and Paul, from col. 224 to col. 301, is seen to be (apart from secondary differences of order in the Prophets, and the transposition of the *πρόλογος περὶ τῶν ἀποστόλων* to form the conclusion to the whole, as well as some consequent changes of tense in the verbs) reproduced in its entirety in the Chronicle, it seems quite improbable that the few intermediate articles on our Lord and the Evangelists were not copied as well—articles which chronologically might very well have belonged to the section of the Chronicle which has been lost in the two gatherings KA and KB of the MS; the more so that the Chronicle has retained in the passages quoted above (p. 405) from pp. 443. 8 and 449. 21 the words *εὐαγγελιστῶν, διὰ τῶν εὐαγγελικῶν φωνῶν*, etc., and that the first of the surviving gatherings that follow commences precisely in the final portion of the article on St Peter.

It is therefore not unreasonable to believe that the lost leaves included (not only the remainder of the article on St Peter, to be replaced before 438. 1 of the Chronicle—at A. D. 66, the year of the two

¹ Here it appears clearly that the *παραγραφαί* in Cosmas were subsequent additions, and were first placed in the margin: for the *παραγραφή* to Malachi is inserted after the point where, at the end of the preceding *κείμενον*, the transition has already been made from the Minor Prophets to the Major: *Δοικὼν ἐπὶ τοῦς τέσσαρας προφήτας μεγάλους βαδιούμεν πληρώσαντες σὺν θεῷ τοὺς ιβ'.* Whether they were then added by other hands—i. e. whether they are in the strictest sense interpolations—is a problem which must be left to whoever shall treat systematically of the *παραγραφαί* of Cosmas and of his relation to the Chronicle.

² The final words are here omitted, *ἵνα εἴπῃ διαδοχὴν μὴ ἔχουσιν.*

Apostles' death according to the Chronicler?—, but also) the sections [on Zacharias, Elizabeth, and Mary?] on our Lord and on the four Evangelists, or in other words all that stands in Cosmas 277 C?–280 B, 285 C–289 D, 292 B–293.4, 293 B–295 B, omitting of course the *παράγραφοι*: these sections were perhaps brought or kept together even at the cost of some post-dating, exactly as the articles on the Prophets have been all kept together¹, contrary to the general rule, under Olympiad LXX after the Return from the Captivity (*Chron. Pasch.* pp. 274–302).

Yet even with the sections in question and with the usual consular dates and so on of twenty years, the *lacuna* of the two gatherings is not filled up, and other histories or calculations or what not must have found place there: but who could venture to guess at them when one sees for example, under A. D. 67, a quotation extending over seven pages (pp. 450–457) from the first part of St Basil the Great's 260th epistle², dealing with the most extraneous of topics, namely the true meaning of Gen. iv 15 'Whosoever slayeth Cain, vengeance shall be taken on him sevenfold'?

3. Not less obvious, and probably much more serious and lamentable, are the losses at the beginning and the end of the Chronicle as published. About the *lacunae* at the beginning, some of which have escaped observation, I shall speak at length in part III of this paper. Of the *lacuna* at the end—which has deprived us of the contemporary narrative of the two final years of the Chronicle, A. D. 629 and 630 (for the restoration of the true year-date, see below), and in the account of the preceding year, A. D. 628, has mutilated the correspondence exchanged

¹ With the addition, however, of notices from ps.-Epiphanius (and occasionally from some other authority) at the end of each article. This order shews that our extracts either came in at an earlier stage of the development of the Chronicle than the rest, or else took precedence of them in the mind of the compiler, since these other extracts, as having more of a narrative character, would in a Chronicle naturally come first. Whether this amounts to a proof, or at any rate an indication of probability, that these ps.-Epiphanius extracts were a later interpolation (as I have argued, in respect to other extracts, in part I *supra*), I leave others to decide. Some suspicion was at first raised in my mind when I noticed that almost all the other articles extracted from the book on the two *Καταστάσεις* were put each in its separate place, while those on the Prophets were kept together: but possibly the Chronicler did this either for his own convenience or with reference to the preface: *Δίον ἐν συντόμῳ μνημονεύσαι καὶ τῶν προφητῶν . . .*

² Κυρίλλου in the edition, following the first hand of the MS. But an early hand has correctly observed in the margin, fol. 179 [178] a, Βασιλείου τοῦ μεγάλου ἐστίν: the second part of the same letter stands under St Basil's name both in the MS and in the edition, p. 382. 20. Cf. *P. G.* xxxii 963–968. Consequently the letter to Optimus, inserted on the faith of the Chronicle, should be removed from the collection of Cyrilline letters in *P. G.* lxxvii 365. [It should be noted that the quotation from St Basil ends only at τὸν Χριστόν, p. 457 l. 8 of the Chronicle, and not three lines earlier, as the printed text indicates.]

between Chosroes and Heraclius¹—I will only say that it is much smaller than has lately been asserted to be the case and that it is due to the same cause as occasioned another serious lacuna, which has however escaped notice hitherto, at p. 724. 7-10. At that point we have the following ungrammatical sentence: Τῇ οὖν νυκτὶ δεύτερας διαφασίσσης ἡδυνήθησαν αὐτῶν μονόξυλα διαλαθεῖν τὴν σκοῦλκαν ἡμῶν καὶ παῖσαι πρὸς τοὺς ἐπόντισαν καὶ κατέσφαξαν πάντας τοὺς ἐν τοῖς μονοξύλοις εὐρεθέντας Σκλάβους. By supplying οὐκ before ἡδυνήθησαν, and Πέρσας καὶ ἡμέτεροι (Περσ. οὖς Rader) after πρὸς τοὺς, Ducange thought he had put everything right, while Dindorf left the text untouched, without even marking a *lacuna* or recording in his notes the second supplement of Rader and Ducange. But such or suchlike brief expansions must seem totally insufficient to any one who reflects that, in the midst of a very long and minute description of the siege carried on by the Avars against Constantinople in July–August 626, the date on p. 724. 7 is still Monday the 4th August (cf. pp. 721. 4, 723. 16, etc.), and then, without warning, on p. 725. 15 we suddenly find ourselves on the Friday [August 8], at the moment when the very rearguard of the Avars is in retreat: while we know in fact that in the interval there was fierce fighting both by land and by sea, and that the decisive day for the raising of the siege was the 7th August². Not merely a word or two, but a whole passage of narrative must have fallen out before ἐπόντισαν, of a length and diffuseness proportionate to the part that still remains, pp. 724. 9-725, of the description of the battle of the 7th.

The existence of such a large *lacuna* is, in fact, confirmed on examination of the Vatican MS. Between the words πρὸς τοὺς at the end of fol. 295 b, and ἐπόντισαν (*sic*) at the beginning of fol. 296 a, a leaf has

¹ The reproduction in the Bonn edition, pp. 736, 737, is not effected with sufficient accuracy to supply the reader with even approximate knowledge of the number of lines fallen out on each page or of letters on each line: nor is the caution given that the fragment of fol. 301 b belongs not, like the fragment of fol. 301 a, to the letter of Chosroes, but to the reply of Heraclius, a point which has also escaped the notice of A. Pernice *L'imperatore Eraclio* [Pubblicazioni del R. Istituto di Studi Superiori in Firenze, sezione di Filosofia e Filologia, xxxii, A.D. 1905] pp. viii, 172.

² Cf. George Pisid. *Bellum Avaricum* vv. 409-465 sqq. in *P. G.* xcii 1287 sqq.: also the various Synaxaria which make solemn commemoration of the victory, in Delehaye *Synaxarium Constantinopolitanum* 869-876: and the lections of the Triodion in *P. G.* xcii 1349-1352, etc. Whether L. Sternbach *Analecta Avarica*, in *Dissert. philol. Acad. litt. Cracoviensis* xxx 297 sqq., cited in Delehaye's notes, col. 1031, had noticed the *lacuna*, I cannot say, not having up to the present moment seen his book. Pernice, *op. cit.* 145, 146, not noticing either the *lacuna* or the δεύτερας διαφασίσσης, appears to place the defeat of *Chron.* p. 724. 7-10 on Sunday, August 2.

fallen out, the first of the thirty-seventh gathering [λζ'] (conjugate to the other lost leaf which followed on the injured fol. 301), and with it has perished the narrative of the events of three whole days; and the disappearance of this detailed and vivid contemporary narrative can never be fully replaced by the other accounts which have come down to us.

Of the corresponding loss at the end of this gathering, which coincides with the end of the whole work, there is less to be said: we know nothing as to what facts were related there, and all that we can do is to restore, by the help of the title of the Chronicle¹, and of the model on p. 705 sqq., the year-date for the last year (and similarly for the last but one) somewhat as follows: 'Ινδ. γ'. κ', μετὰ ὑπατεῖαν (Ἡρακλείου Αὐγούστου τὸ) ιθ'. (καὶ ἀπὸ κβ' καὶ αὐτῆς τοῦ ἰανουαρίου μηνὸς γράφεται) τῆς βασιλείας Ἡρακλείου νέου Κωνσταντίνου ἔτος ιη'. It must not in any case be supposed that this loss extended over a whole decade, nor must we think of filling it up in part by the two notices preserved in Constantine Porphyrogenitus *de Cerimoniis* II 27. 28 (ed. Bonn, i 627-629), as proposed by A. Pernice *L'imp. Heraclio* p. xiv, who would prolong the Chronicle 'at least as far as A.D. 639'. The two notices in question by their prolixity, by their divergence in the method of dating and even more by the presence of seven lexical barbarisms² on two pages (all of them unexampled elsewhere in the Chronicle), betray quite different authorship: in any case they could have proved nothing in face of the precise indications of the title, as to the original *terminus ad quem* of the work, when one considers the facility and frequency with which continuations or detached additions are made by the author or possessor of a Chronicle. It is true that the title itself—which Mommsen and Krumbacher both hold to be original³—is ascribed by Pernice to 'un copista': but even if it goes back no further than the scribe of our tenth-century MS, he was after all a contemporary of Porphyrogenitus, and he must have had before him, when he composed or copied the title as we find it to-day, an exemplar of the Chronicle

¹ Tit. . . ἔτος κ' ἔτους τῆς βασιλείας Ἡρακλείου τοῦ εὐσεβεστάτου καὶ μετὰ ὑπατεῖαν ἔτους ιθ', καὶ ιη' ἔτους τῆς βασιλείας Ἡρακλείου νέου Κωνσταντίνου τοῦ αὐτοῦ υἱοῦ, Ἰνδ. . . It is natural to suppose that this title was either that given by the original chronicler to his work, or was derived from the lost end of the Chronicle.

² κατὰ τὴν τετάρτην τοῦ ἰουλίου μηνός, Ἰνδ. ια' : τῇ πρώτῃ τοῦ ἰανουαρίου μηνός, Ἰνδ. ιβ' : contrast, as an average specimen of the system followed towards the end of the Chronicle, the following, τούτῳ τῷ ἔτει, μηνὶ αὐδυναίῳ, κατὰ Ῥωμαίους δὲ ἰανουαρίου, Ἰνδ. etc.

³ χαμελαύκιον 628. 6, 9 : αὐγουστέα 628. 11 : γραδῆλια and ἀρία 628. 14 : χλανίδε 629. 3, 8 : πραισεκστον 629. 4 : λώρους 629. 9. See Ducange's *Index verborum mixta barbarorum Chron. Pasch.* (in the Bonn edition, ii 528-533).

⁴ Mommsen *Chron. Min.* i 203: Krumbacher *Geschichte d. bys. Literatur* ed. p. 337.

which ended with the twentieth year of Heraclius. We conclude, then, that the *lacuna* at the end of the Chronicle comprises certainly two years, but as certainly not more: in other words, the Chronicle, so far as our evidence goes, extended to the twentieth year of Heraclius and no further.

4. Next let us notice two *lacunae*, no longer subsequent to the writing of the Vatican MS but congenital with it or even older still, derived from some archetype, mediate or immediate—if indeed (though this seems to me less probable) they do not go back to the very copy of the book on the two *Καταστάσεις* used by the author or amplifier of the Chronicle.

In the long article on David and the Psalter etc., at p. 160. 13, between the words *εἰρηκότες* and *ἐπαγγελίαν* there have fallen out about 29½ lines of a column of Migne; lines demanded by the context, as may be seen in the parallel passage in Cosmas 249 B-D, and actually preserved in the prologues to the Psalter under the name, sometimes of Cosmas, sometimes of Chrysostom¹. Again at p. 167. 13, after *πρὸς τὰ τέρα*, 28 more lines are wanting, furnished us by Cosmas 257 B-D, of the genuineness of which there can be no question. Now since these two *lacunae* no longer come at the end of a leaf of the Vatican MS, but in the middle of a page (foll. 63 b, 66 b), and moreover are almost equal in length, and follow one another at no great distance, it is obvious to conjecture that they are the result not of any mistake of the copyist but of the loss of two conjugate leaves in the archetype².

From this two conclusions naturally follow; (i) that the extracts from the book on the two *Καταστάσεις* existed already in the archetype, mediate or immediate, of the Chronicle, and so, if they are interpolations at all, are at any rate interpolations earlier than the date of the Vatican MS (saec. x): and (ii) that the archetype in question had leaves equivalent to about 28 or 29 lines of Migne. But this latter conclusion, however probable, cannot be considered certain, so long as no other congenital *lacunae* of either the same size or some multiple of it

¹ See above p. 406, n. 4, and S. Cyrillo *Codices graeci MSS regiae bibliothecae vaticanae* i 33.

² The interval between the two *lacunae*, just seven leaves, amounts to 194 lines of Migne, nearly seven times the length of each *lacuna*. Probably therefore the first and last leaves of a gathering were lost: either the first and ninth of an imperfect quinion (i.e. of nine leaves), or the first and last of an ordinary quaternion (or quinion) which contained somewhat less (or somewhat more) than the printed text of the *Topographia christiana*. If it were a case of additions, such as figures, this would be a point of contact on the part of the chronicler with Cosmas, whose book was illustrated: in this very case of David there is a figure in the Florence MS, and another different one in the Vatican MS, of Cosmas. See Garrucci *Storia dell' arte cristiana*, plate cxlvi 1, and text iii 71, 75.

can be found elsewhere in the Chronicle: for since both the *lacunae* so far identified occur in one long article, taken from one and the same book, it is not absolutely impossible that they may go as far back as the copy of that book used by the Chronicler, and so would be evidence of the condition of some archetype of that book rather than of the Chronicle. The matter is not one of great importance: but for the sake of accuracy the possible alternatives had to be pointed out.

Let us pass now to the fragments of the first leaves.

III. *The so-called Syntagma de Pascha or 'Preface' to the Paschal Chronicle.*

The first pieces of the Chronicle are seen even in the printed text to be ill-preserved at certain points where the editors have marked *lacunae*: but an examination of the MS shews them to have suffered yet other mutilations, and even to be actually out of place. For (to say nothing of lesser injuries) we have not only to point to two more *lacunae*—one respectively to the loss of one leaf and to the erasure of six lines—another—and to enclose within brackets the diagrams of a considerable later hand on pp. 25-27; but the whole of the first twelve folios, equivalent to pp. 3-27, turn out to be foreign to the series of the gatherings of the MS, so that the question must be faced whether the pieces contained on them belong really to the Chronicle (at any rate to its original author) at all, or whether they were not brought into connexion with it by pure chance.

Nor are the results less disconcerting of an attentive reading of the text for that reveals to us another huge *lacuna* at the end of p. 27, and, what is more serious, furnishes us with an aim and intention for the work quite different from those commonly accepted and expressed in the titles *Syntagma de Pascha* (Petavius), 'Preface' to the Paschal Chronicle (Ducange), and *Chronicon Paschale* itself.

G. MERCATI.

THE BRETHREN OF THE LORD.

THE distinction between James of Jerusalem, the brother of the Lord, and James the Apostle, the son of Alphaeus, has long been accepted by most authorities in England and on the Continent. The new method applied in the following pages leads to a different but, I hope, a more probable conclusion¹.

¹ I reply to no former writers, with the exception of Prof. Mayor's article in *Hastings's Dict. of the Bible*. Since this was published, Dr Zahn's characteristically

the first place I have to assume the generally conceded fact that Mt. and Lk. independently used Mk. as their principal authority. I take Acts to be by the same author as Lk. These premises will unduly modify our treatment of these authorities.

Let us first compare skeleton lists of the apostles :—

- | | |
|-------------|---|
| Mk. iii 16, | Simon Peter and James, and John and Andrew, |
| Mt. x 2, | Simon Peter and Andrew, (and) James and John, |
| Lk. vi 14, | Simon Peter and Andrew, and James and John, |
| Acts i 13, | Peter and John, and James and Andrew, |
| Lk. | and Philip and Bartholomew, and Matthew and Thomas |
| Mt. | Philip and Bartholomew, Thomas and Matthew the publican, |
| Lk. | and Philip and Bartholomew, and Matthew and Thomas, |
| Acts | Philip and Thomas Bartholomew and Matthew, |
| Lk. | and James of A. and Thaddaeus and Simon the C. and Judas Isc. |
| Mt. | James of A. and Thaddaeus, Simon the C. and Judas Isc. |
| Lk. | and James of A. and Simon the Z. and Judas of J. and Judas Isc. |
| Acts | James of A. and Simon the Z. and Judas of J. |

The variations of order are but slight. The three divisions are variable.

The simplicity of Mk.'s monotonous 'and', eleven times repeated, is arranged in two of the lists for a division into pairs. In the first group iterations are easily accounted for. Mk. wished to put the three principal apostles first. Mt. and Lk. preferred to couple the brothers.

On the other hand, Acts has an order familiar to St Luke and peculiar to him—Peter, John, James.¹ This is a rearrangement of Mk.'s order,

and discussion has appeared in the sixth volume of his *Forschungen zur Geschichte des N. T. Canons* (1900) pp. 225–363, being no less than 138 pages. He of course often employs his marvellously elaborate materials, but Mayor is convenient to use as a typical adversary. Still Zahn, as also Lightfoot, will be answered implicitly with sufficient fullness. The great fault in all that is read on the subject seems to be the habit of treating the N. T. as if it was the work by one writer.

His is undoubtedly the right reading, 'James, John' being an early correction. Mt. and Mk. invariably give the sons of Zebedee in the order 'James and John', less because James was the elder. Lk. and Acts reflect a later usage, when James had long since been martyred, and John was still of living authority. Thus Acts has nine times 'James and John', and Mt. has reproduced three of these passages. Lk. has also reproduced three as 'James and John', but has altered to 'John and James', viz. viii 51, 'Peter and John and James' (= Mk. v 37); 'Peter and John and James' (= Mk. ix 2); and Acts i 13, 'Peter and James' (= Mk. iii 17). 'Peter and John' without James occurs five times in Acts, viz. iii 1 and 11; iv 13 and 19; and viii 14. It is therefore probably this habitual combination 'Peter and John' which has produced the repeated alteration of Mk.'s order into 'Peter, John and James'. The instance of John in Acts is further illustrated by the fact that in Mk. and Mt. James is distinguished as 'the brother of James' (Mk. i 19; iii 17; v 37; Mt. every iv 21; x 2; xvii 1; never in Lk. or Acts), whereas in Acts James is 'the

not of Lk.'s. We infer that when writing Acts i, St Luke had before him Mk.'s list once more, not his own former one, and that he reflects the habit of days when James was long dead and John was of primary importance.

In the second group, Mt. gives pairs, but he puts Matthew last in his pair, because he adds 'the publican'. Lk. preserves the order of Mk., and Acts would have been expected to keep the same if it depended on Lk. But it gives a new arrangement, having clearly some reason unknown to us; for St Luke makes no changes without due motive².

We now come to the third group:—

1. Mk. iii 18, καὶ Ἰάκωβον τὸν τοῦ Ἀλφαίου καὶ Θαδδαίου καὶ Σίμωνα
2. Mt. x 3, Ἰάκωβος ὁ τοῦ Ἀλφαίου καὶ Θαδδαῖος, Σίμων
3. Lk. vi 16, καὶ Ἰάκωβον Ἀλφαίου καὶ Σίμωνα
4. Acts i 13, Ἰάκωβος Ἀλφαίου καὶ Σίμων

Mk. τὸν Καναναῖον καὶ Ἰούδαν Ἰσκαριώθ, ὃς καὶ παρέδωκεν αὐτόν.

Mt. ὁ Καναναῖος καὶ Ἰούδας ὁ Ἰσκαριώτης, ὁ καὶ παραδοὺς αὐτόν.

Lk. τὸν καλούμενον Ζηλωτὴν καὶ Ἰούδαν Ἰακώβου καὶ Ἰούδαν Ἰσκαριώθ, ὃς ἐγένετο προδότης.

Acts ὁ Ζηλωτὴς καὶ Ἰούδας Ἰακώβου.

It is perfectly clear that Thaddaeus in Mk. and Mt. is the 'Jude of James' in Lk. and Acts. Why has Lk. made this alteration? We must evidently infer that, when he wrote, Thaddaeus³ was better known brother of John'. We should have expected 'the son of Zebedee'. But when Acts was written, Zebedee was dead and forgotten, while John was alive.

¹ The publican is called Levi by Mk. and Lk. Mt. alters this to Matthew, and here identifies this Matthew with the apostle.

² Which pair did he wish to connect? Probably he would put it first. If so, I can only suggest that 'Philip and Thomas' are just the only two apostles besides Peter whom St John singles out for special and repeated mention (see John i 44-49; vi 5-7; xii 21-22 for Philip, and xi 16; xx 24-29; xxi 2 for Thomas), while in xiv 5-9 he shews the two joining in interrupting our Lord's words with what we may call objections: the one says, 'How can we know the way?' the other supports him, when the answer has been given, by adding, 'In that case we need not go at all'. They were evidently special friends of the fourth evangelist. Were they special friends of one another also? or even brothers? or twin brothers? But these are merely conjectures. At least we know that Thomas knew how to fish (John xxi 2), and that Philip was of Bethsaida, and therefore presumably also a fisherman; and again Philip and Nathanael were friends (John i 45-49), while Thomas is also coupled with the latter (xxi 2). It should be noted that Mk. places Philip next after Andrew, while Jn. says they were of the same city (i 45), and twice mentions them together (vi 7-8; xii 22). But it is equally possible that St Luke was anxious to preserve Mk.'s 'Bartholomew and Matthew', and for this he was obliged to shift Thomas. Lastly, it may well have been simply the assonance of *Bartholomaios* καὶ *Ματθαῖος* which attracted him.

³ The Western reading 'Lebbaeus' may possibly be a traditional surname of Jude. But it is just as likely to be a primitive Western error of a scribe.

as 'Jude of James'. This is merely to say that in the apostolic band there were two Judes, and that one of them was therefore called by his other name of Thaddaeus; but when he alone was left, he reverted to the name Jude, which he had probably used before he became an apostle. We naturally find the later usage in Lk. and Acts, but not in Mt. and Mk. Similarly, of the two Simons one was called Cephas or Peter. But the other Simon did not die so soon as Iscariot, and 'the rock' was a title of honour; it was therefore not dropped. To Thaddaeus no epithet had to be applied, but Jude is distinguished from the traitor (who is immediately mentioned in Lk., and in Acts a few verses later) as 'of James'. As the preceding 'of Alphaeus' in Lc. and Acts is seen from Mk. and Mt. to signify 'son of Alphaeus', we may be inclined to suppose Jude to be 'son of James', but we need not do so.

It is further clear that Lk. thinks 'the Zealot' a term more comprehensible to a Gentile reader than 'the Cananaean'.

As for the order, it is preserved exactly by Mt., and he is consequently obliged to pair off Simon with the traitor!

But Lk. changes the order that he may have the two Judes side by side for comparison. If we turn to Acts, we shall find the same change as in Lk. Here pairing was impossible, since only three apostles were left of the eleven. There was no necessity for shifting Jude in this case, since the traitor is omitted. Has St Luke taken this order from his Gospel, or does he really prefer the order 'Simon, Jude' to 'Jude, Simon'? He had followed Mk. rather than his own Gospel in the other groups, so that there is some reason for thinking this non-Markan order to have a motive.

At any rate we have in two Gospels 'James, Thaddaeus, Simon', but in the two Lucan documents 'James, Simon, Jude'. The three names are in no case separated.

2. We next take the lists of the Lord's brethren in Mk. and Mt.—but Luke does not give any names:—

Mk. vi 3, *Ἰακώβου καὶ Ἰωσήφου καὶ Ἰούδα καὶ Σίμωνος.*

Mt. xiii 55, *Ἰακώβου καὶ Ἰωσήφ¹ καὶ Σίμων καὶ Ἰούδα.*

Here Mt. has varied the order of Mk.

We had found in the lists of the apostles that there were two Jameses, two Judes, two Simons. The names are very common, and we are not surprised to find more of them. Still, when we find all three names again in the list of the four brethren of the Lord, we may feel inclined to identify one or other of the latter with one of the former. James the

¹ The Western reading (N* D &c.) *Ἰωάννης* for *Ἰωσήφ* is a mere mistake, owing to the familiarity of the sequence 'James and John'. *Joses* is a diminutive for *Joseph*. See Zahn *Forsch.* vi p. 334 note 2.

son of Zebedee, Simon Peter, and Judas Iscariot are out of the question. But when we notice that the three available names always occur consecutively, it would seem that we have to compare a group of three with a group of four, and a complete identification of the three becomes almost inevitable, for the chances against such a triple connexion recurring accidentally are immensely large. Further, we go on to note that in all the lists James is first. This increases the already extreme improbability of accident. Again in Mk., the original authority, the order of names is the same in both cases:—

Mk. iii 19, James of A. and Thaddaeus and Simon the C.
Mk. vi 3, James [and Joseph] and Jude and Simon.

Surely all doubt is removed.

But yet further. The order is varied in the secondary documents. Lk. and Acts shift Jude the apostle to the last place of the three. Mt., who preserves Mk.'s order where he uses Thaddaeus, has also put Jude last among the brethren of the Lord. That is to say, both writers independently insist on the order 'Simon, Jude', although Mt. finds 'Thaddaeus, Simon' bearable. Thus Mt. for the order of the brethren, and Lk. for the order of the apostles, both correct Mk. order in the same way. This is surely a remarkable confirmation of our conclusion. We must now start afresh, to reach the same result by another road.

3. We will take the lists of the brethren to compare them with the sons of a certain Mary:—

Mk. vi 3, Ἰακώβου καὶ Ἰωσήφου καὶ Ἰούδα καὶ Σίμωνος.
Mt. xiii 55, Ἰακώβου καὶ Ἰωσήφ καὶ Σίμων καὶ Ἰούδα.
Mk. xv 40, Μαρία ἡ Ἰακώβου τοῦ μικροῦ καὶ Ἰωσήφου μήτηρ.
Mt. xxvii 56, Μαρία ἡ τοῦ Ἰακώβου καὶ Ἰωσήφ [-ἡφ] μήτηρ.

It is evident enough that 'Mother of James and Joses' is short for 'Mother of James and Joses and Jude and Simon', an unwieldy expression which was quite unnecessary, the mention of the two eldest brothers being amply sufficient for identification. On the other hand, 'Mother of James' would have been ambiguous, for she might have been taken for the mother of James and John. It is almost incredible that Prof. Mayor (and he is not alone in his view) denies that Mk. xv 40 refers back to Mk. vi 3, and that he makes this Mary the mother of the son of Alphaeus, whom he distinguishes from the mother of the Lord¹. He

¹ This makes his perversity the more remarkable. He gives James of Alphaeus a brother called Joseph. Hence in the fourth group of apostles we get always together 'James, Simon and Jude', the first of whom has a brother Joseph,—yet these four are not to be identified with the four brethren of the Lord, James and Joses and Simon and Jude!

has not been systematic enough to notice the descending scale of distinctions in Mc. :—

vi 3 : [ἀδελφός] Ἰακώβου καὶ Ἰωσήτος καὶ Ἰούδα καὶ Σίμωνος.
 xv 40 : Μαρία ἡ Ἰακώβου τοῦ μικροῦ καὶ Ἰωσήτος μήτηρ.
 xv 47 : Μαρία ἡ Ἰωσήτος.
 xvi 1 : Μαρία ἡ [τοῦ] Ἰακώβου.

First all the brothers were mentioned; then their mother, the two eldest of them being specified; then, a few verses later, it is safe to specify one only of her sons. The exhibition of the evidence in this diagrammatic form makes Prof. Mayor's view impossible that 'we have no reason for inferring from the Gospels that she was related to Jesus'. On the contrary, St Mark makes it perfectly clear—and intentionally clear—that she was the mother of the 'brethren' of Jesus.

Was she then the mother of Jesus also? Obviously not, for in that case she would have been called 'the mother of Jesus', not the mother of James and Joses, who would have been not merely less important but younger than the 'first-born'. Thus we get a convincing proof that the brethren of the Lord were neither sons of the Blessed Virgin nor sons of Joseph.

We also learn that in the ellipse 'Mary of James', 'Mary of Joses', the word to be supplied is 'mother'.

3. Let us now compare the similar references to Jude :—

Mk. vi 16, Ἰούδας Ἰακώβου (in the list of apostles).
 Acts i 13, Ἰούδας Ἰακώβου (in the list of apostles).
 Jude 1, Ἰούδας, Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ δοῦλος, ἀδελφός δὲ Ἰακώβου.

With Mk. and parallels as to Mary :—

| | | |
|-----------------------------------|---------------------|------------------------|
| Mk. xv 40, M. ἡ Ἰακ. καὶ Ἰω. μ. | xv 47, M. ἡ Ἰωσήτος | xvi 1, M. ἡ Ἰακώβου. |
| Mt. xxvii 56 M. ἡ Ἰακ. καὶ Ἰω. μ. | xxvii 61, ἡ ἄλλη M. | xxviii 1 ἡ ἄλλη M. |
| Lk. xxiii 49, no names. | xxiii 55, no name | xxiv 10, M. ἡ Ἰακώβου. |

In Mk. xv 40 the mention of James and Joses has been prepared by the list of brethren vi 3, while xv 40 itself explains the two later passages.

So Mt. xxvii 56 is explained by the list of brethren xiii 55, and the two later passages refer back to it.

But in Lk. xxiv 10 Μαρία ἡ Ἰακώβου is totally unprepared, and if we possessed this Gospel only, we should wonder who this James could be. We should certainly guess him to be the father or the husband of Mary; yet if he was the son, he might be the son of Zebedee (and in fact Mt. xxvii 56 tells us that the mother of the sons of Zebedee was present at the cross). Is there a simple carelessness here on the part of Lk., who has transcribed the words of Mk. without consideration? St Luke is not wont to be careless or obscure.

If we turn to the Jude passages we find a strict parallel. St Luke in

both his books has altered 'Thaddaeus' into 'Jude of James', with no preparation or explanation. Prof. Mayor writes: 'As to Ἰουδᾶς Ἰακώβου, no instance is cited for such an omission of the word ἀδελφός¹, and we must therefore translate "Judas son of James" with the R. V.' But can Prof. Mayor cite any other instance of an omission of μήτηρ? I suppose not. Yet it is certain that 'Mary of James' means the mother of James, and that 'Mary of Joses' means the mother of Joses. The reasons for this usage are sufficiently obvious. This Mary went about with our Lord and His disciples, so did her sons. But her husband probably did not, and was presumably dead. To the disciples she was primarily the mother of their companions, and they distinguished her as such.

The same argument applies in the case of Jude. We know of two Judes among the apostles, one of whom is always coupled (or 'tripled') with the second James. We also know that two of the brethren of the Lord were named James and Jude, of whom the former was incomparably better known. It would be natural, when we find Lc. twice calling the apostle 'Jude of James', not to assume yet another James, his father, but to understand the James just mentioned. But when we possess an Epistle whose author describes himself as 'Jude the brother of James', it is surely the merest perversity to insist that 'Jude of James' means anything but 'brother of James', as 'Mary of James' means 'mother of James'. The father of James is in each case passed over as less familiar, and the well-known James is substituted as the most distinguished and distinguishing relative of Mary and of Jude. And the argument holds good even if we consider the Epistle to be pseudepigraphic or apocryphal, for it is anyhow very early evidence as to the signification of Luke's 'Jude of James'.

But we are obliged to go somewhat further yet. Just as only Luke uses 'Jude of James' and only Luke has without explanation 'Mary of James', so only Luke (in Acts) and Paul speak of 'James' without distinguishing epithet. It is natural to suppose in all these cases the same James to be meant. If so, then Jude the brother of James is necessarily the son of Mary, and therefore the brother of the Lord. We have therefore found a second proof that James of Alphaeus and Jude of James, the apostles, were the Lord's brethren².

¹ Zahn has shewn this to be a mistake (*Forsch.* vi 342 note 1).

² Prof. Mayor writes: 'If James, Judas and Simon are all sons of Alphaeus, what a strange way is this of introducing their names in the list of the apostles, "James of Alphaeus, Simon Zelotes, Judas of James"! Why not speak of all as "sons of Alphaeus", or of the two latter as "brothers of James"! Why not speak of all as "brethren of the Lord"! Here Lk. is treated as if he were a primary authority! If we turn to Mk. we find 'James, the son of Alphaeus and Thaddaeus and Simon the Cananaean'; i.e. James needed to be distinguished from

This leads us to another point. Mc.'s use of 'Mary of James' is easily understood, for James was evidently the eldest son, and is invariably first mentioned. But why does he once substitute 'Mary of Joses'? The answer is simple, once we have admitted that her other three sons were apostles; otherwise we cannot explain the expression. Alphaeus, her husband, being dead, and the three apostles having detached themselves from 'father, mother, wife, children, lands' for the name of Christ, Joseph remained the support of his mother. She may well have had more than four sons, but Joseph appears from his place in the list to have been the eldest after James, and Mary was known as 'the mother of James', her eldest, or 'of Joseph', the eldest who remained with her.

We now turn to the evidence of Acts:—

i 13-14: And when they had entered in, they went up into an upper room where they remained, [(that is) Peter and John and James and Andrew, Philip and Thomas, Bartholomew and Matthew, James of Alphaeus and Simon Zelotes and Judas of James. These all were] continuing instant in prayer of one accord with women and Mary the mother of Jesus and with His brethren.

Probably St Luke is following a written authority. In that case, the list of the apostles, which I have bracketed, is his own insertion from Mc. and Lc. The apostles had been mentioned as witnesses of the Ascension, and the sense runs more simply without the names, '... where they were remaining, and were continuing instant in prayer...' But even so the distinction of the 'brethren' from the apostles remains noticeable if we suppose only one brother of the Lord, Joseph, who was not an apostle. Still the 'brethren' were evidently the earliest of all the followers of the Lord, and are distinguished not from, but from among, the apostles by St Paul. It may be so here, since Mary is not

his homonym, but Thaddaeus needed no distinction. Lastly comes Simon, already separated from James, who is given his distinctive epithet. I turn round upon the objector: 'If the three are not brothers, why are they invariably named together, and by Mk. in the same order as the brothers?' Again he urges: 'It is especially strange that, if Judas were really known as such [i.e. as the Lord's brother], he should be distinguished in John (xiv 22) merely by a negative, "Judas, not Iscariot", and in the other Gospels by the appellation "Lebbaeus" or "Thaddaeus".' On the contrary, it was quite unnecessary to add any further definition to names like Thaddaeus or Lebbaeus, which were not ambiguous. In John xiv 22 the negative might be urged against Prof. Mayor, for it implies that there were but two Judes. Still he might reply (rather weakly, I think) that John supposes it to be known from Mk. xiv 17 and Lk. xxii 14, that only the twelve were present at this discourse. In that case it is obvious that 'not Iscariot' was the shortest and simplest distinction of Jude from Jude. But if there was no third Jude, there was no object in mentioning that he was the brother of the Lord. Such arguments as these of Prof. Mayor's seem to imply either very hasty writing, or a want of effort to realize the view opposed to his own.

distinguished from 'women' as not a woman, while a group of four or five brethren only partially included among the apostles is yet more naturally distinguished. Besides, here and elsewhere it is likely that ἀδελφοί is a short expression for ἀδελφοὶ καὶ ἀδελφαί¹. It is likely that where the mother and brothers were present the sisters (unless married and settled) were not away.

i 15: And in those days Peter rose up [and declared that a twelfth apostle must be elected from among those] 'who came together with us in all the time when the Lord Jesus came in and went out amongst us, beginning from the baptism of John unto the day when He was taken up from us, to become a witness of His resurrection together with us.'

The conditions are severe: he must have been one of the very first disciples, and he must have persevered continuously to the very end. There can hardly have been very many who fulfilled these demands. The apostles were to choose the man who fulfilled them most perfectly. We are at once obliged to think of Joseph, the Lord's brother. The brethren of the Lord are with Him in the very first days and before His first miracle (John ii 12), they reappear throughout His ministry, and their mother, Mary, was one of the women who followed and ministered to the apostolic band (Mc. xv 41, &c.). Joseph was no doubt her companion then, and also perhaps at the foot of the cross (*ibid.*). She was at the sepulchre, and saw the risen Lord (Mt. xxviii 9). Joseph now lived with the eleven and women and our Lady, as we have seen, so that he had doubtless been present at the Ascension. It was already strange that the second in age of the brothers should be excluded from the twelve. Perhaps he had been necessary to his mother. But such care might now seem not inconsistent with the office of an apostle, since John had been charged to care for the mother of the Lord, and Joseph had perhaps one or more younger brothers. It would seem that the apostles could hardly pass over the claim of Joseph to inherit the place vacated by the traitor.

In fact, the apostles chose two men, and the first of these is named Joseph². Dare we assume that this is the brother of the Lord?

¹ I do not suppose that ἀδελφοί can mean 'Geschwister', but simply that a group including sisters is probably implied in the mention of its principal members.

² Joseph Barsabbas Justus was known by Papias (not, I think, on the authority of the daughters of Philip, but on that of Aristion) to have drunk poison without taking harm. The Acts of Paul represent him as being at Rome, which is doubtless a pure invention.

³ The identification is curiously supported by the Arabic-Coptic *Historia Iosephi fabri lignarii* (fourth century?), which has in c. 2: 'Genuit [i.e. Joseph] quoque sibi filios filiasque quatuor (nimirum) filios, atque duas filias. Haec vero sunt eorum nomina: Iudas, Iustus, Iacobus et Simon. Nomina duarum filiarum (*evant*) Assia et Lydia' (Text from Thilo's codex). Here 'Justus' is substituted for 'Joses'. The list is from Mark, as the order 'James, Simon' shews. The

Perhaps we may gather that, though the disciples did not venture to pass him over, they felt a little doubtful about appointing one whom Christ had refused to appoint. They therefore chose the expedient of naming two and drawing lots. The lot fell on Matthias, and neither Joseph nor his brothers could feel that he had been slighted¹.

He is carefully distinguished by St Luke, not by his father, or mother, or brothers, but by his own surnames, and this is more natural. Is Barsabbas a patronymic, or is it a name like Boanerges, given by Christ? In Acts xv 22 we hear of another Barsabbas, and his name is Jude. It is a confirmation of the identification we have just suggested, that Joseph the brother of the Lord had a younger brother named Jude. 'The apostles and elders with the whole Church decreed to choose men from among themselves and to send them to Antioch with Paul and Barnabas, Jude called Barsabbas and Silas, leading men among the brethren, writing by their hand. . . .' It would seem that the apostles and presbyters were represented by one apostle and one presbyter. Notice that Jude is always mentioned first (*vv.* 22, 27, 32). The envoys were to be 'leading men'. We shall see (and have partly seen) that the brethren of the Lord were 'leading men' among the apostles. They were to quiet the minds of the Judaizers at Antioch, and to induce them to accept the compromise which had been proposed by James, the leader of the Observants at Jerusalem. It would be therefore especially fitting that the principal ambassador should be the younger brother of the 'bishop' of the believing Jews. In *v.* 32 we hear that Judas and Silas were prophets. This does not shew that neither was an apostle, for the apostles apparently had this gift in varying degrees², but it points out that they could hold their own with the prophets who were living at Antioch (*xiii* 1). The interpolator of the Western text informs us that Jude returned to Jerusalem when his mission was accomplished, whereas Silas preferred to remain at

groundwork of most apocrypha of this kind goes back to the second century. Whether there is any antiquity behind this particular apocryphon is more debatable. But the identification of Justus Barsabbas with the brother of the Lord may just possibly rest on early tradition.

¹ However this may be, it gives at least a natural meaning to the addition of 'the brethren of the Lord' in *v.* 14. If Joseph had been specially mentioned as the twelfth male inhabitant of the house, it would have seemed as though he were already informally joined to the number of the apostles. We are shewn instead that it was as accompanying his brothers (and naturally his mother, who was one of the 'women') that he was lodged with the apostles.

² St Paul considered himself to be 'not a whit behind the chiefest apostles', but he is content to compare his gift of tongues with that of his Corinthian converts (*1 Cor.* xiv 18), and he is twice told by Agabus of events which had not been revealed to himself.

Antioch. This is what we should expect. The head quarters of the apostles were still at Jerusalem; but Silas, not being an apostle, was free to stay on, and eventually to join St Paul's next expedition.

The other name of Joseph has now to be considered—*ἐπεκλήθη Ἰούστος*. It was a surname, and therefore possibly not an alternative Roman name, as Saul and John were also called Paulus and Marcus. It appears that the eldest brother had the same surname, for *ὁ δίκαιος*, which is said by the Gospel according to the Hebrews, by Hegesippus, Clement of Alexandria, &c., to have been the surname of James, and is taken by them to be an *epitheton ornans*, may well be nothing else than a translation of *Ἰούστος*¹.

We now turn to the mention of James in Acts. The distinction between the two apostles of that name in ch. i is borrowed from Mc. Next we are told in ch. xii that Herod killed James the brother of John with the sword. Then in the course of the same chapter we find that St Peter, after his release from prison, tells the many persons assembled in the house of Mary the mother of John Mark to inform 'James and the brethren' of the miraculous event. This points to the 'bishop' (as in after days he was called) and the Church. Only two Jameses had been mentioned; we had just heard of the death of one of them. Every reader will be inclined to assume this James to be the survivor. St Luke is too careful a writer to have introduced a new James without explanation; but here we find no surname, no patronymic, no mark whatever of identity². Again, we are told in xv 13 that at the Council of Jerusalem 'James answered saying . . .' without comment. Though Dr Hort was doubtless right in asserting that James did not preside at the Council³, yet James offers to compromise on behalf of the Jewish Christians, evidently as their leader. A third time we hear of 'James' without an epithet (xxi 18), where he is clearly the

¹ In Col. iv 11 it is conceivable that Jesus Justus, who was of the circumcision, may be a relation of the same family, since Jesus is also a family name. He might be a son of Jude (Heges. ap. Euseb. *H. E.* iii 20), and father of the men who were brought before Domitian. But this is mere conjecture. (We may note that in the genealogy of Lc. there are two Josephs, a Judas, a Jodas, and a Jesus, besides the Patriarchs Jacob and Judah.)

² Zahn has objected to a similar argument that in Acts viii 5 'Philip', without addition, is named as going down to Samaria, and only in xxi 8 do we gather that he was of the seven, not of the twelve. But xxi 8 does not tell us this, while viii 1 had made the matter perfectly clear: 'They were all dispersed through the countries of Judaea and Samaria, except the apostles'. When in v. 5 we are told that it was Philip who went in Samaria to the city Samaria, we must be very careless if we doubt that Luke meant the evangelist and not the apostle. Zahn's other instance, Lk. xxii 31, is absurd, for every one knew that Simon the Cananaean was not the chief of the apostles (Zahn *Forsch.* vi 361).

³ *The Christian Ecclesia* p. 79.

head of all the presbyters of Jerusalem. Is St Luke nodding, or does he mean us to identify him with the son of Alphaeus?

We have done with Acts, and we turn to St Paul. He tells us, when referring back to a period when two apostles called James were alive, that the risen Saviour 'was seen by James, then by all the apostles' (1 Cor. xv 7). 'Apostles' may be used in a large sense, so I do not infer that James was an apostle. But the use of 'James', simply, seems to point to a time when only one important James was known, or when one James was of paramount importance. If we turn to Gal. ii we find a James who is put by the side of the two chief surviving apostles, Peter and John, as a 'pillar'. Gal. i 19 tells us that this was 'the brother of the Lord', for no one can doubt that the same James is meant. It is impossible to doubt that this is the James whom the Corinthians would understand to be mentioned in 1 Cor. xv 7 as having seen the risen Christ. He must be the same as the James whom we saw in a lofty position at Jerusalem. We therefore learn that when Luke and Paul wrote, James the brother of the Lord needed no distinguishing mark to his name, he had no rival. The son of Zebedee was dead; St Luke seems to identify the brother of the Lord with the son of Alphaeus; but anyhow, if the identification were denied, we should have to suppose that James of Alphaeus had set out to preach in some country beyond the limits of the Roman Empire, leaving the brother of the Lord as 'James' pure and simple.

Contrast this with Mk. and Mt., who never mention any James without some mark of identification. As usual, these two represent the earlier usage, and Lk., Acts, Paul the later¹.

We now have the clearest light thrown on the question why St Luke alone has the vague expression 'Jude of James' (twice repeated) and the unexplained 'Mary of James'. In his day and St Paul's day every one knew that the 'bishop of Jerusalem' was meant. He was therefore son of Mary and brother of Jude the apostle. Thus our former conclusions are made certain².

¹ A case in point was Thaddaeus in Mt. Lk. = Jude in Lk., Acts, Jo., Jude. A good instance is the word 'apostles' for the twelve, once each in Mt., Mk., but in Lk., Acts, Paul frequent. So also *ὁ κύριος* is never used of Christ in Mt., Mk. (unless perhaps Mk. xi 3 and parallel Mt. xxi 3), but regularly in Lk., Acts, Paul.

² Two other passages of St Paul have to be considered. Prof. Mayor objects to St Jerome's proof that James was an apostle from Gal. i 19; for he says that 'other of the apostles saw I none save (*ἐκ μὲν*) James the Lord's brother', may mean 'unless you count James among them'. A second plea is more effective, and I fully admit it, viz. that 'apostles' is perhaps used to include more than the twelve. The passage is therefore not necessarily in my favour.

Again 1 Cor. ix 5: 'The rest of the apostles and the brethren of the Lord and Cephas' is apparently an ascending scale, as St Chrysostom saw: 'the apostles, and among them even the brethren of the Lord, and even Cephas'. Again

It is necessary to notice that our results—i.e. cumulative proof that three of the brethren of the Lord are to be identified with apostles, and that they were the sons of Mary and Alphaeus, not of the Blessed Virgin or of St Joseph by a former wife—have so far been obtained without using the text of St John about Mary of Clopas. Yet Prof. Mayor had so far underrated the evidence against his view as to declare that, if St Jerome's interpretation of that passage is incorrect—and it is not certain—'then the foundation stone of the Hieronymian theory is removed, and the whole fabric topples to the ground'. Were it not that Prof. Mayor's arguments are simply those of Helvidius, and that he has no others, I should suppose he knew St Jerome's arguments only at second hand¹. For though (*de Perp. Virg. B. M. adv. Helv.* 19) St Jerome begins by quoting the verse of St John, it is so far from being his only argument, that he instantly adds that James the brother of the Lord, whether an apostle or not, is called by Scripture the son of Mary, for he does not suppose any one could doubt her sons 'James and Joseph' to be the brethren of the Lord, and Helvidius expressly allowed it. St Jerome goes on to argue that she was not the Lord's mother, but His mother's sister (c. 19), otherwise she would have been called mother (c. 20). He adds that *he will not insist* on the identification of Mary of Clopas with the mother of James and Joseph, as it is clear enough that the latter was not the mother of Christ. Thus he refuses to rest his case upon the 'foundation stone' which Prof. Mayor attributes to him. It follows that Prof. Mayor has further libelled St Jerome by attributing to him a change of mind in his Commentary on Galatians and his Epistle to Hedibia. Prof. Mayor shews the same marks of haste in his treatment of the Doctor of Bethlehem as in his confused discussion of the New Testament evidence, and both are unworthy of his great and deserved reputation.

We now come to the objections which he has borrowed from the *homo rusticanus et vix primis quoque imbutus litteris* to whom St Jerome replied. The main ones are, of course, 'knew her not until' and 'first-born son'. I do not think they are worth answering except in a note. They are clearly founded on false logic.

'apostles' might have a larger sense. But an eminent position seems to be accorded to the 'brethren'.

¹ Lightfoot similarly speaks of the identification of Mary of Clopas with Mary Mother of James as the 'pivot' or as the 'keystone' of St Jerome's theory ('Brethren of the Lord' in *Comm. on Galatians*, reprinted in *Dissert. on the Apost. Age* p. 8 and p. 12). We may perhaps infer that Mayor has followed Lightfoot without sufficient caution.

² 1. Mt. i 24: καὶ οὐκ ἐγίνωσκεν αὐτὴν ἕως [οὗ] ἔτεκεν υἱόν. After dealing with Bp Pearson's classical instances of 'until' (he might have added St Jerome's), he says, 'It is difficult to believe that a man of Pearson's ability can have been blind

We now come to the evidence of St John.

John ii 12: 'He and His mother and His brethren and His disciples went down to Capernaum.' There is no question of apostles here, as they had not yet been chosen, but the 'brethren' are distinguished from the newly called disciples—John, Andrew, Peter, Philip and Nathanael.

John vii 1-5: And after these things Jesus walked in Galilee, for He was not willing to walk in Judaea, because the Jews sought to kill Him. Now the feast of the Jews *scenopagia* was nigh. His brethren therefore said to Him, Go from hence, and get Thee into Judaea, that Thy disciples also may see the works that Thou doest; for no one doeth anything in secret when he wishes to be in public. . . . For neither did His brethren believe on Him.

This passage tells very strongly against Prof. Mayor, who distinguishes the 'brethren' from the disciples. 'Does he think the speech of the 'brethren' was ironical? or that they wished their Brother to be killed by the Jews? Evidently any disgrace to Him would react upon themselves. It follows that they wished to persuade Him to shew Himself to the world in order to get glory for Himself and them. 'Belief' is opposed not only to utter disbelief, but to doubt also, and to want of faith. Dr Sanday has called attention in another connexion to the graduated scale which we have to apply to St John's use of the verb πιστεύω: 'He has but one word to denote all the different stages of belief.'¹ The 'brethren' believed Jesus to be a great Prophet who to the difference between two kinds of limit, the mention of one of which suggests, while the mention of the other negatives, the future occurrence of the action spoken of'. It was not necessary to accuse Pearson of bad faith, but it was necessary to see that a third category is far more common, which neither suggests nor negatives the future occurrence. The sense of the main clause is the sole means of knowing what is to happen after the limit set to 'until', the 'until' clause being of its own nature simply indeterminate. Now in Mt. i 24 the sense of the main clause gives us no help. The evangelist wished to express that the son who was born was *non ex virili semine*, but he had no intention of informing us whether sexual intercourse between the husband and wife took place later or not. But we know at least that he did not think the 'brethren of the Lord' James and Joseph to be sons of this marriage.

2. Lk. ii 7: 'The natural inference drawn from the use of the word πρωτότοκος in Lk. ii 7 is that other brothers or sisters were born subsequently, otherwise why should not the word μονογενής have been used?' So also Zahn, p. 335. The logic here is still more at fault. St Jerome had pointed out the flaw: πρωτότοκος implies that there were no elder sons or daughters, but does not, like 'eldest', imply also that there were younger ones. But a second flaw is more serious. Prof. Mayor has not even understood St Luke's point. The evangelist has no idea of telling us that Mary had other sons or had not, but he does intend to inform us that this was her first child, who needed, as the *first-born*, to be presented to the Lord, as he relates in v. 22. That verse would have been incomprehensible had πρωτότοκος not preceded. (Μονογενής would, of course, have given the same information indirectly, but directly it refers to a thought that was not in St Luke's mind at all.)

¹ *The Criticism of the Fourth Gospel* p. 161.

worked miracles—perhaps even the Messiah—but they had not yet the full faith in His divinity which is called ‘receiving Him’ (i 12). He had just scandalized His disciples, and many of them ‘went away back and walked no more with Him’, though Peter declared that Jesus alone had the ‘words of eternal life’ (vi 67–69). The ‘brethren’ are still with Him, they are not among those who went away back. But yet they have not the spiritual view of Peter, and they wish Him to do miracles for notoriety. Nor, again, have they Peter’s trust, and the holding back of Christ from Judaea seems to them a mistake, a cowardice almost, perhaps a want of confidence in Himself, possibly a cause of doubt to themselves and others. Many had left Him. They argue as men of the world, that now is the time to make a bold front and retrieve the lost ground and more. To have lost the Galilean multitudes would be as nothing in comparison with the gain of the Jews of Jerusalem.

Therefore they are rebuked; they are told that they are of this world—consequently they could go into Judaea without danger. Prof. May contrasts these words to the ‘brethren’ with the words to the apostles in xv 19: ‘Because you are not of the world, therefore the world hates you’, and indeed the contradiction is complete. But this does not shew that the former words were not also addressed to apostles. Peter is called ‘Blessed’, and in the same chapter is addressed as Satan. In ch. xv the apostles are not being praised, but are described as they were to be from thenceforward, and as they had never yet fully been up to that time.

I therefore infer that in John vii 5 there is nothing to shew that the ‘brethren’ were not apostles, while it is certain that they were indeed disciples and very close adherents.

But in discussing St John we have to consider his relation to the Synoptists. In the *Revue Bénédictine* (July 1905) I have expressed my full agreement with Dr E. A. Abbott’s remarkable discovery that the fourth Gospel takes up, with explanation, the points in Mk. which Lk. omits (*Encycl. Bibl.*, art. ‘Gospels’), and I have shewn that the account of St Mark given by the Presbyter of Papias affords a very clear confirmation of this theory. Now in our present subject we shall find Lk. carefully omitting certain things which he found in his authority Mk., and we shall find John explaining the apparent difficulty.

Mk. iii 21: καὶ ἀκούσαντες οἱ παρ’ αὐτοῦ ἐξηλθόν κρατῆσαι αὐτόν, ἔλεγον γὰρ ὅτι ἐξέστη. I have shewn in the article just referred to that this accusation and the other in the same chapter made by the ‘scribes from Jerusalem’, of being possessed, are both omitted by Lk. as unedifying. Both are inserted again by John. But another difficulty arises in οἱ παρ’ αὐτοῦ¹; this apparent disbelief by ‘His people’ (to use

¹ On this expression see Zahn *Forsch.* vi 332 note 1.

modern slang) might also seem to cast a slur on the 'brethren of the Lord', and it is certain that St Luke avoided everything which was dishonourable to the apostles. But in the passage we have just been discussing St John seems to take it up, and explain that the 'brethren' had very imperfect faith. As to the passage of Mk., we must understand *μαίνεται* by the context¹. Christ was surrounded by the multitude even in the house, and it was impossible to prepare a meal. The brethren say 'He is really going too far; we must check this enthusiasm'. They believed in Him, but were afraid of His being carried away into exaggeration; just so in John they thought He had grown timid².

We now arrive at the final point. Mk. tells us (vi 1-3) that Jesus went into 'His own country', and His disciples followed Him. He taught in the synagogue, and the people marvelled: 'Is not this the carpenter, the son of Mary and brother of James and Joses and Judas and Simon? and are not his sisters here with us?' St Matthew copies, only characteristically bringing in St Joseph, by changing 'the carpenter' into 'the carpenter's son' (it is to be remembered that Mt. i-ii is told from the point of view of Joseph), Mt. xiii 55.

On the other hand, Lk. iv 16 f relates the incident from a different

¹ If the expression were in Lk., we should take it literally. But Mk. is vivid and lifelike; he gives us the very words which describe the feelings of the scandalized brothers who wanted to lay the table for dinner!

² In Mt. xii 46-50, Prof. Mayor discovers a distinction of the brethren from the disciples, proving that they were not disciples: 'And stretching forth His hand to His disciples, He said: Behold My mother and My brethren'. Let us turn to Mt.'s source, Mk. iii 31: 'And His mother and His brethren came, and standing without sent unto Him calling Him. And the multitude sat about Him; and they say to Him, Behold Thy mother and Thy brethren. And answering them He said: Who is My mother and My brethren?' &c. In the same chapter there had been described the crowding of the multitude into the house, and the distress of His brethren because it was dinner-time. Here again the picture is life-like. Jesus is thronged by the multitudes who sit around Him listening. His mother and brethren cannot pierce the circle, or are afraid to interrupt, but they send a message. Evidently vv. 22-30, which give the charge brought by the 'scribes from Jerusalem', are parenthetic, the subject being suggested by the brethren's accusation *μαίνεται*. v. 31 continues the story. His mother and brethren were determined that they would dine, and so should He. They interrupt His discourse, 'And looking round about *on them who sat about Him* He saith: Behold My mother and My brethren', &c. (Here we see that the 'disciples' in Mt. who are distinguished from the 'brethren' are not the apostles but the multitudes. Might not Prof. Mayor have discovered this for himself?) It appears that they would wait no longer for the meal. It is characteristic of a mother not to allow her son to tire himself and take no food. But His meat was to do the will of Him who sent Him and to finish His work; He must be about His Father's business; and so He declares that His relationship with those whom He has to teach and to serve is closer than any relationship of flesh and blood.

source, and the remark of the people becomes simply: 'Is not this the son of Joseph?' Still it may seem that the omission by Lk. of Mk. vi was intentional. Did not that verse seem to imply that Mary the mother of Jesus was also mother of James and Joses and Jude and Simon?¹

Again, Mk. xv 40 says that Mary the mother of James and Joses stood beneath the cross. Here Helvidius inferred that the mother of Jesus was again meant. Lk. always avoids ambiguities. Though Mt. reproduces the verse, Lk. omits to give the names of any of the women. It was known that the mother of Jesus was beneath His cross, but not at the sepulchre on the morning of the resurrection, so that in xxiv 10 Lk. is willing to reproduce Mk.'s 'Mary of James'. We have seen that he felt able to leave the expression without explanation, though he had never given the names of the brethren of the Lord.

This explanation of the evangelist's method may seem fanciful. I do not myself think it is more than barely possible. But at least it would seem that Lk.'s omission did not escape the lynx-eyed objectors to Mk. to whom Jn. habitually replies. They probably represented Mk.'s words as liable to misunderstanding, possibly as erroneous. Consequently St John was bound to supply an explanation in his own Gospel. He does so in ch. xix 25.

Mk. had given the names of the women who were 'looking on from off' at Calvary. Mt. had copied him. Lk. had omitted the names, but had given from another authority the names of the women who were with Jesus in Galilee, and he repeats this after the resurrection. Let us compare these four lists with that of John:—

Mk. xv 40, Mary Magd. and Mary mother of J. and J. and Salome.

Mt. xxvii 56, Mary Magd. and Mary mother of J. and J. and the mother of Zebedee's children.

Lk. viii 3, Mary Magd. and [Joanna] and [Susanna].

Lk. xxiv 10, Mary Magd. and [Joanna] and Mary of James.

In this last passage a comparison of the context shews that Lk. is following Mk. and has added Joanna from his other authority. John xix 25 has: 'Now there stood by the cross of Jesus, His mother and His mother's sister, Mary of Clopas and Mary Magdalene.'

Mary Magdalene is in all the lists. Mary of James in all but Lk. viii 3, which refers to another period, and is independent of the other lists. The 'mother of Zebedee's children' is evidently an explanation of Salome, as Mt. closely follows Mk., and would not have omitted Salome¹.

The three Synoptists agree in having two Maries. The fourth Gospel

¹ For the name of the mother of Jesus is given by Mark in this single passage only.

² So Lightfoot, Mayor, Zahn, and most others of all views.

NOTES AND STUDIES

has three. Unless we are to assume that there were four Mariess of the cross (or afar off), we must identify Mary of Clopas the mother of James and Joses.

It is seen, therefore, that St John is replying to the possible objection to St Mark's two passages. James and Joses were not sons of the mother of Jesus, for the latter was a distinct person from Mary the mother, who was the wife of Clopas. We have therefore from St John another argument for the 'brethren' not being sons of the Virgin or of St Joseph.

We may go yet further. Mayor, Lightfoot, and many others hold that Clopas and Alphaeus are only two different transliterations of Aramaic Chalphai. If so, we get a new argument that James the son of Mary and brother of the Lord was the apostle, the son of Alphaeus. This point is fortified by the consideration that John would not have substituted 'of Clopas' for the very definite and (I should have thought) unmistakable 'mother of James and Joses' unless it added a new element of identification. He must have supposed Clopas well known, at least when writing for a later generation. Presumably it was to Mark's knowledge that Alphaeus' that he is intentionally referring. If this is so, he is assuming that the brethren of the Lord were apostles, and is emphasizing the fact that this Mary was their mother by the mention of her husband's uncommon name instead of the frequent names of her sons¹.

We have therefore now got from this verse an additional argument against Prof. Mayor's Helvidian view, and another against his distinction of 'brethren' from apostles, without yet assuming that Mary of Clopas was the sister of the mother of Jesus, though he considers this identification to be the 'foundation stone' of the Hieronymian theory which I uphold!

We come at last to this quite secondary point. Does John mean four women or three? We saw Mt. and Acts divide Mk's

¹ I confess I do not see myself how Chalphai (1 Macc. xi 70 = Χαλφαι) can become Κλωπᾶς. Zahn parallels 'Αλφαῖος with 'Alfius Iuda' from a Nebo inscription and the *faenerator Alfius* (naturally a Jew!) of Horace (*Epod.* 13). He also shews that in Hebrew letters 'Cleopatra' and 'Theodoros' are 'Kleopatras' and 'Thōdōros', so that Κλωπᾶς = Κλεοπᾶς for Κλεόπατρος I certainly. But this is only against the identification of the names, not against the persons. It seems natural that 'Chalphai' should have been translated by Mk. in the usual way 'Αλφαῖος (or 'Αλφᾶιος as W. H. prefer,—but 'Alfius is perhaps against this), but that that individual himself should have taken as his name a name closely corresponding with his Hebrew name, just as Saul's nearest name (in this case Roman) 'Paulus', and Joseph Barsabbas was Justus, again very similar in sound to the shortened form Joses. Possibly 'Alfius' had been taken as a Greek name by his uncle St Joseph, and this is why he led to call the latter δῖναιος (i 19). But this seems too fanciful, though it might explain the derivation of the name to the whole family.

apostles into couples. Does Jn. give two pairs? If so, we might, with Mayor, identify 'His mother's sister' with Salome, mother of James and John and wife of Zebedee. This vague way of referring to his own mother would be exactly in keeping with the evangelist's cryptic references to himself.

Yet I think the preponderance of probability is very strongly in favour of the other view. The division into pairs which pertains to the literary style of Mt. and Lc. is as alien from the elaborately simple style of Jn. as it is from the almost colloquially simple style of Mc. Besides this, it is not even good style to divide less than six members into pairs; with four it has an exceedingly bad effect. Even Mt., who has been so rigorous in coupling the apostles, refuses to couple the four brethren of the Lord, but repeats the *καί* between all (xiii 55). There seems therefore no reason for refusing to read the sentence in the more obvious manner as giving three persons only.

But this is further confirmed by its fulfilment of our expectation that Jn. would explain the apparent difficulty in Mc. more completely. First, the statement that there were three distinct Marys present becomes more direct. Secondly, Jn. replies to the question 'If the brethren of the Lord were really sons of Clopas and Mary James', were they only metaphorically called His brethren, or were they near relations?' He seems to answer that they were first cousins.

Prof. Mayor replies: 'Where do we find two sisters with the same name?'¹ But what if they were sisters-in-law? Was Jn. likely to use any other expression, unless he wished to make his sentence more longer? The common and natural view is that Clopas was the brother of Joseph.² We know that it was usual to repeat the same name in

¹ Not that such a thing is impossible. I read in a recent work, *The Extinction of the Ancient Hierarchy*, by the Rev. G. E. Phillips, p. 145, with regard to Bishop White of Winchester, in the reign of Queen Mary: 'The bishop and the alderman, though brothers, both bore the Christian name of John.' For other instances the author refers to the editor of *Machyn's Diary* (Camden Soc.) p. 378, who however merely states that 'to this there are many parallels'. Those who believe John to be addressed to a lady called Electa, believe that she had a sister of the same name!

² But we still have to explain the origin of the misleading expression of Mk. which he took doubtless from the lips of Peter. 'His mother and his brethren' are put together so very frequently in all the evangelists (the passages need not be given over again here), that we infer a single household. Mayor is wrong in deducing this from the single verse, Jn. ii 12, for precisely in that verse the newly made disciples are added to the company, so that nothing is proved as to a special relation of the mother and the brethren. Yet the general impression from Mk. is decidedly that the brethren lived with the Blessed Virgin. But their own mother was certainly frequently with the party (cp. Lk. viii 1-3, where we see that the women followed Christ about in Galilee,—Mary of James was surely among the

the same family (Lc. i 61); now the father of Joseph was James (Mt. i 16, who is most accurate about Joseph), and his two eldest nephews are James and Joseph¹.

This view has the earliest patristic testimony in its favour. Hegesippus, in the second century, makes Symeon, second bishop of Jerusalem, the son of Clopas². He infers in the next sentence that Symeon was the son of the Lord's uncle (*θείος*), clearly meaning that 'Mary of Clopas' was the same as the sister of the Lord's mother. But not own sister, for Eusebius tells us that Hegesippus made Clopas the brother of Joseph³. Yet Prof. Mayor thinks Hegesippus is in favour of his own view!

On the other hand, it is not clear that Hegesippus looked upon either James or Symeon as apostles (Eusebius apparently did not), or that he even means to imply that they were brothers. Still, he seems to call James a cousin of the Lord: *καὶ μετὰ τὸ μαρτυρῆσαι Ἰάκωβον τὸν δίκαιον ὡς καὶ ὁ Κύριος ἐπὶ τῷ αὐτῷ λόγῳ, πάλιν ὁ ἐκ θείου αὐτοῦ Συμεὼν ὁ τοῦ Κλωπᾶ καθίσταται ἐπίσκοπος· ὃν προέθιντο πάντες,*

'many others' v. 3, as she was one of those who followed Him to Jerusalem, xxiv 49 and parallels). Do we not gather that after the death of Alphaeus Clopas, the widow with her children lived with her brother-in-law Joseph, who adopted, or practically adopted the sons and daughters? St Jerome has given examples (from which Mayor admits he cannot escape) of the use of 'brother' in the O.T. to mean cousin; but that such a usage was regularly observed in the case of 'the brethren of the Lord' seems inevitably to suggest that they had been brought up with Jesus in the house of Joseph. We do not know when Joseph had died, nor when Alphaeus had died. But Jesus was regularly looked upon as the son of Joseph, while the brethren are seldom called the sons of Alphaeus, whose memory may seem to have grown dim. We may even from this perhaps infer that he had died in their infancy, while the references to Joseph suggest that the recollection of him was quite recent. Again, the first two chapters of Mt. relate no visions of Elizabeth or of Mary, but the dreams of St Joseph, his actions, and the events in which he took part. We infer that it was not the Blessed Virgin who preserved the memory of them. Was it not probably James, his eldest adopted son? And is there not a real tradition behind the title *Protuevangeliū Iacobi*? And was not the importance of the 'brethren of the Lord' due more to their intimacy with Jesus than to their blood-relationship and Davidic descent?

¹ It is useless to speculate who the Cleopas who went to Emmaus may have been, but it is not unnatural to imagine that he was a fifth 'brother of the Lord', having his father's name. (It is of course possible that he was the father himself, and brother of St Joseph.) Zahn accepts as likely to be true tradition the name of 'Simon' for the other pedestrian, which Origen seems to have found in his text. It seems to me, on the contrary, quite certain that Origen simply read *λέγοντες* for *λέγοντας* in Lc. xxiv 34, with Codex Bezae. Dr Zahn has failed to realize how frequently D stands alone among existing Greek MSS in testifying to second-century Western readings; and it is obvious that Origen frequently used a Western text.

² Cp. Euseb. *H. E.* iii 32 and iv 22.

³ *Ib.* iii 11.

ὄντα ἀνεψιὸν τοῦ Κυρίου δεύτερον¹. We might render the last clause 'whom all appointed second [bishop] because he was the cousin of the Lord'. But it is more natural to translate: 'to whom all gave the presidency, being another cousin of the Lord.' For Hegesippus tells us that later the grandsons of Jude, after having been brought before Domitian (iii 19), ἔρχονται οὖν καὶ προηγούμενοι πάσης ἐκκλησίας ὡς μάρτυρες καὶ ἀπὸ γένους τοῦ Κυρίου (iii 32), and Jude he describes as ὁ κατὰ σάρκα λεγόμενος αὐτοῦ [τοῦ Σωτῆρος] ἀδελφός, i.e. not really His brother, and therefore His cousin.

More is related about the brethren of the Lord by Julius Africanus, and he is evidently using information gathered from Hegesippus, from whom we know that he borrowed on another occasion². But Hegesippus himself is clearly dependent on a written source, later than the Barchochebas war of 135. It is difficult to suggest a name for this authority. Ariston of Pella would hardly have recorded such matters in his dialogue, and we have no information as to any other writing of his. Possibly the source was Aramaic. It certainly gave a mythical history of the death of James³, but there must be some better tradition behind the accounts of the δεσπόσυνοι and their ancestors, for this brings us to a later period near Hegesippus's own time.

Now the important matter is what this source handed down, not whether Hegesippus made all the inferences he might have made. Now his facts are the following: 1. James, the brother of the Lord, was first bishop of Jerusalem. Perhaps he was implied to be a cousin of the Lord, as we saw. 2. Simeon, the second bishop, was a cousin of the

¹ Euseb. *H. E.* iv 22.

² *Ib.* i 7 (Letter of Africanus to Aristides). The harmonizing of the two Gospel genealogies is clearly Africanus's own work, and he used a mutilated form of Lc.'s list, which omitted Levi and Matthat, as did Irenaeus, Eusebius and Ambrose. (As these three writers used a Western text, we infer that Africanus also used a Western text.) The second part of the letter, about the δεσπόσυνοι or 'relations of the Lord' corresponds exactly with Hegesippus's statement that these relatives were made heads of churches. It is certain that Africanus calculated his dates for the Roman bishops from the years of reign given in the list of Hegesippus, the discrepancies being due to the incorrectness of Africanus's imperial chronology (as I shewed in *Revue Bénédict.*, Jan. 1902). I note that R. Knopf, in his recent work *Das nachapostolische Zeitalter*, p. 27, suggests that perhaps all or most of the Judaeo-Christian bishops of Jerusalem were δεσπόσυνοι. That some of them were so is certainly probable. The successor of Symeon is Justus—probably one of the same family. Among the twelve remaining names we find another Justus, a Joseph and a Jude (Euseb. iv 5). Though Lightfoot pointed out that there were once a larger number of Popes in a shorter space of time than is the case with these bishops, I cannot but agree with Harnack, Turner, Knopf, and most others, that this is not a list of successive 'monarchical' bishops. The list was doubtless borrowed by Eusebius from Hegesippus.

³ *Ib.* ii 23.

Lord, and son of Clopas, uncle of the Lord. 3. Clopas was brother of St Joseph. 4. Jude, who had grandsons in Domitian's time, was called the brother of the Lord, and was really of His race. We must now make the inferences which Hegesippus, so far as he is preserved by Eusebius, does not seem to have made.

1. James and Jude are evidently identified with the brethren of the Lord (James and Joseph and Judas and Simon), and James in particular with the eminent personage in Acts and Paul. 2. Clopas is uncle of the Lord, the husband of Mary (John xix 25) and father of James and Joseph (Mk. and Mt.). 3. Simeon (or Simon), who is son of Clopas, is therefore the brother of James and Joseph. 4. We have, therefore, three of the four names as sons of Mary and Clopas, while we have separately James and Jude as two of the brothers.

We consequently infer with safety that Hegesippus's source made James and Jude, as well as Simeon, sons of Clopas and cousins of the Lord.

Were they represented as apostles? Note that the three mentioned are precisely those whom we have concluded to be apostles, Joseph being unmentioned in the quotations from Hegesippus. This does not prove, but it at least suggests, that they were indeed the three apostles, for otherwise the omission of Joseph is an extremely remarkable coincidence. Thus we have gained for our elaborately argued deductions from the New Testament the confirmation of Palestinian tradition in the middle of the second century¹.

J. CHAPMAN.

¹ I see no reason for examining later tradition on this point, as the Fathers are well known to be divided. Origen followed the Gospel of Peter and the Protev. of James in making the 'brethren' sons of Joseph by a former wife; Clem. Al. had held the same view, *Adumbr. in Iud.* ed. Zahn *Forsch.* iii p. 83 (see his note pp. 95-96). Most Greek Fathers naturally followed Origen, as the Latins followed St Jerome.

As to the other point, the perpetual Virginity, Prof. Mayor is obviously wrong in denying that it can claim continuous tradition. Besides Helvidius, Jovinian and Bonosus, he has only Tertullian to cite, whose many singular and absurd views are notorious (and his meaning is not beyond all doubt). But, says Prof. Mayor, 'Origen . . . does not claim any authority for his own view, but only argues that it is admissible' (*Comm. in Mt.* xii 55). He repeats his view *Hom. 7 in Luc.*, and *Frag.* in Joh. ii 11, No. xxxi (ed. Preuschen, p. 506; Corder, p. 75), while in *Tom. i in Joh. 4* (6) (Preuschen, p. 8) he has: *εἰ γὰρ οὐδεὶς υἱὸς Μαρίας κατὰ τοὺς ἑγώων περὶ αὐτῆς δοξάζοντας ἢ Ἰησοῦς καὶ*, where *ἑγώων* must mean 'orthodoxly'. Again Prof. Mayor writes: 'Even Basil the Great . . . still holds the belief in the Virginity, not as a necessary article of faith, but merely as a pious opinion.' Here the carelessness is outrageous. The author of the passage he cites (*Hom. in s. Christi generationem*, ii. p. 600, ed. Garner, who is not Basil at all, declares that Mary's virginity *post partum* was not necessary to the truth of the Incarnation (since it was subsequent)—a very obvious statement—but that the denial of it

ST GREGORY OF NYSSA ON THE SINLESSNESS OF CHRIST.

AMONG the problems which were bequeathed to the Church by the Apollinarian controversy was the question 'How far was it possible for Christ to be completely man and yet be without sin?' Ὁπου τελείος ἄνθρωπος, ἐκεί καὶ ἁμαρτία was an axiom of Apollinarian teaching ('Ath. adv. Apoll. i 2). Human nature was so deeply tainted with sin through long habit and transmission, that had Christ assumed human nature, as we know it, He could not have been free from sin (ib. ii 8). The Apollinarians further insisted that this tendency to sin was to be found in the rational human soul, which is the seat of free-will. It is the thinking faculty which plans evil deeds, using the body as its instrument (ib. i 2). And the solution which they found of the problem was the theory that in Christ the Logos took the place of the mutable human soul.

How did the Church teachers, who rejected the theories of Apollinarius, deal with the problem which he left behind him? The question has been discussed in a note by Mr Bethune-Baker in his *Early History of Christian Doctrine* (pp. 250 f). He propounds the views of two Church teachers, (1) that of the unknown author Ps.-Athanasius adv. Apoll.; (2) that of Gregory of Nyssa. It is with the views of the latter that we are here concerned.

The problem which is stated so tersely by the author of Ps.-Athanasius adv. Apoll. is not actually dealt with in so many words by Gregory of Nyssa in either of his two works, the *Antirrheticus* or *Ep. ad Theophilum*. We are compelled therefore to gather our information from incidental references scattered up and down these other writings. The difficulty is increased by the obscurity of much of Gregory's language, and his habit of dealing with a subject in a few allusive phrases. The two most important points for our purpose in his presentation are: (1) his emphatic assertion of the reality and completeness of our Lord's human nature; (2) his assertion of the completeness of the union of the divine and human natures in Christ. It is in connexion with these two points that the chief passages which are important for the discussion of the question before us were written.

The chief value of the *Antirrheticus* adv. Apollinarem is its full and complete statement of the doctrine of the Incarnation. It is a thing 'to which the ears of Christ-lovers refuse to listen', i.e. impious. Jerome at once hailed Helvidius as a heretic, as his friend Epiphanius did the 'Antidicomarianitae' of Arabia. The *et Maria Virgine* of the creed surely uses *Virgo* as an epithet ever due, and does not merely mean 'from Mary as yet Virgin'. The explicit *ἀειμήνη* was used at Ephesus and Chalcedon, and the doctrine was at length defined under anathema by the Lateran Council of 649. There is no indication of the opposite view ever having been tolerated in the Church at any time.

ear presentation of those points in the Gospel portrait of Christ which exhibit him as truly man. Gregory refers to the indications of a human will, human ignorance, growth in knowledge, submission to temptation, shrinking from death, and the sense of dereliction, as showing that Christ underwent a true human development and shared

the natural feelings of humanity (see *Antirr.* 11, 14, 24, 32). Especially important is the language (*Antirr.* 32) in which Gregory speaks of the contrast between the two wills, one of which shrank from death through human weakness, and the other endured it. Further than this, Gregory uses language which has been thought to represent the human nature assumed by Christ as fallen or sinful human nature. The passages are as follows:—

(a) *Antirr.* c. 26, where Gregory says that God 'with a view to the destruction of sin, was blended with human nature, like a Sun it were making His dwelling in a murky cave and by His presence dissipating the darkness by means of His light. For though He took in filth upon Himself, yet He is not Himself defiled by the pollution: but in His own self He purifies the filth'. Then follows quotation of John i 5.

This passage is not decisive. For with the assertion that God took in Him 'our filth' there is coupled the assertion that 'He is not himself defiled with the pollution: but in His own self He purifies the filth'. When this purification was effected, whether at the moment of conception, or by the practice of a life of virtue, the passage does not say.

(b) *Antirr.* c. 53. 'In His great long-suffering He endured not to be repelled from communion with Himself our nature fallen though it is as the result of sin, but to receive it to Himself again.' Here, too, however, we find in the context an assertion which implies that the human nature, when once assumed, did not continue in its fallen state. For Gregory says in the latter part of the same chapter 'that which He Himself was He made the man whom He had blended (τὸν ἀκραθῆντα) with Himself to be', and in what follows he expounds the idea of a transformation of the human nature by the divine.

(c) *Antirr.* c. 23, where he expounds the text 'He became sin for us' as meaning 'that He united with Himself the sinful soul of man'.

(d) *De Vita Moysis* (Migne xlv 336), where Gregory says 'But the word of the Apostle testifies that He became sin for us, Who clothed Himself in our sinful nature'.

Not one of the above passages explicitly states that the human nature assumed by Christ retained, subsequent to the conception of the Virgin, any of the disease or sinful promptings of fallen humanity. All are compatible with the view that he is speaking of the condition of human nature prior to the moment when it was assumed by Christ. Nor

have I been able to find a single passage in Gregory's writings which clearly states that he regarded the humanity assumed by Christ as subject, subsequent to His birth, to the consequences of the Fall. Perhaps the nearest approach to such a passage is his treatment of the scene in Gethsemane (*Antirr.* 32). He recognizes the existence of two wills. But the most that he will say of the human will which shrank from suffering is that it exhibited human weakness, and the conclusion which he draws from the narrative is expressed in the words δεικνύς ὅτι ἀληθὲς ἦν περὶ αὐτὸν τὸ ἡμέτερον, ἐκ τῆς τῶν παθημάτων κοινωνίας τὴν φύσιν πιστούμενος. He speaks again of Christ as ὁ τὰ ἡμέτερα πάθη οἰκειωσάμενος, but there is no word of anything further. The shrinking from death constituted a temptation, but there is no indication that this was due to the fallen condition of Christ's nature. The most that Gregory will say of it is that it was a result of human weakness (see further below).

On the other hand Gregory affirms in one passage of the *Antirrheticus* that Christ was sinless in both body and soul. Hence it was possible for the Deity to unite itself with each. And this union was a continuous union. 'For there is nothing which separates from contact with God except sin' (*Antirr.* 54). In the same chapter, after expounding the Virgin-birth and declaring that Christ took from the Virgin the substance of His humanity, he speaks of Him as 'the truly new man, the first and the only One who exhibited in Himself such a manner of birth'. This passage is not absolutely decisive, but Gregory's argument that the absence of sin from the body and soul of Christ made it possible for the Deity to be present in each, accords better with the supposition that he is thinking of inborn, as well as actual sin, than with the idea that he refers to the latter alone. That Gregory recognized such inborn sin is shown by his other writings (see e. g. in *Psalmos* p. 609, Migne).

In three other works written within a few years probably of the *Antirrheticus* Gregory asserts with unmistakable clearness the freedom of Christ's humanity from any sinful propensities.

(1) In the *Contra Eunomium* Bk. vi (Migne xlv 721) he draws a distinction between the natural πάθη of human nature and the sinful πάθη of fallen humanity. The word πάθος he maintains is used in two senses. 'We give the name πάθος in the proper sense only to that which is opposed to the virtuous passionless state, and of this it is our belief that He who bestows salvation upon us continued throughout devoid, when He partook of our nature Who was "in all points tempted like as we are, yet without sin". Accordingly of that which is truly passion (πάθος), which is a disease of will, He did not partake. For Scripture says "He did no sin, neither was guile found

in His mouth". But of the characteristic features of our nature, which by a kind of custom and abuse are called by the same name "passions" (πάθη), of these we confess that the Lord did partake, of birth, nourishment, growth, . . . the feeling of pain, dread of death¹, and such like.'

(2) Very similar is his language in the *Oratio Catechetica* c. 16, where he denies that πάθος in the sense of τὸ προαιρέσεως ἀπτόμενον καὶ πρὸς κακίαν ἀπὸ ἀρετῆς μεταστρέφον can be attributed to Christ. Christ was free from 'ἡ πρὸς κακίαν τῶν ζώντων ὁρμή, which is an ailment (ἀρρώστημα) of our nature'. At the same time he affirms that Christ passed through all the stages of human nature. Similarly in c. 28 of the same treatise he declares that a human birth was no dishonour to Deity, for it involved no participation in evil. The Divine is separate from evil only, φύσις δὲ κακία οὐκ ἔστι. Significant too is his remark in c. 27 that 'when human life had been defiled by sin in its beginning and end and in all that intervenes between, it was necessary that the cleansing power should pass through all, and should not heal one part by its purification and leave the other unhealed'. Hence Gregory argues that a human birth was necessary. This passage seems to indicate that the work of cleansing human nature began with the birth.

(3) In the *Epistle to Eustathia*, written probably a few years before the *Oratio Catechetica*, Gregory affirms quite clearly that the freedom from sinful tendencies dated from the very moment of the conception. 'For this reason Scripture records unabashed concerning Him all the characteristics of our nature, eating, drinking, sleep, weariness, aurture, increase in bodily stature, growth,—all that characterizes human nature, except the sinful tendency (τῆς καθ' ἁμαρτίαν ὁρμῆς). For sin is a miscarriage, not a property of human nature. . . . Therefore He who transformed (μεταστροχιώσας) our nature into His divine power, preserved it in Himself secure from disability (ἀπηρον) and disease, not admitting in Himself the disability (πήρωσιν) arising from sin in the will. . . . And this in Him we regard not in connexion with any interval of time, but immediately the man in Mary, in whom wisdom built her own house, . . . along with the coming upon her of the Holy Ghost, and the overshadowing of the power of the Most High, became what that overshadowing power in its own nature was' (*Ep. ad Eustath.* Migne 1020, 1021).

There are, so far as I have been able to discover, no passages in Gregory's writings which are equally explicit in affirming the continuance of any sinful taint in the human nature assumed by Christ.

¹ This expression (δειλίαν πρὸς θάνατον) throws light upon Gregory's meaning in the passage quoted above (*Antirr.* 32) about the temptation of Christ in Gethsemane. The human weakness (or πάθος) was a source of temptation, but it was not in itself a sinful πάθος.

The passages which have been already quoted in favour of the latter supposition are, as we have seen, inconclusive, and may be interpreted in a way which does not expose Gregory to the charge of exhibiting two inconsistent lines of thought upon the subject. Christ assumed our sinful human nature, but from the very moment of its assumption the union of the divine nature with it cleansed it from its sinful propensities. Gregory's teaching in fact appears to accord with that contained in the statement of the Council of Ancyra in 358 (Epiphanius, *Haer.* lxxiii 8, 9). Christ shared all the *πάθη* of human nature which are the occasion of sin, but He did not as the result of them experience any sinful movement¹.

We may now briefly summarize the results of this discussion.

(1) When Gregory speaks of Christ as 'clothing Himself with our sinful human nature', or as 'taking upon Himself our filth' (cf. *Or. Cat.* 14 τῷ λύθρῳ τῆς ἀνθρωπίνης φύσεως καταμίγνυται), he is most probably thinking of the condition of human nature previous to the moment when He assumed it from the substance of the Virgin.

(2) There appear to be no passages in which Gregory explicitly teaches that subsequent to the conception of the Virgin the human nature taken from her retained its propensity to sin, while, on the other hand, there are clear indications in Gregory's other doctrinal writings that he regarded the nature so taken as preserved from sinful taint.

(3) The language of the *Epistle to Eustathia*, which speaks of a 'transformation' (μεταστοιχείωσις) of the human nature into the divine power, taken in conjunction with the assertion in the same context of the freedom of Christ's humanity from the disability and disease of sin, seems to shew that Gregory regarded the freedom of Christ from sinful *πάθη* to be due to the union with the divine nature, which at the very moment of conception cleansed the human nature united with it.

Two further questions arise out of Gregory's treatment of the matter:

I. Does his denial of the existence of any sinful taint in the humanity of Christ destroy the reality of Christ's assumption of a nature like ours?

Gregory's language enables us to see how he would have dealt with this objection.

(a) Christ's humanity is 'consubstantial' with ours because it was assumed from the substance of the Virgin. Again and again he maintains this position, while accusing the Apollinarians of teaching docetism (see *Antirr.* 23, 25, 32, 33).

(b) Sin is no true part of human nature, any more than disease is.

¹ The words of the statement of the Council of Ancyra are as follows: ὁμοιάματι σαρκὸς ἀμαρτίας γενόμενον γενέσθαι μὲν ἐν τοῖς πάθεσι τοῖς αἰτίοις τῆς ἐν σαρκὶ ἀμαρτίας, πείνης φαρμὰ καὶ δίψης καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν, μὴ γενέσθαι δὲ ἐν ταύτῳ τῆς σαρκὸς ἀμαρτίας . . . ὑπομένων δὲ τὰ σαρκὸς προειρημένα πάθη οὐκ ἐξ αὐτῶν ἀμαρτητικῶς ἐκινεῖτο.

Both are unnatural accretions (*Ep. ad Eustathiam* pp. 1020, 1021, Migne). Christ is really man, even though free from the disease of sin.

(c) If it had been contended that the absence of any taint of sin from the humanity of Christ destroys the force of His example, Gregory's answer would probably have been as follows: (1) The possibility of temptation in the case of Christ still remained, even though in Him there was no taint of inherited sin. For the existence in Him of real human *πάθη* was an occasion of such temptation; e.g. the shrinking from death in Gethsemane. In Christ's prayer 'Not My will, but Thine be done' there is a reference on the one hand to the human will, which shrank from suffering, and, on the other hand, to the will of the Father, which is also the will of the Son, because of the community of nature between them. It was this latter which enabled Christ to endure the Passion (*Antirr.* 32, see above). This presentation shews at any rate that Gregory acknowledged the reality and force of temptation in the humanity of Christ¹. (2) The benefits of the union effected by the Incarnation between the divine and the human natures in the case of Christ extend to all humanity. Christ 'infused Himself into our perishable nature, that by communion with Deity mankind might at the same time be deified' (*Or. Cat.* 37). By reason of the continuity and unity of the race the whole of mankind shares in the redemptive acts of Christ, just as the whole body shares in the sensation of one of its members (*ib.* 32). Thus he regards the Sacraments as 'an extension' of the Incarnation (*ib.* 37).

¹ It is interesting to compare Gregory's treatment with that of the foremost of the Antiochene teachers, Theodore of Mopsuestia. Theodore maintained the sinlessness of Christ, but as he rejected all idea of inherited sin, this meant for him that Christ was preserved from all actual sin by His inseparable union with the Logos from the moment of conception. Theodore's conception of human nature, moreover, led him to approach the problem which has been discussed in this article from a different standpoint from that of Gregory, though they both agree in asserting the reality of Christ's example. (1) Theodore has a truer conception of freedom than Gregory. Freedom cannot be ready-made, therefore Christ's human nature must exhibit a real moral development. (2) Human nature in its original state is subject to passion and liable to change. Hence the human nature assumed by Christ was subject to the moral struggle between the higher and the lower impulses as well as to the suggestions of Satan. But as a result of His inseparable union with the Word and His unction by the Holy Spirit, Christ exhibited a hatred of evil which surpassed that of other men, and enabled Him to pass from stage to stage of virtue and overcome the inconstancy of mutable human nature (see fragments in Migne *P. G.* lxi pp. 720, 977, 992, 994 f). The difference between Theodore's presentation and that of Gregory is the fundamental difference between their conceptions of sin. Theodore is an 'evolutionist'. Gregory approaches to the Augustinian doctrine of original sin. But in spite of this difference both agree in recognizing that the natural weaknesses (*πάθη*) of man, apart from sin, expose him to the possibility of temptation.

II. A second question which arises out of Gregory's treatment ^{is} 'How does his representation of the reality and completeness of Christ's humanity accord with the almost Eutychian tendency of his thought, which leads him to teach a transformation of the human nature into the divine?' This latter tendency is very pronounced in Gregory's doctrinal treatises, and nowhere is it more so than in the *Antirrheticus*, where it is found side by side with language which asserts the reality of Christ's human experiences. It is in fact a characteristic feature of Gregory's teaching on the Incarnation that he emphasizes the exaltation of human nature by reason of its union with the divine nature. (For passages in which he asserts the transformation of human nature see *Antirrh.* cc. 25, 42, 53, 55; *Ep. ad Theophilum* p. 1276 (Migne); *c. Eunom.* v, pp. 697, 706, 708 (Migne); *Ep. ad Eustathiam* p. 1021 (Migne).)

He speaks not only of the flesh, but of the human nature, as being absorbed in the divine nature, like a drop of vinegar in the ocean, and as no longer retaining its own properties. In *Antirrh.* 42, 53, 57 he is referring to the condition of Christ's glorified body after the Ascension, but in one of these passages (*Antirrh.* 53) as also in *c. Eunomium* Bk. vi, p. 697 he goes so far as to declare that after the Ascension Christ is no longer man, but God. In the *Ep. ad Theophilum*, he speaks of the human nature in the same terms. In the last of these passages he is dealing with the difficult question of the unity of the Person of Christ, which was forced upon him by the charge of teaching two Christs. He attempts to solve it by maintaining that the unity of the two natures was only finally completed when the work of redemption was over and the human nature had become absorbed in the divine.

It will be seen that the point of time to which Gregory refers this complete transformation of the human nature of Christ is the Ascension. His presentation does not really conflict with his view of the natural human development of Christ from infancy to the Cross. Although Gregory does say that 'immediately the man in Mary . . . along with the coming upon her of the Holy Ghost, and the overshadowing of the power of the Most High, became what that overshadowing Power in its own nature was' (*Ep. ad Eustath.* 1021), he does not teach in that passage any such complete transformation as is implied in the passages quoted above. His purpose, as the context shews, is to explain how it was that Christ's human nature was free from the disability arising from sin.

Gregory's Christology is in many respects crude and tentative, and differs widely from that which subsequently prevailed in the Church. As has been said above, his dominant conception of the Incarnation

is the exaltation of human nature by union with the divine. But there is no reason to suspect him of a docetic view of our Lord's humanity, or to doubt the sincerity with which he emphasized the Gospel portrait of Christ, and maintained the reality of His human development, and His participation in the experiences of human nature.

This is perhaps his most valuable contribution to the Christology of the Church, and it marks a point of contact between him and another great teacher of the Eastern Church, Theodore of Mopsuestia.

J. H. SRAWLEY.

THE 'NICENE' CREED IN THE SYRIAC PSALTER.

MSS quoted :—

- C = Brit. Mus. Add. 17110 (supplementary hand of Cent. ix or x).
 D = " " " 14436 (Cent. viii or ix).
 E = " " " 17109 (873-4 A.D.) (E^{ms} Cent. xii?).
 F = Florence Laurent. Orient. 58 (Cent. ix, probably).
 J = Brit. Mus. Add. 14433 (Cent. x).
 Q = " " " 17125 (Cent. ix or x).
 α = " " " 17112 (Cent. x or xi).
 δ = " " " 17268 (Cent. xii).
 ε = " " " 26552 (Cent. xiv).
 g = Camb. Univ. Gg. 6. 30 (probably Cent. xvi).
 L = Brit. Mus. Add. 17219 (Nestorian of Cent. xiii).
 m = Camb. Univ. Oo. 1. 22 (Nestorian of Cent. xvi or xvii).
 c = " " " Add. 1966 (Chaldean, 1826 A.D.).

The Syriac Psalter contains, besides the Psalms, certain Canticles and 'the Creed'. This is usually true, whether the MSS are early or late, Nestorian or Jacobite; if the MS is complete, the Creed will hardly ever be absent. Further, this Creed is attributed in the majority of MSS, in headings of varying form, to the Nicene Council. But a single glance suffices to shew that this attribution is a mistake. In the first place the text given in the Jacobite authorities differs from that given in the Nestorian, and both cannot be Nicene. Secondly, both are found on comparison to differ from the 'enlarged Nicene', and still more from the original Creed of the 318. Thirdly, there is reason for supposing that the earlier headings of the Jacobite and the Nestorian forms were respectively, 'The Faith of the Holy Fathers', and 'The Faith of the Church', and that the reference to the Nicene Council was introduced at a later time.

The two forms of the Psalter-Creed are plainly worthy of study, both in relation to one another and in relation to the history of the Creed in the Eastern Church. They are accordingly printed here in parallel columns with their various readings.

| NESTORIAN (CHALDEAN) FORM | | JACOBITE FORM | |
|--|--|---|---|
| [L c m] | | [C D E F J Q g a ð e] | |
| The Faith | The right Faith m
<i>Pr</i> Another [Song] c
of the Mysteries | The Faith
(ܐܡܢܐ) | <i>Omit</i> The Faith
F g
The Confessi
(ܐܡܢܐ)
The Homolog
(ܐܡܢܐ), i
The Confessi
(ܐܡܢܐ)
<i>Add</i> True and O
thodox |
| of the Church | <i>Omit</i> of the Church c | of the Holy Fa-
thers. CE ^a vid | |
| which was made
(ܐܡܢܐ) | which was set forth
(ܐܡܢܐ) m | | of the 318 Holy
thers D F |
| by the 318 Fathers | by our Fathers the
318 bishops m
<i>Add</i> the bishops c | | [g e omit F
<i>Add</i> who w
gathered toget
in Nicæa
<i>Add</i> in the days
Constantine t
victorious king. |
| who were gathered
together in Nicæa
the City. | <i>Add</i> of Bithynia
in the time of Con-
stantine the vic-
torious king. And
the cause of their
assembling was on
account of Arius
the wicked and
accursed. c
<i>Add</i> And it is said
at the time of the
Mysteries. And it
was appointed to
be said at this time
by Joseph ¹ who
was deposed from
the Patriarchate. m | | |
| We believe
in one God
the Father the All-
ruler | | We believe
in one God
the Father the All-
ruler (ܐܡܢܐ) | I believe
in one true God |
| the Maker | (Cf. Cassian, <i>crea-
torem omnium visi-
bilibum et invisibi-
lium creaturarum</i>) | the Maker
of Heaven and
Earth and
of all things visible
and invisible | |
| of all things visible
and invisible | | | |
| And in one Lord
Jesus Christ | | And in one Lord
Jesus Christ
the only-begotten
(ܐܡܢܐ) | |

¹ The name is partly erased.

| SYRIAC (CHALDEAN) FORM | JACOBITE FORM |
|------------------------|-----------------------|
| [L c m] | [C D E F J Q g a d e] |
| ⲁ) of God | the Son (ⲛⲁ) of God |
| -begotten
rn of all | |
| (ⲉⲃⲉⲛⲉ) | |
| (his Father | |
| en | Who of the Father |
| worlds | was begotten |
| t made | before all worlds |
| OF VERY | Light of Light |
| OF THE NA- | Very God of Very |
| S FATHER | God |
| | begotten and not |
| | made |
| | the Son of the na- |
| | ture of His Father |
| | (ⲛⲁ ⲛⲁⲛⲉ) (ⲛⲁⲛⲉ) |
| | |
| | |
| E HANDS | by whose hand |
| (ⲉ) | (ⲛⲁⲛⲉ) |
| LDS WERE | everything was |
| | (ⲛⲁ ⲛⲁⲛⲉ) |
| EVERYTHING | |
| (ⲉ) WAS | |
| | |
| s men and | Who for us men and |
| ation | for our salvation |
| WN from | came down from |
| carnate of | heaven |
| | and was incarnate |
| f Holiness | (ⲛⲁⲛⲉ) of |
| | the Spirit of Holi- |
| | ness (ⲛⲁⲛⲉ ⲛⲁⲛⲉ) |
| | and of Mary the |
| | Virgin |
| | |
| | |
| | |
| | |
| | |
| | |
| : man | and became man |
| | (ⲛⲁⲛⲉ ⲛⲁⲛⲉ) |
| conceived | |
| BORN OF | |
| VIRGIN | |
| | |
| | |
| | |
| | |
| | |
| | |
| | |
| | |

(Cf. Cassian, *primogenitum totius creaturæ*)

(Greek, *ἐγένετο*)

(Greek, *τῆς δόξης τῆς [ἀει]παρθένου*)

was begotten *after* worlds F

[and] equal in *ousia* to His Father g d e
[and] equal in the *ousia* of His Father
(ⲛⲁⲛⲉ ⲛⲁⲛⲉ) E = a

ⲛⲁⲛⲉ (for ⲛⲁⲛⲉ) g

From our salva-
tion a is defective

the Holy Spirit
(ⲛⲁⲛⲉ ⲛⲁⲛⲉ) d[e]
Add the Mother of
God g e
Add 'So preached
Theophilus, Atha-
nasius, and the
Holy Mar Severus'
(ⲛⲁⲛⲉ ⲛⲁⲛⲉ)
ⲛⲁⲛⲉ ⲛⲁⲛⲉ
ⲛⲁⲛⲉ ⲛⲁⲛⲉ
(ⲛⲁⲛⲉ ⲛⲁⲛⲉ) e

| NESTORIAN (CHALDEAN) FORM | | JACOBITE FORM | |
|---------------------------|-----------------------------|----------------------|-------------------|
| [L c m] | | [C D E F J Q g d e] | |
| and suffered AND WAS | | and was crucified | |
| CRUCIFIED (ܡܕܝܢܐ) | | (ܡܕܝܢܐ) | |
| IN THE DAYS OF PON- | (Greek, ἐν ἡμέραις Πιλάτου) | for us (ܡܕܝܢܐ) | ܡܕܝܢܐ F |
| TIUS PILATE | Πιλάτου) | in the days of Pon- | |
| and was buried | Pr. and died c | tius Pilate | |
| | | and suffered and | Omit and died D |
| and rose the third day | | died and was buried | |
| | | and rose the third | |
| according as it is | (Cassian, <i>secun-</i> | day | |
| written | <i>dum scripturas</i>) | according as it is | according as H |
| and ascended to | | written | willed (ܡܕܝܢܐ) |
| Heaven | (Cassian omit) | and ascended to | |
| and sat on the right | | Heaven | |
| hand of His Father | (Cassian, <i>et iterum</i> | and sat on the right | |
| and again He is | <i>veniet</i>) | hand of His Father | |
| about to come | | and again He com- | |
| (ܡܕܝܢܐ) | | eth | |
| | | in His glory C F J | in Glory D E |
| to judge the dead and | (Cassian, <i>indicare</i> | | non |
| the quick | <i>vivos et mortuos.</i> | to judge the quick | |
| | Et reliqua) | and the dead | |
| | | Whose kingdom | |
| And in one Spirit of | | hath no end | |
| Holiness | | And in one Spirit | And in one Ho |
| the Spirit of Truth | | of Holiness | Spirit g |
| | | Who is Lord, | |
| | | Quickener of All | |
| | | (ܡܕܝܢܐ) | |
| Who from the Father | Add and the Son | Whofrom the Father | |
| proceedeth | m tng man rec c | proceedeth | |
| | | and with the Father | |
| | | and with the Son | |
| | | is worshipped and | |
| | | glorified | |
| the Spirit which | the Spirit the | | |
| quickeneth us | Quickener m c | | |
| (ܡܕܝܢܐ) | | Who spake by the | |
| | | Prophets and by | |
| | | the Apostles | |
| [And] in one Church | | And in one Church | Add Holy D |
| Holy and | | | |
| Apostolic Catholic | | Apostolic Catholic | Catholic Aposto |
| | | (ܡܕܝܢܐ) | D |
| | | | Add and Glorie |
| We confess | | | (ܡܕܝܢܐ) C |
| | | We confess | (D is defect |
| one (ܡܕܝܢܐ) baptism | | one (ܡܕܝܢܐ) baptism | from this point) |
| | | | that baptism is o |

| NESTORIAN (CHALDEAN) FORM | JACOBITE FORM |
|---|---|
| [L c m
unto remission of sins
and the resurrection
(ܠܚܝܬܐ) of our
bodies
and the life (ܚܝܬܐ)
which is for ever. | [C E F J Q g δ ε
unto remission of
sins
and we look for
the resurrection
of the dead (ܩܝܡܬܐ) from the dead (ܩܝܡܬܐ)
and for the new life C Q
of the world in the world
(ܠܠܝܡܐ) to come. (ܠܠܝܡܐ) g δ ε
Amen. |

The Nestorian Form was published in Syriac by Caspari in his *Quellen* i 113 ff (Christiania 1866) under the title *Das Taufbekenntniss der Nestorianer* from a Munich MS of the Psalter, 'Orient. 147'. The heading of the Creed in Caspari's MS runs: 'The Faith of the 318 Fathers the Bishops, who were assembled in Nicaea the city of Bithynia, in the time of Constantine the victorious king. The cause of their assembling was on account of Arius the wicked.'

The same Form (without any heading) appears as the liturgical Creed in the Nestorian *Liturgia Sanctorum Apostolorum Adaei et Maris*, published at Urmi in 1890 by the Missionaries of the Archbishop of Canterbury. The only variation worthy of mention is the fuller ending in the Urmi edition, *for ever and ever. Amen*. The Psalters give only, *for ever*. A translation into English is given in F. E. Brightman's *Liturgies* pp. 270-271. Cf. Hort *Two Dissertations* pp. 128 ff; Kattenbusch *Apost. Symbol* i 246-247.

Now since this Creed is neither the original nor the 'enlarged' Nicene, what is it? Caspari (*ibid.* pp. 125 ff) has compared the Nestorian Creed with the Antiochene, and shewn that the former contains Antiochene elements. The likeness is certainly striking; the portion of the Nestorian Creed printed above in small capitals corresponds as to order and contents and wording with the surviving Greek fragment of the Antiochene Creed, and several other clauses correspond with the Latin translation of the same Creed given by John Cassian in his work against Nestorius (Hahn *Bibliothek der Symbole* 141-143 3rd ed.). The Creed of the Nestorian Psalter, unlike that of the Jacobite Psalter, has very few points of likeness with the 'enlarged' Nicene¹.

¹ The Syriac version of the 'enlarged' Nicene was published by B. H. Cowper in 1857 from Brit. Mus. Add. 14528 (501 A. D.), and by Caspari in 1866 from Brit. Mus. Add. 12156 (562 A. D.). Cowper's MS omits the clause *Light of Light* and also the words *from heaven after came down*. The two MSS also use different synonyms in rendering *συνκαθίστα*.

The following table of difference illustrates the relative isolation of the Nestorian Form.

TABLE I.

| Text of the 'enlarged' Nicene and of the Jacobite Psalter. | Text of the Nestorian Psalter. |
|--|---|
| 1. Maker [of heaven and earth] | <i>omit bracketed words</i> |
| 2. Only-begotten <i>without addition</i> | <i>add</i> the first-born of all creature (Col. i 15, Pesh. <i>not</i> Harkl.) |
| 3. Light of Light | <i>omit</i> |
| 4. by whose hand everything was (John i 3, Pesh.) | by whose hands the worlds were prepared (<i>cf.</i> Heb. xi 3, Pesh. and every thing was created |
| 5. incarnate of the Spirit of Holiness [and of Mary the Virgin] | <i>omit bracketed words in this place</i> |
| 6. <i>No clause</i> | and was conceived (ܐܠܠܗܐ, Luk ii 21, Pesh.), and was born of Mary the Virgin |
| 7. was crucified, ܐܠܗܐ, the term always used in the Harkl. | was crucified ܐܠܗܐ, the term which preponderates in the Pesh. and in Syr ^{sin} Pr suffered and |
| 8. and again He cometh in glory (<i>v. l.</i> in His glory) to judge the quick and the dead | and again He is about to come to judge the dead and the quick |
| 9. Whose kingdom hath no end | <i>omit</i> |
| 10. The Spirit of Holiness <i>without addition</i> | <i>add</i> the Spirit of Truth (John x 26, Pesh. Harkl. and Syr ^{sin}) |
| 11. who (and) with the Father and [with] the Son is worshipped and glorified | <i>omit</i> |
| 12. The resurrection of (from) the dead | the resurrection of our bodies |
| 13. The [new] life of the world to come. | the life for ever (John iii 16, Pesh.) |

But side by side with these variations between the two Forms of Creed preserved in the Syriac Psalter, there are a few striking points of agreement between the two Psalter texts against the text of the 'enlarged' Nicene.

TABLE II.

| 'Enlarged' Nicene. | Psalter, Jacobite and Nestorian. |
|--|---|
| 1. Son of the being (ܐܠܗܐ) of the Father | Son of the nature (ܐܠܗܐ) of His Father. |

¹ Cf. Heb. i 3 ܐܠܗܐ [ܐܠܗܐ] (Pesh.), τῆς ὑποστάσεως αὐτοῦ.

- | | |
|--|--|
| 2. and was made man (ܐܠܗܐ ܕܡܢ ܥܡܪܐ) | and became man (ܐܠܗܐ ܕܡܢ ܥܡܪܐ) |
| 3. as the Scriptures say (ܡܝ ܕܡܬܬܝܒ ܕܡܬܬܝܒ ܕܡܬܬܝܒ) | as it is written (ܡܝ ܕܡܬܬܝܒ ܕܡܬܬܝܒ ܕܡܬܬܝܒ) |
| 4. The Holy Spirit (ܡܝ ܕܡܬܬܝܒ ܕܡܬܬܝܒ) | One Spirit of Holiness (ܡܝ ܕܡܬܬܝܒ ܕܡܬܬܝܒ) |

The agreement of the Jacobite and Nestorian Forms in the first two points is all the more striking, since neither ܡܠܐ 'nature', nor ܐܠܗܐ ܕܡܢ ܥܡܪܐ 'and became man', is found in the Peshiṭta. The former, in its theological application, is found in Ephraim, e.g. *De Domino Nostro* § 2 (ed. Lamy i 150), 'He was born of Deity in accordance with His nature, and of humanity contrary to His nature'. For the second phrase the Peshiṭta uses ܡܠܐ ܕܡܬܬܝܒ 'became flesh', John i 14. The phrase used in the Psalter Creed seems to be modelled on this. The third phrase ܡܝ ܕܡܬܬܝܒ 'as it is written', on the contrary, comes straight from the Peshiṭta rendering of 1 Cor. xv 4, where the Harkleian gives ܡܝ ܕܡܬܬܝܒ 'according to the Scriptures'. The fourth expression ܡܝ ܕܡܬܬܝܒ 'Spirit of Holiness', again comes from the Peshiṭta; the 'enlarged' Nicene on the contrary agrees with the Harkleian, 'Holy Spirit'. The origin of the ܡܝ ('One') prefixed is perhaps to be sought in Creeds earlier than the Nicene. The Creed offered by Eusebius of Caesarea to the Nicene Council has *ἐν πνεύμα ἁγίῳ*, and the Creed of Cyril of Jerusalem reads *ἐν ἁγίῳ πνεύμα*.

Whether the points of agreement between the two Creeds of the Syriac Psalter point back to a common ancestor cannot perhaps be decided. Perhaps it is enough for the present to trace the Nestorian Creed to Antioch, and the Jacobite, through the 'enlarged' Nicene, to Jerusalem. But two characteristics of the Nestorian Form deserve notice. The first is its lack of arrangement in its statement of the Incarnation. The Antiochene basis follows a logical order, but the additional clauses have the effect of duplicating the statement, and disturbing the sequence. The other characteristic of the Nestorian Form is its close adherence to the language of the Peshiṭta. Under this head I have reckoned the use of ܡܝ ܕܡܬܬܝܒ for 'was crucified', while the Jacobite Creed has ܡܝ ܕܡܬܬܝܒ. It is true that the use of the root ܡܝ ܕܡܬܬܝܒ for *σταυροῦν* is found in the Peshiṭta; see Luke xxiii 39 (= Old Syriac), xxiv 7 (= Old Syriac); John xix 6 (ܡܝ ܕܡܬܬܝܒ also in the same verse); 15; Gal. iii 1; [Apoc. xi 8, also in Gwynn's Version]. The verb is used also in Addai (in the Protonice narrative which is perhaps an interpolation), in Aphrahat, and in Ephraim. In the Harkleian version, as far as I can discover, it is used invariably. On the other hand, ܡܝ ܕܡܬܬܝܒ greatly predominates in the Peshiṭta, and (cf. Prof. Burkitt, *Evangelion* vol. ii p. 305) in Syriac also. It predominates also in

Addai, occurring at least thirteen times, together with ܐܡܥܐ 'cross' (sixteen times), and ܥܡܥܐ 'crucifiers' (three times). It occurs in Aphrahat, and if we may judge from the *Sermo de Domino Nostro*¹ it predominates with its derivatives in Ephraim. The Nestorian form of the Creed thus keeps the more usual term ܥܡܥܐ for 'was crucified' while the Jacobite form chooses the rarer form ܐܡܥܐ in company with the Harkleian Version and the Syriac translation of the 'enlarged' Nicene.

Two variations of reading are worthy of notice in the Nestorian Creed. The oldest MS (thirteenth century) reads, *The Spirit our Quickener* (or *our Saviour*, the same word as in 1 Tim. i 1, Pesh.). This reading is perhaps correct, for it is parallel with the established reading *our bodies*, in a later clause. The two later MSS read *the Quickener* in agreement with the 'enlarged' Nicene.

The other variation touches a great controversy. The Chaldean MS 'c' gives the Western addition *et Filio* to the article of the Procession of the Holy Spirit. It shews no other trace of Latin influence. The truly Nestorian Malabar MS 'm' fell, it appears, in quite modern times into Western hands. A recent correction between the lines marks the same addition of *et Filio*.

It has been shewn already that the Creed of the Jacobite Psalter agrees very closely with the Syriac version of the 'enlarged' Nicene. It differs chiefly in points of translation and in a few small additions. These last are as follows:—(1) *and died* (not in all MSS) after *suffered*; (2) *One* before *Spirit of Holiness*; (3) *and by the apostles* after *prophets*; (4) *new life* for *life* in the last clause. The remaining differences are only differences of translation.

These differences, however, as far as they go, suggest that the Psalter Text is probably as a whole earlier in date than the Syriac version of the 'enlarged' Nicene. The ܐܡܥܐ ܕܥܡܥܐ for ἐνανθρωπήσαντα, a phrase based in form on John i 14, is surely older than the more technical ܥܡܥܐ ܕܥܡܥܐ of the 'Nicene'. Certainly ܥܡܥܐ ܕܥܡܥܐ for τὸ ἅγιον πνεῦμα is earlier than the ܥܡܥܐ ܕܥܡܥܐ in which the feminine substantive is construed with a masculine adjective. This latter term is usually or always employed in the Harkleian. In the Peshitta (Old Testament and New Testament) I know of two instances only of its occurrence, both doubtful. It is the common reading in Ps. li 13, but the true reading there has the feminine adjective ܥܡܥܐ. Similarly in Eph. iv 30 ܥܡܥܐ is read in Brit. Mus. Add. 14480, a sixth-century MS of the Pauline Epistles. Both these passages are cited with the

¹ Lamy, vol. i 145 ff.

feminine adjective by Aphrahat. The phrase ܡܠܟܐ ܕܥܡܪܐ occurs, moreover, in the Old Syriac Gospels (Syrd¹) in Mark xiii 11; Luke ii 25, 26; John xx 22; and Prof. Burkitt cites it in *Evangelion* i 172 from a sixth-century MS of the Acts of Thomas. But the phrase ܡܠܟܐ ܕܥܡܪܐ, with the masculine adjective, is almost certainly later than the phrase ܡܠܟܐ ܕܥܡܪܐ ܕܥܡܪܐ which prevails not only in the Peshiṭta, but also in the Old Syriac Gospels, in Aphrahat and in Addai¹.

The later history of the text of the Jacobite Form of the Psalter Creed is illustrated by the various readings given above. There was a tendency to make it more definite by alterations and additions. The Greek word *οὐσία* is introduced in five MSS in a transliterated form to help to translate *ὁμοούσιον*. Two MSS introduce, and one defends, the epithet *Mother of God*², the very watchword against the Nestorians. Three MSS at the end of the description of the *οἰκονομία* of the Incarnation boldly substitute the note *as he willed* for the time-honoured appeal *according as it is written*, the former being a characteristic Monophysite watchword³. Three MSS assimilate the language of the Jacobite Creed to the 'enlarged' Nicene by reading ܡܠܟܐ ܕܥܡܪܐ, *the Holy Spirit* (with the adjective in the masculine) for ܡܠܟܐ ܕܥܡܪܐ *the Spirit of Holiness* (a feminine, though often treated as masculine in the Peshiṭta)⁴. Lastly, four of the earlier MSS add (in the definite form) St Paul's epithet ܡܠܟܐ ܕܥܡܪܐ ܕܥܡܪܐ *ἔνδοξον, glorious* (Eph. 27), to the description of the Church. The Jacobite, unlike the Nestorian, dealt somewhat freely with the text of his Creed.

W. EMERY BARNES.

THE *MAGNIFICAT* IN NICETA OF REMESIANA AND CYRIL OF JERUSALEM.

NICETA witnesses to the traditions of the old Latin Church of the Danube when in his treatise *de Psalmodyae Bono* he ascribes the *Magnificat* to Elisabeth: 'Nec Elisabeth, diu sterilis, edito de repromissione filio Deum de ipsa anima magnificare cessavit' c. 9, 'Cum Elisabeth Dominum anima nostra magnificat' c. 11. Mr Burkitt has stated that 'the reading is already well known to textual critics, being found in *a, b, l*, and also in Irenaeus 235'¹. The reading in the Codex Vercellensis,

¹ The only form besides ܡܠܟܐ used absolutely which I have noticed in Ephraim is ܡܠܟܐ ܕܥܡܪܐ.

² Also in the Creed of the Jacobite Liturgy published by Brightman (p. 82).

³ The Creed of Severus of Antioch (Brit. Mus. Add. 17109, fol. 147 a) confesses, 'He died for sinners *according as He willed* and because He willed'.

⁴ Feminine, Acts x 44; xi 15; Heb. iii 7.

⁵ Burn *Niceta* p. cliii.

a is 'et ait Elisabeth', in the Codex Veronensis, *δ* 'et ait Elisabeth'. Bianchini's note in his edition of these versions¹: 'Porro Elisabeth dandi non nominandi casus est' cannot stand against the evidence of Niceta and Irenaeus.

The reading of Niceta seems to be supported by Cyril of Jerusalem. In his *Catechetical Lectures* he first speaks of the work of the Holy Spirit in the Incarnation: τοῦτο τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον ἐστὶ, τὸ ἐλθὼν ἐπὶ τὴν ἁγίαν παρθένον Μαρίαν². He then passes on to the prophetic testimony of the Holy Spirit in the persons of Elisabeth, Zacharias, and Simeon: τοῦτο τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον ἐνήργησεν ἐν τῇ Ἑλισάβετ. οὐ γὰρ μόνον παρθένους οἶδεν ἀλλὰ γνωρίζει καὶ ἐγγάμους, ἐὰν κατὰ νόμον ἦ ὁ γάμος. καὶ ἐπλήσθη πνεύματος ἁγίου ἡ Ἑλισάβετ, καὶ ἐπροφήτευσεν καὶ φησιν ἡ καλὴ δουλὴ περὶ τοῦ ἑαυτῆς κυρίου καὶ πόθεν μοι τοῦτο, ἵνα ἔλθῃ πρὸς μετ' ἐμὴν τὸν κυρίου μου. ἐμακάριζε γὰρ ἑαυτὴν ἡ Ἑλισάβετ. τοῦτου τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος πλησθεὶς καὶ Ζαχαρίας ὁ τοῦ Ἰωάννου πατὴρ ἐπροφήτευσεν, λέγων ὅσων τὰ ἀγαθῶν πρόξενός ἐστιν ὁ Μονογενὴς, καὶ ὅτι πρόδρομος διὰ βαπτίσματος Ἰωάννης ἐκείνου. Ὑπὸ τούτου τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος χρηματισθεὶς καὶ Συμεὼν ὁ δίκαιος, μὴ ἰδεῖν θάνατον πρὶν ἢ ἰδεῖν τὸν χριστὸν Κυρίου³. Elisabeth is ἡ καλὴ δουλὴ, the handmaid of the Lord, the δούλη of the Magnificat (Lk. i 48), and thus distinct from ἡ μήτηρ τοῦ κυρίου μου. It is Elisabeth also who accounts herself blessed (Lk. i 48). The collocation of the phrases: ἐπλήσθη πνεύματος ἁγίου. ἐπροφήτευσεν. . . ἡ καλὴ δουλὴ. . . ἐμακάριζε. ἑαυτήν seems to imply that the whole passage (Lk. i 42-56) including the Magnificat was understood by Cyril of Elisabeth. Cyril passes at once to the case of Zacharias: τοῦτου τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος πλησθεὶς καὶ Ζαχαρίας ὁ τοῦ Ἰωάννου πατὴρ ἐπροφήτευσεν λέγων ὅσων τὰ ἀγαθῶν πρόξενός ἐστιν ὁ Μονογενὴς, καὶ ὅτι πρόδρομος διὰ βαπτίσματος Ἰωάννης ἐκείνου. Cyril uses almost the very phrase in which St Luke introduces the Benedictus, and gives a summary of the Canticle. The words τοῦτου. . . πλησθεὶς. . . ἐπροφήτευσεν compared with those used above of Elisabeth imply that in each case the Canticle is referred to as the illustration of the prophetic testimony of the Holy Spirit. Cyril then passes to the case of Simeon—Ὑπὸ τούτου τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος χρηματισθεὶς καὶ Συμεὼν ὁ δίκαιος, μὴ ἰδεῖν θάνατον πρὶν ἢ ἰδεῖν τὸν χριστὸν Κυρίου⁴. In this case the Nunc Dimittis is not so clearly referred to, but the collocation of the three cases of Elisabeth, Zacharias, and Simeon implies that Cyril has in his mind the testimony of the Holy Spirit in the three Canticles, and that he attributes them severally to Elisabeth, Zacharias, and Simeon. He has St Luke before him and follows his order, and he does not speak of any prophetic utterance (ἐπροφήτευσεν) of Mary.

¹ Bianchini *Evang. Quad.* vol. i, pt. ii, p. xiii.

² *ib.* xvii 7.

³ Cyr. Hier. *Cat.* xvii 6.

⁴ *ib.* xvii 7.

The passage is of importance in itself. Still more significant is Touttée's note in the Benedictine edition, shewing the attempts made to accommodate the original text to the later ascription of the Magnificat to the Blessed Virgin. The note is on the word *ἐαυτῆς* in the sentence *καὶ φησιν ἡ καλὴ δουλὺς περὶ τοῦ ἐαυτῆς κυρίου*: 'Vocem hanc cod. Coisl. nobis subministravit. Post, loco *ἐμακάριζε γὰρ ἐαυτήν*, legitur in cod. Coisl. *καὶ ἐμακάριζεν αὐτήν beatam illam (Domini matrem) praedicavit (Elisabetha)* nempe his verbis Luc. i 45 iuxta Vulgatam: *Beata es quae credidisti*. Eodem modo legit Grodecus, nisi quod *ἡλόγησεν, benedixit*, pro *ἐμακάριζεν*, in suo codice videtur habuisse, ac revera benedixit his verbis v. 42: *Benedicta tu in mulieribus* etc. Cod. Ottob. habet *ἐμακάριζε γὰρ αὐτήν*. Si legeretur *αὐτήν* pro *ἐαυτήν*, eadem esset ac textus scripturae.'¹ Cod. Coisl. has evidently introduced the word *ἐαυτῆς*, and altered the last sentence to *αὐτήν*, to give the words to the Blessed Virgin.

Niceta and Cyril agree in ascribing the Magnificat to Elisabeth. Niceta is not here dependent on Cyril, for in the words 'Cum Elisabeth Dominum anima nostra magnificat', he appears to speak as the representative of his own people, and to point to the common use of the Church.

Is there any traditional connexion between the Church of Jerusalem and the Latin Church of the Danube which will explain the affinity between the reading of Cyril and the reading of Niceta? The traditions of Jerusalem scarcely go higher than the forty years' episcopate of Alexander of Cappadocia in the first half of the third century. There is no continuity in the earlier traditions. Alexander, the friend of Firmilian, the patron of Origen, was the reorganizer of the Church of Jerusalem. He brought with him his Creed, which was traceable in a MS seen by Victorinus of Pettau in the Library at Jerusalem². He was the founder of the Library. In matters of discipline he refers to the custom of the Churches of Asia. He was of such high standing in Cappadocia before he was called to the Church of Jerusalem, that in 211, on the death of Serapion of Antioch, he wrote and congratulated the Church of Antioch on the appointment of Asclepiades, and testified that the new bishop was qualified for the work in regard to the true faith. Alexander is an important link between the Church of Jerusalem and the Church of Cappadocia. And it was to Cappadocia that the Church of the Danube owed her earliest traditions. Captives from Cappadocia in the third century were among the first Christian missionaries on the Danube. Ulphilas was himself descended from one of these Cappadocian captives. The great road from East to West

¹ *Op. Cyr. Hier.* ed. Ben. ad loc.

² *Liber de Computo*, Murat. *Anecd.* iii p. 207.

through Bithynia and Thrace kept the Church of Dacia and Moesia and Illyricum in touch with the Church of Cappadocia. The correspondence of St Basil with Ascholius of Thessalonica and Valerianus of Aquileia is witness to the sympathy and intercourse between the two Churches.

Is it not possible that the common source of the reading 'Elisabeth' is to be traced to the Church of Cappadocia in the early years of the third century? May it not be that the reading belonged to a Codex of the 'Western' type in use in Cappadocia and Antioch, and that it is to such a Codex that Origen refers when he says 'Non enim ignoramus quod secundum alios codices et haec verba Elizabeth vaticinatur'¹. Between 232 and 235 Origen visited Firmilian at Caesarea in Cappadocia, and according to Palladius he found refuge in the same city with Juliana during some period of persecution, which can only be the persecution of Maximinus Thrax in 235-238. He had therefore ample opportunity during his visits to Cappadocia as well as in his intercourse with Alexander at Jerusalem of making himself acquainted with the reading 'Elisabeth'.

The influence of St Jerome once and for all disposed of the ascription of the Magnificat to Elisabeth. But how far is the interpretation of Is. viii 3 to be recognized as a determining factor in the Church of the fourth century? Jerome in his comment on the text of Isaiah 'accessi ad prophetissam, et concepit et peperit filium' says 'Quidam prophetissam sanctam Mariam interpretantur, quam prophetam fuisse non dubium est. Ipsa enim loquitur in Evangelio: Ecce enim amodo beatam me dicent omnes generationes: quoniam fecit mihi magna qui potens est'. The reference of St Jerome may be to the Commentary on Isaiah ascribed by Maran to St Basil, but held to be of doubtful authenticity by Bardenhewer. It is, however, a work of the period of the Anomoean controversy, between 360 and 370. The commentator says *ὅτι δὲ προφήτις ἡ Μαρία, ἣ προσῆλθε κατὰ τὸν προσεγγισμὸν τὸν διὰ τῆς γνώσεως ὁ Ἰσαίας, οὐδεὶς ἀντερεῖ, μεμνημένος αὐτῆς τῶν ῥημάτων αὐτοῦ προφητικῶς ἀπεφθέγγετο. τί γὰρ φησι; Μεγαλύνει ἡ ψυχὴ μου τὸν κύριον.*

The prophecy of Elisabeth has been definitely set aside for the prophecy of Mary, and the words of Isaiah which follow 'et concepit et peperit' found their fulfilment in the Incarnation. If Maran be right, and the Commentary is to be ascribed to Basil, the reading 'Elisabeth' had disappeared or had been set aside in the Cappadocian codices of the fourth century.

The evidence on the whole points to the authority of the old Church of Cappadocia as the source of the Latin and the Jerusalem readings. Tertullian read 'Maria': 'Exultat Elisabeth, Ioannes intus impulerat;

¹ Or. Hom. vii in Luc.

glorificat Dominum Maria, Christus intus instinxerat.¹ Origen read 'Maria': 'Ante Ioannem prophetat Elizabet, ante ortum Domini Salvatoris prophetat Maria'.² Athanasius read 'Maria': καὶ αὐτὴ δὲ ἡ κυριοτόκος Μαρία καὶ ἀειπάρθενος, εἰδὼν τὸ ἐν αὐτῇ γενόμενον, ἔλεγεν 'Ἀπὸ τοῦ νῦν μακαριοῦσί με πᾶσαι αἱ γενεαί'.³

The African Latin text and the Alexandrine Greek seem to be united against the European Latin and the old Jerusalem text. Are not these independent evidences of the text before the Antiochene revision, a text either identical with or clearly allied to the 'Western' text, and to be sought for in the Churches of Cappadocia and Antioch in the third century? It was at this period that there is evidence of the closest intercourse between Cappadocia and Antioch and Jerusalem, witness to which is found not only in the authority of Alexander of Cappadocia, but in the position taken by Firmilian of Caesarea in the Synods of Antioch against Paul of Samosata. It is at this period that the old route to the West was superseded by the northern road from Cappadocia through Bithynia to the Danube Provinces and North Italy. It is along this line of road, and especially in the Latin Church of the Danube, that affinity may be traced between East and West, and that Greek rites, Greek traditions, Greek formularies are to be found in a Latin dress. The combined witness of Niceta and Cyril of Jerusalem thus opens up some interesting points as to the affinity of the 'European' Latin, and 'Western' Greek texts. Does it help towards the solution of the question of the future, Are the oldest forms of the old Latin and the old Syriac independent?⁴ And in view of the literary activity of the Latin Church of the Danube, as witnessed by the writings of Victorinus of Pettau and Niceta of Remesiana, not to mention the Greek and Latin treatises of Photinus of Sirmium, and the testimony of Jerome in his Epistle to Sunnia and Fretela, is it not to this Church that the origin of the European Latin is to be traced?

THOMAS BARNS.

[1. Cyril is lecturing, not on the canticles, but on the Holy Ghost, and accordingly quotes from the early chapters of the Gospels the passages in which the Holy Ghost is mentioned, viz. Lk. i 35, 41, 67, ii 26, i 15; Mt. iii 11; Jn. i 33, &c., and there is no direct reference to the *Magnificat* at all.—2. 'H... δουλὶς (v. l. δούλη) may be merely correlative to τοῦ κυρίου μου of the words of Elizabeth as quoted.—3. Ἐμακάριζεν [γὰρ] ἑαυτὴν is amply satisfied by the words Πόθεν μοι τοῦτο κτλ.—4. Touttée's note, as I understand it, expresses his supposition that cod. Coisl. substitutes αὐτὴν for ἑαυτὴν in order to make Ἐμακάριζεν refer, not to what Cyril in fact quotes (Πόθεν μοι τοῦτο κτλ.), but to other words of Elizabeth which he does not quote, viz. Εὐλογημένη σὺ ἐν γυναιξίν or Μακαρία ἡ πιστεύσασα. So the *Magnificat* is not in question.—F. E. B.]

¹ Tert. *de anima* i 26.

² *Ex. comm. S. Athan. in Luc.*

³ Or. *Hom. viii in Luc.*

⁴ Burkitt *Encyc. Bibl.* p. 4990.

TWO PAGES FROM THE FLEURY PALIMPSEST
WITH SOME NEWLY DISCOVERED READINGS.

AFTER transcribing ff I set myself to endeavour to decipher among others the two pages of *h^{acta}* which that eminent scholar the late Samuel Berger had not fully deciphered. Berger accomplished more than any one man could have done; but he himself did not regard his work as final. By persistent study I have been able to discover some new readings. Both pages in the MS must be read upside down in respect of the superposed writing. In the few instances where I differ from Berger it is only after a thrice-repeated examination both of the MS and of photographs that I secured in Paris of the more difficult pages. I was happy enough in the end to decipher every word of the two pages appended. In Acts xiv 6 the interpolation *sicut ihs dixerat eis LX[XII]* is, I believe, peculiar to *h^{acta}*. It is doubly interesting because St Luke is the only one who mentions the LXX [LXXII] in his Gospel. It is almost certain, from considerations of space, that our MS read LXXII and not LXX. The use of *fidelitas* = *πίστις* (iii 16) and *languidus* = *ἀδύνατος* (xiv 7 and 9) are also noteworthy. The words of St Paul in xiv 9, 'tibi dico in nomine ihu nostri dñi fili dei', are also read in *this* form only by *h*, though both *d* and *e* have a somewhat similar text, but omit *fili dei*.

The heading of the pages is: ACTUS APOSTOLORUM SANTORUM (*si*). Similarly *sanctorum* occurs for *sanctorum* in iii 21.

There is a striking resemblance in text between these fragments and the Latin Irenaeus.

E. S. BUCHANAN.

Folio 114

ACTUS APOSTOLORUM SANTORUM

Mu]s ut amuularet istae ¹³ dñs abraham et isac et ia
cob dñs] patrum nostrorum clarificauit filium suum ihm
xpm qu]em uos quidem tradidisti ad iudicium et negastis
ante] faciem pilati illo uolente eum dimittere ¹⁴ uos autē
5 sanct]um et iustum negastis. et uos petestis homicidam
homi]nem uiuere et donari uobis ¹⁵ principem autem ui
tae u]os quidem interfecistis quem dñs excitauit a mor
tuis cui]us nos sumus testes ¹⁶ et supra fidelitate nominis
eius h]unc quem uidetis et nostis confirmauit nomen
10 eius et] fides dedit ei integritatem istam in cons
pectu o]mnium uestrum ¹⁷ et nunc uiri fratres scimus quō
iam no]n quidem per scientiam fecistis nequam sicut

iii 12-23: l. 2 corr. *tradidisti*; l. 5 corr. *petistis*; l. 8 corr. *super*.

et princ]ipes uestri ¹⁸ uerum dñs quod adnuntiauit ore dñi
 nium pr]ofetarum passurum xpm suum et inplebit
¹⁹ penitea]t itaque uos et conuertimini ad perdelenda ¹⁵
 peccata] uesta ²⁰ ut tempora uobis refrigeris suprauiat
 a facie dñi et mittat uobis praeparatum ihm xpm ²¹ quē
 oportet] caelos recipere usque ad tempora dispositi
 onis om]nium quae locutus est dñs ore sanctorum prof
 etaru]m suorum ²² moyses quidem dixit ad patres ²⁰
 uestro]s profetam uobis excitauit dñs dñs de fratrib.
 uestri]s tanquam me eum uos audite per omnia quae
 cumqu]e locutus fuerit ad uos ²³ omnis autem anima

L. 16 corr. *uestra* and *superveniant*; L. 19 corr. *sanctorum*; L. 22 corr. *ipsum*
audietis.

Folio 117 verso

ACTUS APOSTOLORUM SANTORUM

Runt eos et lapidauerunt ¹ et intellegentes [fugerunt
 in lycaoniae ciuitates sicut ihs dixerat eis LX[XII in lys
 tra et derben et omnes confines regionis [et bene nū
 tiabant ut motum est omne genus in doctri]na eorum
 paulus autem et barnabas commorabantu[r] in lystris ⁵
⁷ illic fuit quidam infirmus sedens languid[us pedibus
 qui a uente matris numquam ambulauer[at habens ti
 morem ⁸ hic libenter audiuit apostolos in[ci]pientes
 loqui intuitus est eum et cognouerat paulu[s] quoniam
 haberet fidem ut saluaretur ⁹ dixit ad eum [magna uo ¹⁰
 ce tibi dico in nomine ihu nostri dñi fili dñi sur[ge supra pe
 des tuos rectus et amuula et languidus estatim [exiliuit
 et ambulabat ¹⁰ et turbae cum uident quae fe[cit paulus
 adleuauerunt uocem lycaonicae dicent[es dii adsimi
 lauerunt se hominibus et descenderun[t] ad nos ¹¹ et ¹⁵
 uocauerunt barnaban iouem populum a[utem mer
 curium quoniam ipse erat princeps uerborum
¹² E erat ante ciuitatem sacerdos iouis et tauro[s] et coronas
 adduxit ante ianuas cum plebe uolens immo[lare
¹³ Et cum audissent paulus et barnabas ista con[sciderunt ²⁰
 uestimenta sua et exilierunt clamantes ad plebem [¹⁴ et uocifera
 ntes dicebant uiri quid haec facitis nos etiam [mortales su
 mus homines similes uobis qui adnuntiant uobis d[e] his uanis

xiv 5-14: L. 4 ut corr. *et*; L. 7 corr. *uentre*; L. 8 *apostolos*: corr. *paulum*; L. 16
populum: corr. *paulum*; L. 18 *E*: corr. *Et*.

NOTES SUR VICTORIN DE PETTAU.

Un renvoi jusqu'ici inaperçu aux Ἐπιτομαί de Théodote.

DANS le texte qu'ont donné, en 1894, les moines du Mont-Cassin¹ du Commentaire de saint Victorin de Pettau sur l'Apocalypse révisé et corrigé par saint Jérôme, on lit, à propos des vingt-quatre vieillards du chapitre iv, vers. 4, le passage suivant :—

Sunt autem libri Veteris Testamenti qui excipiuntur uiginti quattuor, quos in Epithonis (sic) Theodori inuenies.

Même chose dans l'édition antérieure, celle de Bologne 1558, reproduite d'après Gallandi au tome v de Migne, p. 326, excepté que là on trouve une leçon évidemment meilleure : *in Epitomis Theodori*.

Ce Théodore semble avoir causé assez d'embarras à ceux qui se sont occupés jusqu'à présent de ce passage. L'éditeur de 1558 a sur ce sujet une remarque curieuse : 'Ces *Epitomae*, dit-il, sont perdues, comme la plupart des autres écrits de cet auteur. Sur la personne même de celui-ci, je ne saurais rien avancer de certain : car, pour l'identifier avec celui d'Héraclée ou celui d'Antioche, la chronologie s'y oppose.' Dans le *Dictionary of christ. biography* vol. iv p. 1128, le Rev. H. A. Wilson a cru pouvoir se prononcer d'une façon plus catégorique : le Théodocité à cet endroit est 'l'historien ecclésiastique du règne de Justinien'. Preuve de plus que le Commentaire attribué à Victorin a été considérablement interpolé, et cela à une époque très tardive.

Il y a une autre solution beaucoup plus naturelle, à laquelle je m'étonne que personne ne semble avoir songé jusqu'ici.

Très souvent, dans les manuscrits, les noms Theodorus, Theodotus, sont pris l'un pour l'autre. Ainsi Gennade, dans son *De uiris illustribus*², appelle Théodore l'évêque bien connu Théodote d'Ancyre. Ainsi, un très ancien recueil de sentences chrétiennes, commençant par 'Perfectus homo est qui se ipsum cognouerit,' est attribué dans plusieurs manuscrits à un certain Theodotus, dans d'autres à Theodorus. On pourrait sans peine multiplier les exemples.

Maintenant posons-nous la question : Avons-nous, antérieurement à Victorin de Pettau, c'est-à-dire à l'an 300 environ, des *Epitomae* en connexion avec un Théodore ou un Théodote quelconque ?

Mais oui, sans nul doute : ce sont les Ἐκ τῶν Θεοδοτίων . . . ἐπιτομαί, dont une partie au moins figure parmi ce qui nous reste des matériaux amassés, croit-on, par Clément d'Alexandrie, peut-être en vue de l'achèvement de ses *Stromates*³. Et le passage du Commentaire sur l'Apo-

¹ Dans la *Bibliotheca Casinensis* t. v. part. 1. Florileg. p. 7.

² Nous possédons, en effet, quelques extraits (Ἐκλογαί) de l'Histoire Ecclésiastique composée par Théodore le Lecteur. Migne P. G. 86, 165-228.

³ Cap. 56. Edit. Richardson, p. 80.

⁴ Migne P. G. 9, 653 sqq. Cf. O. Stählin *Clemens Alexandrinus* (Leipzig, 1905) t. 1, p. xli sq.

calypse, qui avait paru si difficile à expliquer, veut simplement dire que ces *Ἐπιτομαί* de Théodote, à l'époque où Victorin y renvoyait ses lecteurs, contenaient une liste ou canon de l'Ancien Testament comprenant en tout vingt-quatre livres, comme l' 'Indiculum' de Mommesen¹. Ajouterai-je que, très probablement, ces *Epitomae Theodoti* avaient déjà été traduites du grec, Victorin s'adressant ici à des latins ?

On dira peut-être : L'ouvrage de Victorin ne nous étant parvenu qu'avec les corrections de saint Jérôme, le trait relatif aux *Epitomae* peut fort bien avoir été inséré par ce dernier. La chose ne me paraît guère probable, et pour deux raisons. Bien que Jérôme fasse allusion à ce nombre de vingt-quatre livres de l'A.T., symbolisé par les vingt-quatre vieillards de l'Apocalypse, il donne cela, non comme son opinion à lui, mais comme celle de 'quelques auteurs'; pour lui-même, il préférerait s'en tenir au chiffre vingt-deux, celui des lettres de l'alphabet hébreu². Puis, s'il avait voulu invoquer une autorité en faveur du chiffre vingt-quatre, quelle apparence qu'il eût dû remonter pour cela jusqu'à cet hérétique valentinien du second siècle, dont il ne souffle mot nulle part dans ses propres écrits ?

Il reste donc à accepter le fait, non encore signalé jusqu'ici, que l'évêque martyr de Pettau a connu et cité les *Ἐπιτομαί* de Théodote.

Victorin et le Canon de Muratori.

Il existe, on le sait, des points de rapprochement relativement nombreux entre les quatre-vingt-treize petites lignes dont se compose le fragment ou Canon de Muratori et le peu qui nous est parvenu des écrits de Victorin. Des parallèles signalés par F. Hesse³, le Dr Salmon a conclu que l'évêque de Pettau avait eu connaissance du Muratorianum⁴. La fin authentique du Commentaire sur l'Apocalypse, éditée, il y a une dizaine d'années, par le Dr J. Haussleiter⁵, permet d'ajouter au moins deux nouvelles références. Ligne 13 de la première colonne, le mot CATHOLICA est employé substantivement pour désigner l'Église catholique⁶, tout comme dans le Murator. l. 69. A la dernière

¹ Erwin Preuschen *Analecta* p. 138 sq. La liste se termine par une mention expresse de la comparaison établie par 'les anciens' entre ce nombre et celui des vieillards de l'Apocalypse.

² 'Quamquam nonnulli... scriptitent... esse priscae legis libros uiginti quatuor' (*Præfat. in Samuel et Malachim* Migne P. L. 28, 600). Martianay cite à ce propos notre passage de Victorin, mais avec une variante que je n'ai rencontrée dans aucun imprimé ni manuscrit : 'Sunt autem uiginti quatuor libri Veteris Testamenti : uiginti duos in excerptis Theodori inuenies, etc.' On ne peut guère, malheureusement, se fier à cet éditeur, de tous les Mauristes le moins sûr et le plus justement critiqué.

³ *Das muratorische Fragment*, Giessen, 1873.

⁴ Art. 'Muratorian fragment' dans *Dict. Christian Biog.* iii 1003.

⁵ Dans le *Theologisches Literaturblatt* du 26 avril 1895, col. 195-8.

⁶ Le fait n'a pas été relevé dans l'étude si instructive sur 'Catholica' du Dr Dom O. Rottmanner, *Rev. Bénéd.* xvii (1900) pp. 1-9.

colonne, l. 12 sqq., les mots *Nam quod dicit . . . omnibus hoc dicit* sont à mettre à côté du Comment. sur l'Apocalypse, Migne *P. L.* v 320 A, *Quod uni dicit, omnibus dicit*, comme correspondant à la phrase du Murator. l. 58 sq : *licet septem eccleseis scribat, tamen omnibus dicit*.

Aussi bien, les ressemblances sont tellement frappantes, que Dom Chapman¹ est obligé d'admettre que Victorin cite, non pas le Fragment lui-même, 'mais directement la source utilisée par l'auteur du Fragment'.

Je me suis demandé plus d'une fois, en ces derniers temps, si 'la source' du Fragment ne serait pas précisément ce Théodote auquel Victorin renvoie à propos du contenu de l'Ancien Testament. Théodote fut contemporain de Valentin ; et Valentin lui-même, d'après Irénée, *Haer.* iii 4, 3, séjourna à Rome du temps de Pie et y demeura jusqu'à Anicet. La fameuse expression du Muratorianum *nuperrime temporibus nostris*, au sujet du Pasteur d'Hermas, aurait donc tout à fait sa raison d'être. Quant à la réprobation des écrits de Valentin et autres hérétiques, vers la fin, il faudrait, en ce cas, l'attribuer à celui qui a utilisé la source, au rédacteur du Fragment, sans doute Victorin lui-même.

Une autre considération me frappe, et c'est à Dom Chapman que revient le mérite de l'avoir suggérée le premier. Il est un autre écrivain de l'antiquité chrétienne qui offre lui aussi certains points de contact avec le Muratorianum : c'est Clément d'Alexandrie. Même en réduisant à leur juste valeur les raisons apportées par notre confrère à l'appui de sa thèse, il reste toujours, de commun à Clément et au Fragment, au moins les deux particularités suivantes : l'Apocalypse de Pierre donnée comme livre canonique, la liste et la teneur des Épîtres catholiques. Or, Clément est aussi le seul, avec Victorin, qui connaisse et utilise les *Ἐπιτομαί* de Théodote ; et c'est justement là où il semble utiliser davantage Théodote qu'il diffère de lui-même pour se rapprocher du Fragment.

Je me borne à poser très timidement le problème : peut-être des recherches dans cette direction donneront-elles lieu un jour ou l'autre à des résultats plus précis.

Victorin et le Fragment chronologique d'Alexandre de Jérusalem.

L'attention a été attirée à plusieurs reprises, notamment par M. le Prof. Ad. Harnack², sur ce fragment si curieux du codex de Bobbio (Milan, Ambros. H. 150 Inf.), relatif à la chronologie de la vie du Christ, et qui aurait été trouvé dans les Commentaires de Victorin, la source première étant Alexandre de Jérusalem, voire les 'exemplaria' des Apôtres eux-mêmes. A la fin de son étude sur le *Kerygma Petri*³,

¹ Art. 'L'auteur du canon muratorien' dans *Rev. Bénéd.* xxi (1904) p. 24.

² *Gesch. des altchr. Literatur* I 506 sq.

³ *Texte u. Untersuch.* X i p. 137-150.

M. le Prof. E. v. Dobschütz a consacré des pages fort intéressantes à ce fragment, dont il reproduit un texte parfaitement conforme à celui du manuscrit. Tout récemment encore, le Dr F. S. Gutjahr¹ a eu l'occasion d'y revenir, et s'est demandé si Victorin n'aurait pas utilisé là un extrait de Papias transcrit par Alexandre.

En feuilletant le manuscrit 1473 de la bibliothèque de l'Université de Padoue, recueil de mélanges, la plupart hiéronymiens, composé au xv^e siècle, j'ai remarqué tout à la fin, fol. 164^v, un petit texte transcrit d'une façon très particulière, en forme de colonne à lignes courtes, avec de nombreuses abréviations, et témoignant, par la forme même des caractères, de l'intention qu'a eue le copiste d'imiter très exactement le modèle ancien qu'il avait sous les yeux. A part l'attribution à saint Jérôme, qui manque dans le codex de Bobbio, le texte concorde assez bien avec celui-ci dans la première partie, mais il s'en éloigne notablement dans la seconde. Je crois bien faire de le reproduire ici, en marquant en italique les passages qui diffèrent de la copie conservée à Milan.

Hieronimus.

In commentariis uictorini inter
cetera haec etiam scripta reperi *quod* in
 membranis Alexandri episcopi qui
 fuit in ierusalem . quod transcripsit manu
propria de exemplaribus apostolorum
 viii. kl. ian. natus est dominus iesus xps
 suplicio et *cromatio* consulibus.
 Baptizatus viii. id. ian. valerio
 et asiatico consulibus. Passus vero
 viii. kl. apr. nerone tercio . et
 valerio me'sula consulibus. Surexit
 vi. kl. apr. consulibus suprascriptis.
 Supputatur quippe eodem die dominum
 fuisse conceptum quo et resurrexit.
feria vi. annunciatus. fer. i. natus
fer v. baptizatus. fer. vi. passus
A die natiuitatis domini usque
ad passionem ipsius anni. xxxii.
menses .iii. dies .xi.

On ne voit pas bien quel motif a fait supprimer, avant *Supputatur quippe*, le passage *Iohannis baptista—habere dicens* du texte milanais ; mais l'addition finale a pour but évident de corriger la chronologie du début, d'après laquelle le Christ serait mort l'an 58 de notre ère, à l'âge de quarante-neuf ans ! L'attribution à Jérôme n'est point sans offrir quelque intérêt.

D. GERMAIN MORIN.

¹ *Die Glaubwürdigkeit des Irenäischen Zeugnisses über die Abfassung des vierten kanonischen Evangeliums* (Graz 1904) p. 63 sq.

REVIEWS

GREGORY THE GREAT.

Gregory the Great: his place in history and thought, by F. HOMES
 DUDDEN, B.D., Fellow of Lincoln College, 2 vols. (Longmans,
 1905.)

IT is indeed refreshing in these days of superficial haste to meet with a book of complete and serious investigation, and to find that there is still an Oxford College where learned leisure is possible among junior Fellows. Mr Dudden's book ought to be widely welcomed, both for what it is and as the earnest of more work of the same kind from the older Universities, when more national aims, or a new Commission, shall have given opportunity for the return of a genuine devotion to learning for learning's sake. It may be remembered that he is one of the few who hold a fellowship by the old statutes, which were preserved for his college by Bishop Wordsworth of Lincoln.

In scope, too, the book is a refreshing return to old usage. It is not merely a biography: it is a 'Life and Times'. The author's aim has been to shew the greatness of Gregory by exhaustively describing the period in which he lived, the persons with whom he dealt, the interests with which he was concerned, and the politics of Europe during the age of which he was the most striking figure. The book is much more than a mere study, however close, of a single man: it is practically the history of a century most important in the evolution of the modern world. It is long since we have had a book in English of quite the same kind—a thorough 'Ecclesiastical biography', in which no subject is too small to be mentioned, in which religious sympathy is evident but does not prevent an extended study of political development. Undoubtedly the main object which the writer has set himself is completeness; and this he has undoubtedly attained. He has not, however, been in the least overweighted by the size of his subject or by the ramifications into which he has pursued its many diverging interests. His material has not mastered him,—as is so often the case with German scholars who start with similar aims,—but he has mastered it; and he marshals his facts, states his conclusions, describes incidents and analyses character, with the clear freshness of a French historian, and with not a little, too, of English eloquence. The book then is one

which must for long remain indispensable to students, not indeed because it places before them any discovery of new material or any revolutionary conclusion, but because the life of its hero may be studied in it by the light of the industry and judgement of a scholar who has devoted years to its investigation.

Probably the best part of the book, where all is good, is the third division, which is devoted to a study of Gregory's theology. This is much more than a careful analysis of the Pope's theological writings—though it is that: it is a thoughtful investigation, exposition and criticism, and will serve as an admirable introduction to the study of the last of the Latin Fathers. Mr Dudden rightly emphasizes Gregory's position as the representation and summary of the doctrines of his age: as a test, one may say, of Western orthodoxy in the sixth century: as not original, and yet as the foundation of much future thought. Nothing indeed could be better as a description of his theological influence (if it be clearly understood that it is the West alone which is considered) than these words with which the book concludes—'Gregory does not give us much new matter or new light. But he does sum up the teaching of the older Fathers and bring it into union with the opinion of his time. He does consolidate and strengthen the Catholicism he found, preparing the matter for future elaboration. He does impart a life and impulse to prevailing tendencies, helping on the construction of the system to be hereafter completed in scholasticism. He gives to theology a tone and an emphasis which cannot be disregarded. And from his time to that of Anselm no teacher of equal eminence arose in the Church. For a period of nearly four centuries the last word on theology rested with Gregory the Great'.

But to give at all a complete view of so complete a book a critic must criticize, and that both generally and in some detail. Generally it must be observed that it was impossible for Mr Dudden, when he chose to write at large on so great a theme, to avoid the dangers of his course. He has to tell again what many others have told. Often he uses the original authorities and quotes them practically *verbatim*. Often he uses modern writers as freely. But he avoids the appearance of pedantry by an almost entire absence of references. He does not tell us who is the German, or the Italian, whose opinion he refers to: we have to turn to Dr Hodgkin himself to find how closely he has been followed. But from among books old and new the author has used every colour which came to his hand, and, forming his own judgement always, has blended all into a harmonious whole. It is of design clearly, not inadvertently, that Mr Dudden contents himself with general acknowledgements in his preface, avoids specific references,

and goes so far as to quote verbally without naming the writer whose views he accepts.

It is true also that much of Mr Dudden's book consists of matter extraneous to his main subject. Lombard and Frankish letters, the life of St Columban (whose only connexion with St Gregory is a letter from the Pope which never reached its destination), the life of St Benedict, do not belong to the biography of the great Pope; but they do—and that is the main point—illustrate very significantly the world in which he moved. We are not at all in danger of failing to see the wood for the trees because we are made to recognize what a great forest it is.

But when a scholar diverges so widely in different directions from his main subject it is impossible that he should be able to give full validity to all his conclusions. Sometimes Mr Dudden has not used the best editions of his authors, sometimes he has not consulted the best modern studies, sometimes he has forgotten the statements of the authorities he has used, and sometimes he has used writers of different ages apparently without discrimination. Thus, for example, in his account of the conversion of England he uses writers of much later time without a distinction from the earlier witnesses, and quotes William of Malmesbury on Ceawlin with no mention of the centuries which lay between them. Similarly, in regard to the alleged heresy of Justinian Mr Dudden refers to writers many centuries apart, without selection, and in stating that a refutation of the Aphthartodocetic edict was published forgets that Evagrius expressly states that that edict was never issued. The arguments of the Emperor, at an earlier date, against the theology of Theodore, Ibas, and Theodoret, were not 'concerning the ultimate damnation of dead men' (see the language of the Sixth General Council in Mansi ix, 587), and it hardly gives a fair view of his elaborate theological treatises to say that he 'tampered with theology'. It is difficult to agree with the view that the Arian Theodoric was 'thwarted in his good intentions partly by the Catholic Church, which steadfastly opposed any *rapprochement* between the orthodox and Arians'; or with the reference to the bitterness of 'clerical feeling against that worthy prince'; for surely it was of supreme importance to the maintenance of the Christian faith that the Church should have no peace (theologically) with those who denied the Divinity of the Lord. There is much of interest in the volumes with regard to the scholarship of the time, but it might be supplemented, and in parts modified, by a comparison with M. Roger's recent study. It is a small matter—but is there any reason to suppose that Gregory would have entered (vol. i p. 173) Constantinople by the Golden gate? And were the 'trading settlements of Pera and Galata' in existence so early as his day?

In regard to the question of the 'Antiphony of Gregory', and

whether it was really he who reformed the Plainsong of his day, it must be remembered that the evidence of Leo IV is earlier than that of John the Deacon, and that he is supported by Hildemar and Walafrid Strabo. The subject has been recently discussed in a pamphlet issued by the Plainsong and Mediaeval Music Society in 1904, to which Mr Dudden does not refer. In regard to the question of the number of consecrators (vol. ii p. 134) the case of the consecration of Pelagius (*Liber Pontificalis* vol. i p. 303) might have been noticed. The account of the Welsh Church is perhaps too exclusively indebted to Mr Willis Bund, who is not always an entirely trustworthy guide. Again, is it quite fair to say that Gregory in the *Moralia* 'summarily condemns as futile all enquiry into the authorship of the several books of the Bible'? Is not his position rather that of the *Imitatio*, that what is important is not who wrote but what he wrote? A point of more importance—and this finally—is the discredit which Mr Dudden (following Görres) throws upon the story of Herminigild. Is there any real reason to discredit the tale of his conversion and death? Why should not Gregory have known what he was writing about? Is not Dr Hodgkin (*English Historical Review* vol. ii p. 216) justified in his conclusion? He is supported by the latest, and a very thorough, investigator, Dom H. Leclercq (*L'Espagne Chrétienne*, 1906), as well as by the great authority of Don Marcelino Menéndez y Pelayo.

With Mr Dudden's general judgement of Gregory most students will be in accord. The greatness of the character grows on him as he studies it. We should be disposed to question a few of the earlier *obiter dicta*. Why, when Gregory laments that Gordiana had broken her vow of virginity, should his quotation of 'Many are called but few are chosen' be attributed partly to aristocratic prejudice because the lady married the steward of her estates? It is unnecessary to attribute Gregory's acceptance of the monastic life partly to ambition: all that we know of his action looks like the simple 'conversion' so common in his time;—and equally so to declare that he 'never attained a perfect sanity of view'; and contrary to his whole character to assert that 'his religion, dominated by the tremendous and vivid idea of the judgement' gave him little comfort. In regard to the Pope's relation with Brunichild, and again with Phocas, Mr Dudden, in his anxiety not to make his book a mere eulogy, seems to ignore some of the facts which might serve to explain Gregory's letters. And again, it is not a satisfactory account of his action with regard to Venantius in Sicily that he 'was influenced throughout by motives of expediency': he uses language that is vigorous enough, and clearly the man must have been personally pious, and this would account for the kindness of the treatment he received from Gregory, a man of generosity and tact.

More generally, exception may be taken to the statement that only in the form of 'to a certain extent, a religion of external legality', which 'emphasized the value of rites, and elaborated the doctrines of angels, saints, demons, purgatory, heaven and hell', it was that Christianity perhaps 'could have survived the Middle Ages'.

It would be a grateful task to shew how constantly Mr Dudden delights his readers by the vigour of his description, by the acuteness of his judgement, and by the clearness of his presentation of facts. But it would be a lengthy one; and a reviewer must content himself with saying that again and again there are passages, and chapters, throughout the book, which shew the writer's knowledge, and sympathy, and skill.

W. H. HUTTON.

CHRONICLE

OLD TESTAMENT.

(1) LIC. DR G. DIETRICH, to whom we are already indebted for three works which throw a good deal of light on the history of the text of the Peshitta, namely, *Die Massorah der östl. und westl. Syrer, Eine jakobitische Einleitung in den Psalter* (1901), and a study of the Nestorian commentator Isho-dad (1902), has now published a very complete *Apparatus Criticus* to the Peshitta version of Isaiah. Five editions, twenty-eight MSS, and the works of Ephraim, Aphraates, and Barhebraeus, have been searched for various readings. The number of important readings thus discovered seems relatively small, but on the other hand the text of the Peshitta Isaiah has now been established beyond any reasonable doubt. The work has been done with a thoroughness which leaves almost nothing to be done by future scholars. It is, however, to be regretted that Dr Dietrich in citing Ephraim and Aphraates has not indicated in what part of their works the various Isaianic quotations are found. On p. 180 l. 15, there is a misprint in the Syriac, and four lines below, where Aphraates is cited, no mention is made of the fact that the reading of the Father is itself doubtful. But such small blemishes only set off the thoroughness with which the work as a whole has been done.

(2) Part II of Dr E. G. King's work, *The Psalms in three Collections*, was noticed in vol. iv, p. 456 of the JOURNAL. Part III has now appeared. The book is not one which lends itself easily to a critical notice. It is full of beauty and of suggestion. It is scholarly, but with an application of scholarship which is truly its own, and it is devotional with a devotion unlike that of the ordinary devotional commentary. It is a book for those who are willing to think and content to meditate. It is singularly free from the spirit of controversy. The treatment of Pss. civ, cix, cx, and cxxxvii is specially fresh and stimulating.

(3) Dr Strack's Commentary on Genesis has reached a second edition. The text is given in German with distinction of types to mark the limits of the various documents. The notes are quite brief, but wherever fuller treatment is necessary, e.g. on the Seven Days of Creation, a good

excursus is given. The book is brought up to date, even the last edition of *Babel und Bibel*, 1905, being used.

(4) *The Higher Criticism* (Hodder & Stoughton) consists of a Church Congress paper by Prof. Kirkpatrick, and of two papers reprinted respectively from the *Expositor* and from the *Interpreter* by Prof. Driver. The first urges the claims of criticism upon the clergy and the laity, the third is on the permanent religious value of the Old Testament. A list of books presenting or illustrating the results and the processes of criticism is added.

(5) *The Titles of the Psalms*, by J. W. Thirtle, has reached a second edition (1905) within eighteen months. The author has a theory which throws much light on his subject; in particular he is able to account for the apparently double heading to Psalm lxxxviii, and to bring the difficult *Jonath-elim-rechokim* at the head of Psalm lvi into connexion with the subject-matter of the preceding Psalm. The book is spun out but it is well worthy of attention.

(6) An Italian translation of the Psalms with a brief Introduction and short comments by Salvatore Minocchi appears under the title of *I Salmi* (Roma, 1905). Many of the notes suggest emendation of the Massoretic text, e.g. on xviii 46, xxii 17. The editor has read recent critical work on the Psalms and displays great independence in his own views. On li 6 he writes that the sin *against God only* must be idolatry. He explains li 16 to mean—*Save me from a violent death*. The book is interesting.

(7) Dr Ottley's *Religion of Israel* is a companion volume to his *Short History of the Hebrews*. The first two chapters are on, 'The primitive religion of the Semites' and 'The work and influence of Moses'; the last two on, 'The final stage in Pre-Christian Judaism' and 'The Consummation in Jesus Christ'. It is advantageous to have so concise a sketch of Old Testament Religion. The length of Smend and Oehler and Schultz adds little to the value of these works. Why does Dr Ottley (p. 112, n. 1) follow a multitude to do evil in accepting so wanton an emendation as *הרם* for *ההרים* in Ezek. xviii 11, 15?

(8) Dr P. Kleinert's *Die Profeten Israels in sozialer Beziehung* is rather a monograph on the Prophets and their general teaching than what its title suggests. Thus chapters II, III form an introduction to the subject of the Nature of Prophecy. Chapters IV–VII are apparently lectures on Amos, Hosea, Isaiah, and Micah respectively. References both to the Bible and to modern authorities are given at the end of the book. Chapter VIII discusses the Prophetical Law in Deuteronomy. Chapters IX–XI deal with Jeremiah and Ezekiel; the twelfth and last chapter is occupied with Deutero-Isaiah, Haggai and Zechariah, and Malachi. It is certainly very useful to have the social

thing of different parts of the Old Testament set forth as that of interonomy is set in chapter VIII.

9) Johannes Herrmann, under the title of *Die Idee der Sühne oder eine Untersuchung über Gebrauch und Bedeutung des Wortes kipper*, discusses the Old Testament teaching on Propitiation. After a recapitulation of the views of Hofmann, Ritschl, Riehm, and Schmoller, the author in his second chapter presents us with a lexicographer's *conspectus* of כַּפַּר and its derivatives together with חָטָא and אָשָׁם. In chapter III the occurrence of כִּפֵּר is separately considered. Then follows a discussion of *kipper* outside the limits of P and Ezekiel, and then of *kipper* in Ezekiel and in P. The author's last word is, 'Von besonderem Interesse erscheint mir die Linie, welche vom ursemitischen Heidentum zu der Blutverwendung in P führt'.

10) *The Guide for the Perplexed by Moses Maimonides*. Translated by M. Friedländer, Ph.D. Second edition, revised throughout. London, 1904. This is an important work for the history of the interpretation of the Old Testament. Maimonides, who lived in Egypt and composed the book in Arabic, wrote as one who was well acquainted with the philosophies prevalent in Arabic-speaking lands. Like Philo he was friendly in sympathy with the best Gentile thought to offer a philosopher's view of the Old Testament to students of philosophy. A large part of the work is devoted to the discussion of the anthropomorphic names applied to the Deity in the Bible; Maimonides calls such terms *synonyms*, asserting that they have one meaning when used of men, and another when used of God. Some of these discussions are very interesting, such as that on 'And the tables were the work of God' (Exod. xxxii 16), regarding which Maimonides concludes that 'the writing of the tables was produced in the same manner as the rest of creation' (pp. 98, 99). Very interesting also is the view given of the nature of Prophecy (p. 219 ff). On the problem of Evil the author says, '[God] only produces existence, and all existence is good; whilst evils are of a negative character, and cannot be acted upon' (p. 266). On the Book of Job Maimonides writes boldly (for his time), 'Its basis is a fiction, received for the purpose of explaining the different opinions which people hold on divine Providence' (p. 296). The work, as a whole, is rather prolix, though the author again and again declines to give a full exposition of his meaning on the ground, *Verbum satis sapienti*.

Friedländer's translation is easy to read, and useful indices of biblical, Midrashic, and Talmudic passages are added.

(11) Mr Aldis Wright has edited for the Text and Translation Society a Hebrew Commentary on the Book of Job from a MS of the thirteenth century preserved in the Cambridge University Library. The author's name was Berechiah, but nothing further is known of him.

beyond what may be gathered from the fact that he quotes Ibn Ezra and 'Ibn' Kimkhi, and that he makes some use of French equivalents in giving the meaning of some difficult or rare words. The Commentary is almost purely exegetical. The Redeemer Passage (xix 25 ff) is explained without any reference to a Resurrection. The volume is completed with a translation of the Commentary into English from the pen of S. A. Hirsch, Ph.D. The book is a welcome addition to the exegetical literature of the Old Testament.

W. EMERY BARNES.

PHILOSOPHY OF RELIGION.

The Scientific Temper in Religion, and other Addresses. By the Rev P. N. WAGGETT, M.A. (Longmans, Green & Co., 1905.)

WE are glad that these addresses, some of which have already been read in the *Guardian* and the *Church Times*, have appeared in book form. They certainly deserve to be read by a wide circle, and will be helpful to many both of the clergy and the laity. The excellence of Fr Waggett's style, the breadth of his sympathy, the rare degree in which he combines in himself spiritual insight with the scientific temper, are too well known to call here for more detailed praise; they certainly lend attractiveness and weight to the volume before us.

The earlier of these addresses give an admirable account of the kind of attitude which the educated believer should at the present time adopt towards the natural sciences. He is advised not to look upon the interests of theology and science as antagonistic, as if theology were stronger in proportion as difficulties and vacancies could be pointed out in science. He is warned against obscurantism, against overhaste in accommodation, against confounding science with naturalism, against other erroneous tendencies; and the warnings are given very persuasively. The relations of evolution, and of natural selection as a particular element in evolutionary doctrine, to theism are then discussed; and in a later address the Biblical account of the creation and of the nature of man is compared with the teachings of science. Here, perhaps, is the least satisfactory portion of Fr Waggett's book. The doubt is suggested, whether the results of critical research into early Semitic legend have impressed themselves upon the author's mind as forcibly as have those of biological study. While recognizing to the full the impress of ethical monotheism upon the first page of Genesis, I cannot myself admit that we can there rightly seek, or that we thence actually derive, the elements of teaching concerning matters of natural

knowledge which Fr Waggett believes to be enshrined in the Biblical account of the origin of the world. Where he sees anticipations of scientifically established fact, I see sometimes reminiscences of polytheistic speculation ; where—if I do not misunderstand him—he sees points of resemblance that are theologically significant, I seem to detect only superficial coincidences. What Fr Waggett has written in this connexion reads a little like a refined survival of the ‘reconciliation’ of Genesis with science to which we have so long been accustomed, but which we are increasingly coming to believe to be a superfluity in apologetics.

La Providence et le Miracle devant la Science Moderne, par GASTON SORTAIS. (Gabriel Beauchesne & Cie. Paris, 1905.)

THIS is a controversial book, replying to the contention of M. Séailles that the progress of modern science renders necessary the rejection of the notion of a personal God and the dependent notions of Providence and miracle. Science, for M. Séailles, obviously means positivist or naturalistic philosophy, with its theories of mechanism and determinism. The contention is refuted not so much by the demonstration, recently become so familiar to English students of the claims of naturalism, that science and philosophic systems suggested by science are not at all the same thing, as by an appeal to a chain of eminent representatives of science throughout the modern period. The list of such Christian or theistic scientific leaders possesses some interest. Dismissing the *a priori* claim of M. Séailles to rule out miracle and divine government of the world as impossible, the author next deals with the argument, especially associated with the name of Hume, that miracles have never been established by evidence and perhaps cannot be. The reply to this contention is chiefly based on the alleged actuality of miracles performed at Lourdes. Physicians are cited who, on examination of cases of healing, admit that effects are there produced which their medical science cannot account for. The weak spot in M. Sortais’ account of these ‘miracles’ is that he does not tell us enough of the other side. Dr Bernheim is indeed mentioned as admitting the facts but questioning the interpretation of them which M. Sortais would wish to be regarded as beyond question ; but we should like to hear more of this physician’s reasons for his opinion. Finally, the writer appeals triumphantly to the dilemma : either divine creation or spontaneous generation. Here we think the stand is made on ill-chosen ground. ‘God does not dwell in gaps’ of our scientific knowledge.

Life and Matter, by Sir OLIVER LODGE. (Williams & Norgate, 1905.)

SIR OLIVER LODGE'S book is largely a reprint of collected articles and addresses, and its main purpose is criticism of the materialistic monism of Professor Haeckel.

The exposure of the grotesque misstatements which abound in Haeckel's *The Riddles of the Universe* is a task which calls for more self-control than ingenuity, more long-suffering than learning; and Sir Oliver Lodge's treatment of the Professor manifests these qualities abundantly. There is not a word in his patient examination of so much that might summarily be dismissed as nonsense which is not courteous and dignified. One passage of *The Riddles of the Universe* even Sir Oliver finds himself unable to judge at once critically and politely; but this he wisely forbears to judge at all (p. 48).

The physicist meets the biologist upon his own ground. The epistemological platform on which the controversy is conducted is that of realistic common-sense, that of physical science. The criticism of Haeckel's use of the postulate of the conservation of energy—the key to the whole solution of the world-riddle for him—might have been strengthened by emphasizing the fact that constancy in the various changes of energy, which is all that physics can establish, is altogether different thing from constancy of the total quantity of energy in the universe, which is what Haeckel assumes and requires; but perhaps Sir Oliver Lodge himself does not admit the difference.

Now and again (e.g. p. 95, pp. 108-9) the author ventures upon dangerous ground, and naively takes for granted positions which, the philosopher would remind him, are highly disputable. Indeed all the recent pronouncements of this writer on the relations of religion and science suffer from want of sufficient recognition that, for a really thorough handling of such questions, it is before all things necessary to have made a serious study of some branches of philosophy. One is disappointed when, in the interesting chapter on Will and Guidance, some criticism of Professor James Ward's treatment of physical law seems to be forthcoming from the point of view of a great physicist, to find that that philosopher's position appears not to have been understood. It is not the 'fundamental inaccuracy or uncertainty' of the long-established laws of physics which Dr Ward sought to prove, but their purely empirical and postulatory nature, as against the absoluteness and metaphysical validity which the 'naturalist' has claimed for them; not any 'departure from the law of conservation of energy' which he desired to establish, but the inadequacy of the principle itself when used as valid for the whole of experience.

It is interesting to find in Sir Oliver Lodge another champion, worthy of place beside Lord Kelvin, of the view that 'life' cannot be explained

in terms of purely physical or mechanical categories. His chapters on this subject furnish a weighty protest against the over-hasty zeal of materialistically-inclined biologists, and also some interesting speculation. The volume as a whole is of value as a contribution, from the point of view of physical science, to theistic argument, and is free from such blemishes as marked, in the theologian's opinion, some of Sir Oliver Lodge's earlier essays in the field of theology.

God's Image in Man and its Defacement. By JAMES ORR, D.D.
(London, Hodder & Stoughton, 1905.)

'FEW men's minds can shake off a familiar and consistent system of doctrines, and adopt a novel and strange set of principles as soon as presented: but all men can see that one change produces many, and that change, in itself, is a source of inconvenience and danger.'

This general statement of Dr Whewell¹ receives an apt illustration in Dr Orr's recent work, *God's Image in Man*. The author of this book sees danger in the attempts which Christian theologians have been making to restate their doctrine of man, his origin, nature, and primitive state, in terms of thorough-going evolutionary theory; and he writes to protest against overhaste in such endeavours towards accommodation. One change, in this connexion, certainly involves many; and if some of the many are ever to be adopted, it will only be after the inconvenient process of critically examining some ethical and theological concepts whose ambiguity or imperfection has not hitherto been widely suspected, and the difficult labour of drawing fine distinctions between ideas which are superficially similar, but whose remoter implications, so far as theology is concerned, are respectively innocent and dangerous.

Dr Orr's protest does not consist merely in a timely reminder that Evolution, especially as applied to man, is a plausible theory, not a demonstrated fact, and that all theological speculation based upon it must therefore be but provisional and tentative. Thus far we should all agree with him. He protests that evolutionary anthropology, at least in so far as it is applied to man's mental and moral qualities, is essentially incompatible with Christian doctrine, and that the theologian cannot assimilate it without unconsciously doing violence to his creed. Here, I think, Dr Orr's charge of overhaste—of what Bacon would have called 'anticipation'—recoils upon himself. The adoption of such an attitude lays several responsibilities upon a theologian. In the first place, it puts him under the obligation to determine *now*, what is the essential teaching of Christian theology—supposing there is any—concerning man; and we have been sufficiently warned in the past that

¹ *History of the Inductive Sciences* 3rd ed. ii 147.

definitions of doctrine on matters as to which further empirical knowledge may be forthcoming are apt to prove anything but final. Secondly, it involves the responsibility of deciding, in the present state of knowledge, between rival scientific theories, and selecting, for theological use, those which are true. And lastly, it implies ability to dictate to science the limits of its future progress: 'thus far shalt thou come'. This too has proved in the past to be a very precarious method of apologetic. In the event of the assigned limits being overpassed, the cause of theology becomes weakened.

To take the first of these points, I would observe that the supposition that there is a Christian doctrine of man, a view of his origin, his nature, his primitive and his present state, which is alone compatible with fundamental Christian conceptions and doctrines, requires more justification than Dr Orr attempts to give. To many theologians it would seem to be a matter of indifference, so far as Christianity is concerned, whether man's higher faculties were immediate endowment or whether they were gradually evolved. This, however, is not Dr Orr's opinion. He adopts the 'Biblical' view of man as the only possible Christian anthropology, and apparently does so mainly because it is in the Bible. I am far from willing to allow that some of the elements in the doctrine of man which Dr Orr defends are truly 'Biblical' at all¹. This is, however, a point of minor importance. It is more serious that Old Testament anthropology should still be identified with essential Christian theology on grounds other than its purely scientific merits. We have now reconciled ourselves to the existence of so much, in the Biblical account of the early history of the world, that is not scientific fact, that it does not seem worth while to vindicate the truth of the residue. The only principle that was at stake during the long conflict between Genesis and science was that of the inerrancy of the Scripture record: a principle which to-day is inde-

¹ The numerous grave difficulties confronting the traditional exegesis of the Fall-story do not seem to cause Dr. Orr any concern; he does not reckon with them. To the assertion that a *doctrine* of a Fall is not to be found in the Old Testament, he replies (p. 198 f) that 'it can hardly be doubted that the story of Eden and of the sin of man was known to the prophets'; but the story of Eden is one thing and the doctrine of the Fall (even St Paul's rudimentary form of it) is another. He continues to assume that the universality of sin, as emphasized by Old Testament writers, implies their belief in a universal Fall, without refuting the view that such universality is equally consistent with the idea that each individual 'is the Adam of his own soul'. That human death is regarded in Gen. iii as a consequence of Adam's sin, is far from evident, and has been, as I think, disproved; this also Dr Orr assumes, however, without controversy. Finally, the identification of original sin (a theoretical explanation of observed fact) with the universal sinfulness which is undoubtedly matter of actual experience, is perpetuated in Dr Orr's book.

fensible. We now see that whatever definition of inspiration we adopt must itself be the expression of a scientific theory or induction; for the inspiration of Genesis is not a matter of intuitive perception or of divine revelation; neither is it axiomatic.

I need not enter into a detailed consideration of Dr Orr's treatment of the contending scientific theories relating to the origin, antiquity, and nature of man, or to the means by which the race became possessed of those faculties which we especially have in mind when we speak of man as endowed with the image of God. He cites many facts and expert opinions which shew that evolutionary anthropology has its difficulties and falls far short of universal acceptance amongst scientific authorities. But these citations leave the reader largely uninformed as to the weight of evidence and authority on the side of the view which Dr Orr rejects¹. They also seem to me to evince perhaps a little over-readiness to grasp at such results as accommodate themselves most easily to the traditional doctrine which he is concerned to maintain. To take one instance: the calculations, made by several of our most illustrious physicists, of the approximate ages of the earth and sun, upon which an objection against the evolutionary theory, as Dr Orr points out, is founded, are based upon assumptions which were never very secure; and their security, it may be added, has been much diminished since the discovery of the phenomena of radio-activity.

The limits of evolution are indeed obvious, and how far the theory is applicable to man and his mental and moral faculties is doubtful. But it is extremely dangerous to maintain, in the present state of knowledge, that the consequences of such a theory are not capable of assimilation with the fundamental doctrines and presuppositions of Christianity. We are too ignorant at present as to what are the precise limits of the dogmatic *essentials* of the Christian Faith to be warranted in making any such sweeping statement. Perhaps we shall only learn where precisely such limits are to be drawn after many further conflicts between real or supposed contents of Christian dogma and real or supposed additions to our natural knowledge. That we have in the past thus learned to purify our theology of misconceptions previously regarded as essential factors of the Faith, is known to all. Christianity has been regarded, by individuals and by large bodies of Churchmen, as bound up with the Ptolemaic astronomy, with the doctrine of the creation of

¹ It should be observed that the 'modern view' of the world against which Dr Orr contends is no one homogeneous system. It includes the coarse naturalism of Prof. Haeckel, the theological speculations of Mr. Fiske, and the tentative evolutionary theories as to man's moral development and the origin of human sin advanced by a professedly Christian writer: elements sufficiently diverse in scope and in tone to have merited separate treatment.

the universe in six days, with the universality of the deluge, and with other assertions in which we no longer believe; it may yet prove not to be bound to the anthropology of Genesis.

Meanwhile, Christian theologians are sufficiently alive to the possibility of a fuller demonstration, in the future, of the thorough-going evolutionary theory of man, to regard it as worth while to trace out the influence of such a view upon the received teaching concerning human nature and sin. Some, at least, consider that we have nothing to fear, and something even to gain, in the event of the evolutionary theory being proved true. It is evident, however, that these have much work before them if they are, in their generation, to persuade others to their conviction. The difficulty appears to centre round the subject of Sin.

This is not, perhaps, the occasion for me to deal minutely with Dr Orr's and similar criticisms of the evolutionary theory of the origin and transmission of sin which I have myself endeavoured to sketch¹; but I may briefly indicate what I believe to be the source of that wide divergence in opinion between Dr Orr and myself which is revealed in his assertion, on the one hand, that evolutionary anthropology, with its denial of a Fall and hereditary original sin, explains sin and its sinfulness away, and my own conviction, on the other hand, that the sinfulness of sin is more adequately maintained by a theory which regards all sin as actual and involving personal accountability, however less guilty may be its initial than its later stages. The source of this divergence, unless I am mistaken, lies in the fact that Dr Orr, and other theologians who on this point share his view, start from a definition of the fundamental concept—Sin—different from that on which I have proceeded. They would say: 'Sin is transgression of absolute moral law, in any state or stage in development of the trespasser'; I would say: 'Sin is transgression of moral law *by a moral agent*.' The former definition, rigidly carried out, makes sinners not only of the infant and the typical primitive man who obeys the only moral code he knows, but also of the brutes and the physical forces of Nature²; the latter limits the application of 'sin' to the acts and states of a being who knowingly transgresses a law by which he is aware his conduct ought to be ruled. It seems to me that the former of these alternative conceptions of sin—brought into clear contrast by recent discussion of

¹ A reply to some of the weightier criticism which my *Hulsean Lectures* on this subject received is given in the Preface to the recently published second edition of that work.

² As I have pointed out in the Preface to the second edition of my *Hulsean Lectures*, if possession of conscience and knowledge of a restraining law are *not* the sole condition for accountability, it is arbitrary to limit the application of 'sin' to the human race. There is no halting-place in the universe; for sentiency and organic life are then irrelevant.

evolutionary anthropology—is consciously or unconsciously implied in the vitally important objections that the newer theory of man's moral development denies sin to be sin, or explains sin away, or minimizes the sinfulness of sin. But until this definition of sin, with all its consequences, can be shown to be alone compatible with essential Christian doctrines and presuppositions, it must still be claimed, as against Dr Orr and several other writers, that their objections are not valid.

Preuves psychologiques de l'existence de Dieu, par M. L'ABBÉ DE BROGLIE.
(Paris: Librairie Bloud et Cie. 1905.)

THESE lectures will be useful to students who can take much of the Aristotelian and Cartesian philosophy for granted. To those whose philosophical scepticism forbids the assumption of so much that later thought has rendered questionable they will probably not be satisfying. The author inclines to identify the doctrine of Evolution with Naturalism; he assumes a human ego whose existence we can *perceive*; he argues as if to question the existence of a personal Creator were the same thing, philosophically, as to repudiate the principle of sufficient reason; and he uses the concept of causality much in its Cartesian and mediaeval form and sense. Hence the lectures, though they contain much that is of value, will not commend themselves as a profound argument for theism to most students trained in English schools.

F. R. TENNANT.

Die Religionsphilosophie Hegels: von Dr EMIL OTT. (Berlin: C. A. Schwetschke und Sohn. 1904.)

THE dominance of the Hegelian philosophy in Germany seventy years ago was succeeded by a violent reaction, which now in its turn seems to shew signs of giving place to a more appreciative estimate of the great idealist's work than has for a long while been fashionable. A considerable number of years has passed since Jowett, in his Introduction to Plato's *Sophist*, very justly said, quoting a saying of Aeschylus about Homer reported by Athenaeus, that 'in the theology and philosophy of England as well as of Germany, and also in the lighter literature of both countries, there are always appearing "fragments of the great banquet" of Hegel'; and in England, as is well known, the Hegelian influence has been perhaps more powerful during the last thirty years than any other among philosophical teachers in this country (cf. Ott p. 2); in Hegel's own land however Dr Ott can still assume that he is neglected, and that due credit is not given to him for his real services to philosophy. Among these services Dr Ott especially emphasizes that of making thought, feeling, will, all constitutive elements of the religious consciousness. But Dr Ott's own appreciation of

Hegel's work would scarcely have satisfied Hegel himself. For Dr Ott's true masters in the philosophy of religion are Prof. Eucken and Prof. Trölsch, to whose books *Wahrheitsgestalt der Religion* and *Die Absolutheit des Christenthums* he constantly refers; and, though it may be true that Hegel was not the 'mere intellectualist' that it is the fashion in some quarters to represent him as being, yet he certainly gave a higher place in the religious life to the labour of thought than either of these writers. This is very clearly seen when, in reading the works above mentioned as particularly recommended to us by Dr Ott, we find them making almost nothing of theology, or, in dealing with Christianity, of the doctrine of the Trinity, which was to Hegel all-important. Even Prof. Trölsch (whose position is more definitely Christian than Prof. Eucken's) speaks as though it were possible and desirable to throw off theology and substitute for it a surrender of self to the influence of the personality of Jesus. No position could well be more remote than this from that of Hegel or (we may add) from that of the most part of the greatest teachers of the Christian Church in all ages. It may be true that theologians, absorbed in the problems offered by religion to their reason, have often dwelt too little on the presupposition of a vital religious experience, which it is the task of theology to make, or attempt to make, explicit and coherent; but exclusive preoccupation with this neglected presupposition is certainly not the mental attitude in which the work of Hegel can be adequately discussed.

C. C. J. WEBB.

RECENT PERIODICALS RELATING TO THEOLOGICAL STUDIES

(1) ENGLISH.

Church Quarterly Review, January 1906 (Vol. lxi, No. 122 : Spottiswoode & Co.). The Christian Society : IV The development of the Church—Missions in Nyasaland I—Church Music—The evidence for the resurrection of Christ—School Tales—Recent excavations in Crete and their bearing on the early history of the Ægean—Liberal Theology II—Short Notices—Index of Articles to vols. i-lx (October 1875-January 1905) *continued*.

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The Jewish Quarterly Review, January 1906 (Vol. xviii, No. 70 : Macmillan & Co.). S. POZNAŃSKI The Karaite literary opponents of Saadiah Gaon in the tenth century—D. PHILIPSON The Frankfort Rabbinical Conference 1845—M. JOSEPH and C. G. MONTEFIORE Biblical Criticism and the Pulpit—H. HIRSCHFELD The Arabic portion of the Cairo Genizah at Cambridge (12th art.)—J. H. A. HART Philo of Alexandria—S. A. COOK Notes on Old Testament History : III Judges x 6—1 Samuel viii—D. SIMONSEN Dr Elias Sabot—Critical Notices—Bibliography of Hebraica and Judaica : October-December 1905. I. A.

The Expositor, January 1906 (Seventh Series, No. 1 : Hodder & Stoughton). THE EDITOR Twenty-one years of the 'Expositor'—M. DODDS Evolution and Christian Theology—E. L. HICKS The communistic experiment of Acts iii and iv—W. M. RAMSAY The Christian inscriptions of Lycaonia—D. S. MARGOLIOUTH Dr Emil Reich on the failure of the higher criticism—G. A. SMITH Jeremiah's Jerusalem—W. ALEXANDER Turning the hearts of the children to their fathers—J. H. JOWETT The faithlessness of the average man—S. A. COOK Old Testament Notes.

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March 1906 (Seventh Series, No. 3). J. H. A. HART The scribes of the Nazarenes—W. L. WALKER The Cross in relation to Sin: Can a moral theory leave this out?—J. MOFFATT A daughter of Jacob—K. LAKE Galatians ii 3-5—G. HARFORD The higher criticism as it affects faith and spiritual life—W. M. RAMSAY Tarsus—B. WHITEFOORD 'The Church in the House'—S. A. COOK Old Testament Notes.

(2) AMERICAN.

The American Journal of Theology, January 1906 (Vol. x, No. 1: Chicago University Press). B. W. BACON, A. C. ZENOS, R. RHEES, B. B. WARFIELD The supernatural birth of Jesus: Can it be established historically? Is it essential to Christianity?—H. C. SHELDON Changes in the theology among American Methodists—W. T. PAULLIN A review of the ontological argument—S. M. JACKSON Document: The Scorn of the World, a poem in three books—E. J. GOODSPEED A new glimpse of Greek tense-movements in New Testament times—Recent theological literature.

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(3) FRENCH AND BELGIAN.

Revue Bénédictine, January 1906 (Vol. xxiii, No. 1: Abbaye de Maredsous). H. QUENTIN Le *Codex Bezae* à Lyon au ix^e siècle?—G. MORIN Un recueil de sermons de S. Césaire. Le Ms. de Saint-Thierry et ses pièces inédites—P. DE MEESTER Études sur la théologie orthodoxe—A. CLÉMENT Conrad d'Urach, légat en France—Mélanges: D. DE BRUYNE Un prologue inconnu des Épîtres catholiques: H. LECLERCQ Épigraphe chrétienne: G. MORIN Niceta de Remesiana: R. PROOST La Somme théologique de Duns Scot: U. BERLIÈRE Un projet de restauration bénédictine en 1815—Comptes rendus—Notes bibliographiques.

Revue Biblique, January 1906 (Nouvelle série, 3^e année, No. 1: Paris, V. Lecoffre). Communication de la Commission pontificale pour les études bibliques—E. LE ROY Sur la notion de dogme. Réponse à M. l'abbé Wehrle—H. VINCENT Les villes cananéennes—M. J. LA GRANGE Notes sur les prophéties messianiques des derniers prophètes—CLERMONT-GANNEAU Inscription samaritaine de Gaza et inscriptions

grecques de Bersabée—A. JAUSSEN L'immolation chez les nomades à l'est de la mer Morte—P. DHORME Les formations par analogie dans le verbe hébreu—Chronique: H. VINCENT Fouilles anglaises de Gézer—Recensions—Bulletin.

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THE DATE OF DEUTERONOMY.

IN a discussion of the possibility of an exilic¹ date for the book of Deuteronomy the first point to be considered is the relation of the books of Deuteronomy and Jeremiah one to another. If it can be proved that Jeremiah quotes Deuteronomy *adit quaestio*. If, however, it can be shewn that the agreements between the two books can be explained at least as easily on the supposition that the language of Deuteronomy has been influenced by Jeremiah, the enquiry enters upon a new phase, and we are enabled to examine without bias the bearing of other evidence on the subject.

In an enquiry which of two authors has been influenced by the other, when no other evidence is at hand save the writings of these authors themselves, it is perhaps impossible to arrive at any verdict which will compel assent. In such a case subjective considerations cannot but have considerable weight. It will, however, be generally agreed that the first step towards a conclusion is to discover, if possible, which of the two exhibits the greater originality in thought and phraseology.

Now if this test be applied to the two books in question, it will probably be affirmed that the claim to originality cannot be substantiated for Jeremiah, since his book shews points of contact, and sometimes verbal agreement, not only with Deuteronomy, but also with other portions of the Old Testament, notably with the Psalms and with the book of Job. But since no one will assert nowadays that Job is earlier than Jeremiah, it follows that of the two striking passages, Jer. xx 14 ff and Job iii 3,

¹ The term *exilic* in this article is to be understood of the *date* not of the *place*.

the priority in date must be assigned to the former ; and thus one passage (and that a remarkably striking one, if it is not a quotation), which was formerly used as an argument against the literary originality of Jeremiah, must now be held rather as evidence for it.

The date of the Psalter is still too much a matter of dispute to allow any very convincing argument to be drawn from such agreements as exist between several Psalms and the book of Jeremiah, but the tendency of modern scholarship is towards assigning the book as a whole to a late rather than to an early period. The chief argument for regarding the Psalms as early compositions is drawn from the titles prefixed to many of them, but 'it is now generally acknowledged that the titles relating to the *authorship and occasion* of the Psalms cannot be regarded as prefixed by the authors themselves, or as representing trustworthy traditions, and accordingly giving reliable information'.¹ Since, however, must be admitted that in the majority of cases there is no evidence for an early date except the titles, it is obvious that it is at least as possible that the Psalmists are influenced by the language of Jeremiah as *vice versa*.² And if it be conceded that the Psalmist may possibly quote Jeremiah, it will be allowed that in point of *originality of expression* there is much to be said for the priority of Jeremiah. Certainly Jer. xvii 5-8, with its vehement אָרִיר and בָּרִיר, and its declaration of the blessedness of trust in Jehovah Himself, gives an impression of greater originality than Ps. i, with its milder אִשְׁרֵי, and its exaltation of the law.

Again, it must be admitted that Jer. xx 10 is in better harmony with its context than is its parallel in Ps. xxxi 14 (E. V. 13); for the Psalmist's complaint in v. 13 that he is 'forgotten as a dead man out of mind' hardly prepares one for the statement of the following verse that he has 'heard the defaming of many, terror on every side'.

Ps. xxxv has likewise several points of contact with Jeremiah,

¹ Kirkpatrick *Psalms* p. xxxi.

² In the judgement of the present writer this is an understatement of the case. Believing as I do with many moderns, on independent grounds, that the Psalter is a post-exilic book, the agreements between the Psalms and Jeremiah are to me rather proofs of the strong influence which Jeremiah's language had upon subsequent religious thought. I am, however, unwilling to base an argument on this.

but they are of such a kind that it is impossible to decide which is the original. It is, however, to be noticed that this Psalm exhibits several agreements with other Psalms, and may, therefore, be regarded as composed in what has become the language of devotion.

Although there is no actual quotation, Ps. xxxvi 10 (E. V. 9) looks like a reference to Jer. ii 13, xvii 13, and it must be allowed that in Jeremiah the metaphor is simpler.

It is scarcely necessary to discuss at length the relation in which the Psalms in the later books stand to the book of Jeremiah.

Similarly a careful comparison of those phrases which are common to Jeremiah and Deuteronomy will shew that in no case is it necessary to assume that the language of Deuteronomy is the original, while in some cases it is actually more easily explained on the supposition that it is a quotation. Thus it must be admitted that the statement of Deut. xii 2 that the Canaanites 'served their gods upon the high mountains, and upon the hills, and under every green tree', is a piece of *hyperbole* which one would not take to be the *original* phrase of a *legal* writer. In Jeremiah, however, the phrase, which occurs in somewhat varying form in ii 20, iii 6, 13, xvii 2, is more natural in its context. That so striking an expression should become a commonplace, and thus find an echo both in Ezek. vi 13 and Deut. xii 2, is natural enough¹. In like manner the use of *נִחַ*, to express apostasy, in a law book is difficult to account for, unless through its frequent use in prophetic teaching the metaphor had almost been forgotten.

Again, the phrase in Jer. iv 4, 'Circumcise yourselves unto the Lord, yea, take away the foreskin of your heart', in which Jeremiah gives his view of the spiritual teaching of circumcision, is more likely to be original than the phrase in Deut. xxx 6, 'The Lord thy God will circumcise thy heart and the heart

¹ The present writer ventures to refer here to what he has written on the book of Jeremiah in the *Journal of Theological Studies*, January 1905, p. 183. The composition of the book of Jeremiah may in his opinion be compared with that of the Gospels. That certain phrases are genuine utterances of the prophet cannot be doubted. But in the case of various forms of the same saying it is not always possible to say which is the original and which the doublet, or whether both forms are due to the prophet himself.

of thy seed', in which the metaphor in the word 'circumcise' is almost forgotten.

The striking description of the Chaldaeans in Jer. v 15-17 has at least as great an appearance of originality as the more laboured description in Deut. xxviii 49-57, while the gruesome details in the latter passage suggest an expansion of Jer. xix 9. Certainly the poetical picture of the Chaldaean invasion in Jer. vi 22 ff has every appearance of originality.

The expression, 'name . . . is called upon', in token of ownership, is found in Deut. xxviii 10 and is common in Jeremiah; but the latter uses it in different connexions, vii 10, 11, 14, xxxii 34, xxxiv 15, xiv 9, xv 16, xxv 29, and it occurs in other books also. It is, therefore, impossible to claim that Jeremiah borrowed it from Deuteronomy.

Again, the phrase 'stubbornness of heart', which occurs in Deuteronomy only once (xxix 18, E.V. 19), hardly looks in that connexion like a phrase coined by the author. Jeremiah's use of it (iii 17, vii 24, ix 13 (E.V. 14), xi 8, xiii 10, xvi 12, xviii 2, xlii 17) is, on the whole, more natural.

There is a verbal agreement in Jer. x 3 and Deut. xxvii 15, 'the work of the hands of the workman'; and it must be admitted that the phrase is more natural in its context in Deuteronomy than in Jeremiah. But as few critics will maintain that Jeremiah is the author of x 1-16, this particular agreement has no bearing on the present enquiry.

The phrase 'iron furnace' occurs both in Jer. xi 4 and in Deut. iv 20, but it is impossible to say whether it is original in either passage, or in each case is borrowed from elsewhere. In neither case is the metaphor of a smelting furnace prominent, and it is probable that the origin of the phrase is unknown to us.

Further it is noteworthy that Jeremiah, although he repeatedly asserts Jehovah's possession of Israel (vii 23, xi 4, xiii 11, xxiv 7, xxx 22, xxxi 1, 33, xxxii 38), never uses the remarkable expression which occurs *three times* in Deuteronomy (vii 6, xiv 2, xxvi 18), 'a peculiar people', עם סגולה. The expression is indeed a *legal* one, and more likely to be coined originally by a lawyer than by a prophet. But if Jeremiah's language is influenced by Deuteronomy, it is certainly hard to explain his rejection of it.

Again, the phraseology of Jer. xix 7 b is at least as natural in its context as the parallel in Deut. xxviii 26. The same may be said of the expression, 'in anger and in fury and in great wrath', which occurs both in Jer. xxi 5 and in Deut. xxix 27 (E.V. 28); and likewise of the parallel passages Jer. xxii 8, 9 and Deut. xxix 23-25. Similarly the phrase 'for a shuddering unto all kingdoms of the earth' (Jer. xv 4, xxiv 9, xxix 18, xxxiv 17, Deut. xxviii 25) is as likely to be the coinage of the one writer as of the other.

The expression, 'the way of life' (i.e. the road to life), 'and the way of death' (Jer. xxi 8), is perfectly natural in its context, and may claim originality quite as well as the form of words in Deut. xxx 15, 19. The same may be said of the phrase 'I will give them a heart to know me' (Jer. xxiv 7), compared with the language of Deut. xxix 3 (E.V. 4); and also of Jer. xxxii 18 as compared with Deut. v 9, 10.

Further, it is to be noted that in Jer. xxviii 9, where one might have expected to find a quotation from Deut. xviii 22, no such quotation occurs; nor does the word *וְיָדָע* occur in the book of Jeremiah except in *cc.* xlix, l.

Another remarkable feature of the book of Jeremiah is its use of the word *וְיָדָע*, 'liberty' (xxxiv 8), which is found in Lev. xxv 10 (? H) but not in Deuteronomy. Jeremiah never uses the Deuteronomic word *וְיָדָע*.

But not only is it unnecessary to suppose that the phrases common to Jeremiah and Deuteronomy are quotations from the latter book; the case for the originality of Jeremiah is greatly strengthened by the occurrence there of a number of particularly striking expressions not found in Deuteronomy, or, indeed, in many cases, elsewhere. Thus Jeremiah's description of his country as 'a pleasant land, the goodliest heritage of the nations' (Jer. iii 19 cf. Ezek. xx 6) is not found in Deuteronomy.

Moreover, such poems as we have, for example, in Jeremiah iv 19-32, although they may have suffered in transmission, are sufficient to establish the fame of their author. Again and again in the book we find phrases which, to quote Dr Davidson, 'haunt the ear': 'Hath a nation changed its gods, which yet are no gods? but my people have changed their glory for that which doth not profit' (ii 11); 'not at housebreaking didst thou find

them' (ii 34); 'and ye shall find rest for your souls' (vi 16); 'which I commanded not, neither came it into my mind' (vii 31); 'as a horse that rusheth headlong in the battle' (viii 6); 'before your feet stumble upon the dark mountains' (xiii 16); 'Can the Ethiopian change his skin, or the leopard his spots?' (xiii 23); 'the which, whosoever heareth, his ears shall tingle' (xix 3); 'Is not my word like as fire? saith the Lord; and like a hammer that breaketh the rock in pieces?' (xxiii 29).

Although the foregoing examination of the literary parallels in Jeremiah and Deuteronomy cannot be said to *prove* that the latter is influenced by the former, it may fairly be claimed for it that it at least demonstrates the possibility that such is the case; and this result, negative as it is, is of the utmost importance in an enquiry into the date of Deuteronomy, since its supposed influence on Jeremiah has hitherto precluded the idea of an *exilic* date for it.

Since, therefore, literary considerations leave the date of Deuteronomy undecided, we are able without bias to examine evidence of other kinds as to date.

In the first place, then, it is important to notice that Deuteronomy is addressed to *all* Israel; and this, not only in the introduction, as in i 1, v 1, but also in the main body of the book, as in xviii 6. It is surely improbable that in the days of Josiah, or earlier, provision would have been made by Judæan legislators for the case of a Levite coming from North Israel.

The same characteristic is noticeable also in the law of the Cities of Refuge (Deut. xix). If that law dated from the seventh century B.C., we should expect to find the three Cities of Refuge west of the Jordan in Judæan territory; whereas the statement in Joshua xx 7, which enumerates Kedesh (in Naphthalî), Shechem, and Hebron, implies that these three cities have always possessed the right of asylum¹.

Another consideration which makes it difficult to assign Deuteronomy to an earlier period than that of Jeremiah is the

¹ Deut. xix 8, 9 is apparently a later addition to apply to the territory east of the Jordan, when the inhabitants of that region had accepted the law of the Sanctuary. The story of the altar π (Joshua xxii) probably refers to the same period. Although Bethel, 'the royal sanctuary' (Amos vii 13), was doubtless destroyed by the Assyrians, yet several less celebrated altars probably remained; cf. Judges vi 24.

absence from it of any mention of the cult of 'the Queen of heaven'. In Jeremiah's days that cult appears to have been popular enough (vii 18, cf. xlv 17-19); yet Deuteronomy, notwithstanding its earnest warnings against idolatry (iv 19, xvii 3), contains no precise reference to it.

The denunciation of Ammon and Moab in Deut. xxiii 4 ff (E.V. 3 ff) is intelligible if the composition of Deuteronomy be later than the destruction of Jerusalem; for Moabites and Ammonites with Aramaeans (cf. Deut. xxiii 5) had aided the Chaldaeans against Judah (2 Kings xxiv 2, cf. Jer. xlviii, xlix, Ezek. xxv 1-11); while the favourable mention of Edom in Deut. xxiii 8 (E.V. 7) may be explained by the absence of the name of Edom from 2 Kings xxiv. Ezekiel, it is true, denounces Edom (xxv 12-14, xxxv) for attacking Israel 'in the time of their calamity', and for seizing the possessions of Israel; but he brings a similar charge against the Philistines also (xxv 15, 17), and it is probable that all the neighbours of Judah tried to enrich themselves at Judah's expense during the last days of the Monarchy.

The unforgiveable sin of the Edomites (Ps. cxxxvii 7, Isa. lxiii, Mal. i 3) is probably to be looked for in their conduct at a much later date, viz. in the disaster implied in Neh. i 3 (cf. Ezra iv 23).

Less than a generation after the destruction of Jerusalem there must have been many Edomites in Judah, for the stress of Arab invasion was already driving them northward, and Judah and Edom had enough in common to make the fusion of the two races an easy matter. It would, therefore, in all probability have been difficult to exclude people of Edomite descent from the congregation of Judah.

The favourable mention of Egyptians (Deut. xxiii 8) is more easily explained during the exile than in the days of Manasseh or Josiah. For after the murder of Gedaliah many fugitives found an asylum in Egypt (Jer. xlii-xliv), whereas Jeremiah (ii 36), as Isaiah had done before him, had protested against the incessant peril of an Egyptian alliance.

The insistence on kindness to slaves in Deuteronomy (v 14, 15, xv 12-15, xvi 12), although in any case fully in accordance with the spirit of its legislation, rather gains in force if the events

recorded in Jer. xxxiv preceded it. It would, however, be unsafe to found an argument on this.

The law relating to the king (Deut. xvii 14-20), with its limitation of the royal power, is hardly likely to have received the assent of Josiah himself. The language of vv. 14, 15 is particularly noticeable. There is nothing to indicate that Jehovah will choose the eldest son. Moreover, the law was drawn up at a time when there was at least a possibility that the people might elect a foreigner as their king (see v. 15). But considering the fact that the dynasty of David continued till the exile, and that the people made Azariah (2 Kings xiv 21) and Josiah (2 Kings xxi 24) after the murder of their respective fathers, the prohibition of an alien king before the exile seems altogether superfluous. On the other hand, during the exile, it is not impossible that the Palestinian community had some thought of recognizing as king some governor appointed by the Babylonian or Persian government, or, as is more probable, that there was an inclination in Judah to join a federation of Philistine and other Palestinian states with a view to throw off the yoke of Babylon or Persia. True, the statement that the king is not to cause the people to return to Egypt for the sake of multiplying horses seems at first sight somewhat gratuitous during the exile, especially after the power of Egypt had been broken by Nebuchadnezzar. But the old nationalist spirit, which had brought Judah to ruin, was not extinct even after the frightful blows of 597 and 586. There are indications of it in the time of Zerubbabel and in the following century. Certainly in the middle of the sixth century B.C. there must have been many who remembered the costly supplies of horses from Egypt for Judah's suicidal wars. Perhaps also Egypt was still seeking to stir up the Palestinian states against Babylon. At any rate, a few years later, 525 B.C., it joined in a rebellion against Cambyses.

It is noteworthy that 1 Kings v 6 (E. V. iv 26), which describes Solomon's horses, may be assigned to the Persian period, as is shewn by the use of the expression *לְכָרִי הַנִּקְרָא* (v. 4) to denote the country west of the Euphrates (cf. Ezra iv 10, 11, 16, 17, 20); hence the law of Deuteronomy (xvii 14-20, see particularly v. 17), may be directed against the common *ideal* of a king.

The law of Deuteronomy (xiv 1) forbids the cutting of the

flesh as a sign of mourning, and apparently the old practice of shaving the head; but Jeremiah (xvi 6) refers to both without the slightest indication that they are illegal (cf. also Jer. xli 5).

Reference has already been made to the difficulty of supposing that in the reign of Josiah, or earlier, the law should have permitted a Levite coming from what had been the kingdom of North Israel to minister at Jerusalem. The enactment of Josiah, which may be inferred from the words of Ezekiel (xliv 10-14), and which the sons of Zadok had so successfully resisted, must have referred only to the kingdom of Judah. But the law of Deuteronomy (xviii 6) expressly states that a Levite coming out of any city 'out of all Israel' is to be received at Jerusalem. Surely this implies the abolition of the northern sanctuaries, on which Josiah had neither the right nor the power to insist¹.

A similar conclusion is arrived at, if the law of the One Sanctuary, as given in Deut. xii, be compared with the corresponding law in the Holiness code (Lev. xvii). The latter code, it is true, we have only in a recension as late as the exile; but its nucleus is evidently much older, and would indeed seem to be identical with the nucleus of the codes in Exod. xxxiv and in the Book of the Covenant. From the frequent agreement between the Law of Holiness and Ezekiel it is reasonable to suppose that it had substantially reached its present form in 597 B.C.²; and it may therefore be considered as fairly representing the old law of Judah as it had taken shape in the hands of the Zadokite priesthood at the time of the exile.

If, then, Lev. xvii be compared with Deut. xii, it at once becomes evident that the former code, notwithstanding its

¹ That Josiah's northern frontier did not extend beyond Geba (or Gibeah?), and therefore did not include Bethel, is clearly implied in 2 Kings xxiii 8. In harmony with this is the fact that Jeremiah habitually appeals to *Judah* and *Jerusalem*. The original account of Josiah's reforms has been considerably amplified in later times, not only by the addition of a number of details, but also by the incorporation in it of the history of the desecration of Bethel. The latter is by the same hand as 1 Kings xiii, as is shewn, not only in the general agreement of the two sections, but also by a grammatical peculiarity which they have in common, viz. בְּרֵי הַבְּסוֹת (1 Kings xiii 32, 2 Kings xxiii 19), instead of the form בֵּית הַבְּסוֹת which occurs elsewhere and which is in harmony with the plural בְּרֵית הַבְּסוֹת.

² This must be understood as referring to its contents rather than to its actual wording. It is not probable, for example, that the original form of *H* called the sanctuary 'the tent of meeting'.

limitation of sacrifice to the one altar, introduces into the sacrificial system a far less drastic reform than the latter. For Lev. xvii allows no slaughter of any domestic animal, unless at least the fat is burnt and the blood poured out at the altar. In the small kingdom of Josiah, in which Jerusalem, both in size and importance, far surpassed any other town, at a time moreover when there were probably not many wealthy people in the country districts, it was doubtless possible, albeit to some a great hardship, to insist that no one should slay a domestic animal without providing for the offering of its fat and the pouring out of its blood at the altar in Jerusalem. Lev. xvii may, therefore, be said to contain the earliest form of the law of the One Sanctuary.

But in a code addressed to 'all Israel' an enactment, which at best must have pressed hard upon many, was manifestly impossible. Accordingly the law of the One Sanctuary in the modified form which we find in Deut. xii no longer requires the ritual offering of the fat and blood of a slaughtered animal, but only that the blood shall be poured out on the ground like water. The fat, which was originally considered almost as sacred as the blood, is henceforth made common. In like manner the law relating to the killing of game in Lev. xvii 13, 14 appears older than that in Deut. xii 15, 22.

The priority of the Law of Holiness to Deuteronomy may be inferred also from a comparison of the two codes in their references to soothsaying. The simple warning of Lev. xix 31 appears older than the comprehensive list given in Deut. xviii 10, 11.

That Deuteronomy is a Palestinian work is generally recognized. If then it be the outcome of the labours of the reforming party in Palestine during the generation after the destruction of Jerusalem, we are at once able to explain both its points of contact with the Law of Holiness (which may in the main be regarded as the law of Ezekiel's contemporaries in Babylon), and the absence of any appeal to it, or quotation from it, in the writings of Ezekiel¹.

The arguments generally adduced for assigning to Deuteronomy

¹ The present writer would refer here to what he has written in the *Journal of Theological Studies*, January 1905, p. 182.

a date not later than 621 B.C. are its supposed influence on Jeremiah, and the close agreement between its enactments and the reforms of Josiah. The first of these arguments has already been considered. The second, which is generally supposed to have great weight¹, must therefore be examined.

In the first place, then, it must be remembered that the account of Josiah's reforms was in all probability not written for a considerable time after the events recorded. If in the meanwhile Deuteronomy had become the law of the community, the historian's account of what Josiah did would naturally be coloured by his conception of what a pious king ought to do. Secondly, it must be remembered that it is quite unnecessary to suppose that Josiah's reforms could only have been carried out on the basis of an existing law. Such a supposition rests on a misconception of the nature of the government in the kingdom of Judah. There was no parliament to initiate legislation to which the king was responsible. The direction of affairs seems to have been theoretically in the hands of the king, practically, at all events in the case of a weak king such as Zedekiah, in the hands of a body of courtiers or 'princes'. No doubt the king was always compelled to reckon with public opinion, but, assuming that a sufficient weight of this was upon his side, he was a law to himself.

We must not take the prophets' denunciations of the sins of their country altogether *au pied de la lettre*. In every age reformers have cried like Elijah, 'I, even I only, am left', unaware of the existence of 'seven thousand that have not bowed the knee to Baal'. The leaven of the teaching of Isaiah and Micah was working in the lump even in the days of Manasseh. We are justified in supposing that in the days of Josiah there was a sufficient weight of public opinion on the side of the reformers to make it possible for them to carry out their reforms. No doubt there was also vehement opposition, though of this the Bible gives us scarcely a hint. Old customs, especially religious customs, are not readily given up, nor old objects of reverence destroyed. Nothing could be described more simply than the destruction of the brazen serpent in 2 Kings xviii 4; yet to not a few it must have seemed an act

¹ Cf. Carpenter and Battersby *The Hexateuch* vol. i p. 91.

of sacrilege that cried to heaven for vengeance. Doubtless the words which are put into the mouth of Rabshakeh (2 Kings xviii 22) are a fair illustration of the way in which many regarded Josiah's reforms.

What the book was of which a copy was found in the Temple, and read to King Josiah, assuming the substantial accuracy of the account in 2 Kings xxii, it is impossible to say. Probably the author or editor to whom we owe the present form of the history of Josiah's reforms identified it with Deuteronomy. At all events this is implied by the phrase ספר התורה in v. 8 (notice the Definite Article).

But it may fairly be questioned whether the Book of Deuteronomy, even if it had been in existence, would have produced upon Josiah quite such an effect as is described. Since the influence of the book which was read to the king, assuming that there was such a book, was manifested in the destruction of the local sanctuaries, with the inevitable diminution of sacrifice, it is reasonable to suppose that what affected so powerfully the mind of the king was some denunciation of sacrifice such as we find in either Amos, Hosea, Isaiah, or Micah. True, the language of these prophets, if pressed to its farthest logical conclusion, would have necessitated the abolition of the Temple of Jerusalem also. But though Josiah was prepared to abolish the country sanctuaries, he was not prepared to abolish his own. It was an *annexe*, it must be remembered, of his own palace, and since the priests who ministered in it were his servants, he doubtless considered that any abuses that might be found there could be easily removed. The compromise which Josiah adopted (and who shall say he was wrong?) was just such a compromise as would suggest itself to a man on whose mind the teaching of the prophets had had great effect, but who supposed, perhaps not altogether wrongly, that that teaching was not to be interpreted too literally.

If it was some collection of prophetic sayings which was read to Josiah, this might have been described in the earliest form of the story as a book of *tôrâ* (for *tôrâ* was used of prophetic teaching at least as late as the time of Isaiah, and probably much later), which in later times would be interpreted as a book of *the tôrâ*, i. e. the Deuteronomic law.

Hitherto our enquiry into the date of the composition of Deuteronomy has dealt chiefly with the main body of the book. In the case of some of the later additions it will perhaps be generally agreed that no suitable date can be found earlier than the exile. Thus Deut. xxix 28 (Heb. 27) speaks of an exile as an actual fact ('as at this day'), and there is not the slightest indication that the reference is to the Northern Kingdom.

Again, on the supposition of an exilic date we may find a possible explanation of a difficult phrase in the Blessing, Deut. xxxiii 7. The words, 'Hear, O Jehovah, the voice of Judah, and bring him in unto his people', present difficulty in more points than one. In the first place the text can scarcely be correct, for the use of the Jussive of the 2nd person *תביאנו* apart from a negative is inexplicable¹. Perhaps we should point *שמע* as the Perfect *שמע* and read *יְהוָה שָׁמַע*, i.e. 'Jehovah hath heard the voice of Judah, and to his own people will He bring him.' It is, however, extremely improbable that *Judah* ever prayed to be united with the larger Israel. Down to the time of Ahaz the kings of Judah were bent on asserting their independence, and certainly after the destruction of Samaria no Judaeon would have dreamt of praying to be brought in to the kingless Samaria. It is much more natural to explain the phrase 'his own people' as the people of Judah (in Judaea), and 'the voice of Judah' as the prayer of the Jewish exiles in Babylon to be restored to their kindred in the Holy Land. This double conception of Judah as being both in Babylon and in Judaea at the same time is similar to that which we find in Isa. xl 1 ff, where the prophet bids his fellow countrymen in Babylon comfort Jehovah's people, by whom, as the context shews, he means the inhabitants of Jerusalem and of the cities of Judah.

Again, the remarkable passage relating to Ebal and Gerizim in Deut. xxvii, which is referred to by anticipation in Deut. xi 29, 30, though in all probability a somewhat later appendix to, or an insertion in, the earlier code, bears strong marks of exilic composition.

¹ It is possible, however, to regard *תביאנו* as *Imperfect*, especially the poet's hope that his prayer will be fulfilled: 'Yea, thou wilt bring him in.'

In the first place it is to be noted that this particular law is said to have been given by 'Moses and the elders of Israel', thus implying that it is supplementary to the law of the One Sanctuary already accepted in Judah, and regarded as Mosaic. The injunction to celebrate festival sacrifices on Mt. Ebal is very remarkable, and at first sight seems at variance with the law of the One Sanctuary. There is, however, nothing in the language to imply that we have a law relating to an annual or periodic sacrifice, and the natural inference is that it deals with some one occasion. What that occasion was is indicated in *v. 9*, which seems to imply the incorporation in the covenant of Israel of some who had hitherto been regarded as excluded from it. 'This day thou art become the people of Jehovah thy God'.¹ Thou shalt therefore obey the voice of Jehovah thy God, and do His commandments and His statutes which I command thee this day.'

The sacrifice held at the altar on Ebal was probably the last ever held there, and was permitted because a solemn covenant, such as that into which the inhabitants of the district were entering, demanded a sacrifice, and a sufficient number of the population could not have gone to Jerusalem to give due weight to the solemn promulgation of the Deuteronomic law. The old sanctuary, the origin of which was assigned by tradition to the Israelite conquest of Palestine, was too sacred in the eyes of the inhabitants to be done away with; but any heathenish or un-Deuteronomic ideas connected with it were removed by the expedient of inscribing the stones with the words of the Deuteronomic law. It is probable that this enactment was a compromise made with the object of reconciling a recalcitrant party in North Israel.

It must be admitted that the critical difficulties of *c. xxvii* are considerable. The natural inference from *vv. 2, 3*, as Professor Driver has pointed out², is that the great stones are to be set up *immediately* after the crossing of the Jordan. For the expression

¹ The statement here is much stronger than that in *xxvi 16, 18*, which implies the acknowledgement or ratification of a compact between Jehovah and His people. Here it is said, not that Israel has become Jehovah's people (which would have been expressed by *יָצָא יִשְׂרָאֵל אֶל־יְהוָה*), but that Israel *has been made into a nation*, and that a nation belonging to Jehovah (*נַחֲמֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל אֶל־יְהוָה*).

² *Commentary on Deuteronomy* p. 295.

'on the day when', **ביום אשר**, implies a literal day, whereas the expression used in *v.* 4 **בְּעָבְרְכֶם** is more general, and means here, as is clear from its use in *v.* 12, 'when ye shall have crossed over'. Moreover, the reason given in *v.* 3 for inscribing the stones is 'that thou mayest go into the land which Jehovah thy God giveth thee', implying that the conquest of Palestine is still future; whereas it would obviously be impossible to set up an altar on Mt. Ebal till a very considerable portion of the land had been conquered. These discrepancies make it improbable that *v.* 4 is originally parallel to *v.* 2. The explanation of the difficulty would seem to be that two laws dealing with two different localities have been telescoped together. It will be generally admitted that Joshua viii 30-35 is a clear reference to this chapter, beginning apparently with the building of the altar in *v.* 5. But since the account in Joshua just referred to mentions no stones save those of which the altar itself is built, the natural meaning of its statement in *v.* 32 is that the words of the law were *engraved on the stones of the altar itself*. With this clue we may perhaps reconstruct the text of Deut. xxvii 4, 5, which, as it was originally written by those who framed the statute for the ceremony on Ebal, probably ran somewhat as follows: **וְחָיָה בְּעֶבֶר אֶת הַיַּרְדֵּן וּבְנִית מִזְבֵּחַ לַיהוָה אֱלֹהֶיךָ בְּהָר עֵיבָל מִזְבֵּחַ אֲבָנִים וְנֹחַ**. No mention is made in Joshua of any *plastered* stones, and the introduction of them into Deut. xxvii 4 (quite out of the proper place, since the instructions about the plastering, if genuine, should immediately precede *v.* 8), is probably due to the editor, who was endeavouring to combine a law concerning the building of an altar on Ebal with another law relating to the plastering and inscribing of certain great stones. But if 'the stones' of Deut. xxvii 8, like 'the stones' of Joshua viii 32, are the stones of the *altar*, there is no mention in connexion with Ebal of any standing stones.

Since the book of Joshua mentions an altar on Ebal and, indeed, actually shews an acquaintance with the law contained in Deut. xxvii 5-8, it is natural to ask whether there is also in Joshua a reference to the stones mentioned in *vv.* 2, 3. We have seen that these stones were to be set up immediately after crossing the Jordan; and we naturally think, therefore, of the circle of twelve stones at Gilgal (Joshua iv 20). It is not impossible

that Deut. xxvii 2, 3, in its original form, referred to the plastering of the old standing stones of Gilgal as a means of depriving them of their old associations.

If then this view of the section of Deut. xxvii 2-8 be correct, viz. that it is a combination of two laws referring to two different localities, we may account for its present form as follows: the name *Gilgal* being omitted (possibly in consequence of the explanation given in Joshua v 9, according to which the name would be impossible in the mouth of Moses), v. 4 was rewritten by the editor, who assigned the standing stones to the same site as the altar, as is also done by the author of the geographical note in Deut. xi 30.

Another explanation, however, is possible. The natural meaning of Deut. xi 30 is that Ebal and Gerizim were in the neighbourhood of Gilgal; and a place named Juleijil exists to this day 'on the plain of Makhna 1 m. E. of the foot of Mt. Gerizim, 2½ m. SE. of Shechem, and 1¼ m. SW. of Salim' (*Encyc. Bibl.* art. 'Gilgal', col. 1732). But this is too far from the Jordan to suit the story of Joshua iv, even if the Israelites be supposed to have crossed considerably north of Jericho. It is, however, by no means improbable that the Gilgal near Jericho has been confused with the Gilgal near Ebal and Gerizim. A confusion of a similar kind is found at the beginning of Deuteronomy, where the confusion of Suph (= Suphah, Num. xxi 14) with *Yam sūph*, the Red Sea, has caused a laborious annotator to add the utterly irrelevant and misleading note 'between Paran and Tophel . . . Kadesh Barnea'.

But the critical difficulties do not end here. From Deut. xxvii 12, 13 (cf. xi 29) we should infer that the six tribes on Mt. Gerizim were to recite, or, at all events, respond to, the blessings, and, likewise, the six tribes on Mt. Ebal the curses; but according to v. 14 ff the *Levites* pronounce the curses, and *all* the people respond *Amen*¹.

Again, since we have twelve curses in c. xxvii, we should expect to find also twelve blessings, but of these there is no trace. True, the word *blessed* (ברוך) occurs *six* times in xxviii 3, 6; but against this must be set the sixfold *cursed* (ארור) of vv. 16-19.

¹ See Driver *Deuteronomy* p. 298 ff.

It is, however, noticeable that the curses in this latter place are called *הקללות* (cf. *על-הקללה* xxvii 13, cf. also *הברכות* xxviii 2 with *לברך* xxvii 12); and since there are six blessings and six curses, it is conceivable (though, having regard to their form, improbable), that one blessing or curse was assigned to each tribe, in the same way that the articles of the Apostles' Creed were assigned to the Twelve Apostles. On this supposition the section xxvii 14-26 may be, as Dr Driver suggests, 'an old liturgical office', which has been inserted here.

Joshua viii 34, however, certainly seems to be a reference to the blessings and curses of Deut. xxviii; and it is distinctly said (v. 33) that the recital of these took place *after the blessing of the people* by the tribes on the two mountains. It is remarkable that the book of Joshua says nothing about any *curses* in this connexion, but implies that the ceremony in which the tribes standing on the two mountains took part was one of benediction only. Indeed the ceremony, as it is described in Joshua, is a far more natural one; for instead of six tribes standing on Mt. Gerizim, and six on Ebal, the people stand on either side of the priests, who bear the Ark, six tribes with their backs (*א-ל-מול*) towards Gerizim, and six with their backs towards Ebal. The mention of the Ark is doubtless an addition by the editor of Joshua. Having regard then to the account in Joshua we may consider the words *על-הקללה* in Deut. xxvii 13 to be an editorial addition to prepare the way for the list of curses in xxvii 14 ff., xi 29 having undergone similar modification.

But if these verses are 'a liturgical office' which is old enough to have been inserted in the text of Deuteronomy, such an office may be presumed to have had its origin in some definite historical incident; and the sort of incident is suggested by Neh. x 29, 30, which relates how the people who formed the new Church of Israel 'entered into a curse, and into an oath, to walk in God's law', a phrase which may be compared with the very similar one in Deut. xxix 12 (Heb. 11). At the ratification of a solemn covenant it is extremely probable that an anathema would be pronounced on those who should be faithless to the conditions of the covenant.

It must be admitted that the twelve curses of Deut. xxvii, as they stand, can hardly represent such an anathema; for

we cannot imagine a new covenant based on such a law, for example, as that which forbids the misleading of the blind; but some of the sins anathematized, notably those in *vv.* 15, 20, 21, 22, 23, 26, being aimed at customs which had ceased to be lawful, or were associated with heathenish practices, might very well form such an anathema. It must not be forgotten that to Ezekiel marriage within certain degrees of kinship, lawful in the time of David, is regarded as a sin equal to bloodshed.

To sum up then our enquiry into the nature of Deut. xxvii, it is not improbable that that chapter in its original elements referred to more than one ceremony of reconciliation between Judah and southern Samaria, the district for which the original Deuteronomic code was compiled, and outlying districts in northern Samaria, and possibly Gilead, as these were gradually induced to come into line in religious matters with Jerusalem. That it was only by degrees that the province of Samaria and Gilead accepted the Deuteronomic law is extremely probable: but it is certain that all the worshippers of Jehovah in Palestine had accepted the law of the One Sanctuary a considerable time before the mission of Nehemiah; otherwise the acceptance by the Samaritans of the whole Pentateuch would be inexplicable.

We are not in a position to state precisely by what stages Judah and Samaria, which politically had for centuries been separated and continued separated certainly till after the time of Nehemiah, were united in their acceptance of one religious law. Southern Samaria, of which Bethel was the religious centre, was probably the first part of what had been the kingdom of North Israel to acknowledge Jerusalem as the one legitimate sanctuary. In the opinion of the present writer this remarkable reform was effected through a compromise, by which the Aaronite priests of Bethel migrated to Jerusalem.

We cannot suppose that the amalgamation of the worship of Bethel and Jerusalem was carried out without much friction. If, as is likely, the doings attributed to Josiah in 2 Kings xxiii are ~~not~~ mere invention, but are at least 'founded on fact', we may infer that the reforming party who induced the Aaronites to come to Jerusalem did not shrink from the grossest acts of violence in dealing with their opponents. There is nothing improbable in the story of the slaughter of priests upon altars, or of the desecra-

tion of the altar of Bethel by burning men's bones upon it¹. Like atrocities have been committed by Christian reformers. The chief error in the account of 2 Kings xxiii is that the reformation has been placed a generation or two too early. Somewhat later the violence of the reformers seems to have moderated. At any rate the altar on Ebal was changed from its old use with due regard to decency and to the feelings of those who had been wont to regard it as holy.

It would seem also that the precedent of Ebal was followed in the case of other sanctuaries also. Reference has already been made to the altar mentioned in Joshua xxii. The story there given in its present form is certainly not historical, though some historical incident probably underlies it. The description of the locality of the altar is too vague to allow us to identify it with any certainty. The statement of *vv.* 10, 11 certainly seems to place it on the west of the Jordan (though the subsequent narrative implies that it was on the east); and, if this be correct, it is not improbable that Gilgal was the place of which the story was originally told. As an old and important sanctuary Gilgal certainly had an altar; it was not far from the Jordan; it belonged to the Northern Kingdom, and therefore must have been outside Josiah's jurisdiction.

Hitherto we have claimed for Deuteronomy merely that it is exilic. We naturally ask whether it is possible to fix the date more precisely. It certainly cannot have been composed quite at the beginning of the exile, for between the murder of Gedaliah and its composition we must allow time for the country to settle down, for the Aaronite priests to migrate to Jerusalem, for the amalgamation of the Judæan book J with the North Israelite book E, into JE, and for the conviction that the book of *tôrā* so produced was inadequate. All this could scarcely have taken place in less than twenty years, and may have occupied a much longer space of time. On the other hand it is practically certain that Deuteronomy was substantially completed in the time of Zerubbabel; for from his days onward Samaria's growing jealousy of Judah would have made the unification of worship impossible, if it had not been already an accomplished fact. We may, there-

¹ It is, however, not impossible that some of the details were suggested to a later editor by Ezek. vi 5.

fore, conclude that the composition of Deuteronomy belongs to the generation which closed about 520 B. C.

Deuteronomy is a *Palestinian* work, and if the date assigned to it above be accepted, our ideas about Palestine in the middle of the sixth century B. C. must be considerably modified. In what was once considered a barren period of history in a wasted land there arose a book with which the Saviour of the world fortified His soul in temptation. Truly the desert can rejoice and blossom like the rose!

R. H. KENNETT.

SOME CREED PROBLEMS.

THE publication of the *editio princeps* of the works of Niceta of Remesiana by Dr Burn¹ after the lapse of fifteen hundred years, is one of the most striking results of the patient constructive work of historical criticism. The memory of his work seems to have died out with the memory of the Latin Christianity of the Danube. The Western Church of the following centuries regarded the Church of the Danube provinces as the home of the Visigoths and Ostrogoths and the seed-plot of Arianism. It forgot that there had been a flourishing school of theology in those parts before the rise of Arianism. It forgot the biblical work of Victorinus of Pettau. St Ambrose, St Jerome, St Augustine, and St Leo alone occupied the theological horizon. The Church sang the *Te Deum*, but attributed it to one or other of the Western theologians. It read the treatise *de Symbolo* but regarded some one or other of the Western writers, whose names and works were better known, as its author. Light began to break through to the giants of patristic learning of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries such as Ph. Labbe and John Prosdocimus Zabeo of Venice, but they were scarcely able to counteract the traditions of the Western Church. It remained for Dom Morin, the Benedictine student of Maredsous, to see first of all the full meaning of the references to Niceta of Dacia in the poems of Paulinus of Nola, and the value of the note: 'Neceta comarba Petair doronai in cantaic-se', prefixed to the text of the *Te Deum* in the 'Liber Hymnorum' and other Irish MSS². Dr Burn had the good fortune to introduce the discoveries of Dom Morin as to the authorship of the *Te Deum* to English theologians, and he has now had the pleasure and the

¹ *Niceta of Remesiana: His Life and Works*. By A. E. Burn, D.D. (Cambridge: at the University Press. 1905).

² *The Irish Liber Hymnorum*, Henry Bradshaw Society vol. i p. 59.

Cambridge University Press the honour of publishing the scattered works of Niceta, and thus of giving tardy recognition to one whose treatise *de Symbolo* was honoured by Cassiodorus, the minister of Theodoric, and whose name in an ancient order of Catechists is numbered amongst the Doctors of the Church between St Hilary and St Jerome¹.

The publication of the *de Symbolo* and the *Te Deum* as the undisputed works of Niceta is a landmark in the history of the Creeds, and may also be a new landmark in the history of the Gallican and Celtic liturgies. It is possible that when the edition of the Western liturgies, for which we may still have to wait some time, is published, the Hispano-Gallican group of liturgies will no longer be traced to Ephesus but to the Danube. May not the richness of their formularies and the Greek characteristics which distinguish them from the Roman liturgy be traceable to contact with the Greek uses of Thrace and Bithynia and Cappadocia rather than to the Greek traditions of Marseilles and Ephesus and Lesser Asia?

But for the present the interest centres in the origin of the *Textus Receptus* of the Apostles' Creed. The Creed of Niceta which is incorporated in the treatise *de Symbolo* is the *Textus Receptus* in embryo. It contains the addition 'creatorem coeli et terrae' in Art. i, the important 'inde' in Art. viii, and the 'catholicam' and 'communione sanctorum' in Art. x. In all these it stands in strong contrast with the conservative formulary of the old Creed of Rome. As long as these were associated with the supposed Gallican authorship of the treatise *de Symbolo*, the conclusions of Dr Kattenbusch that they were Western accretions to the old Creed of Rome could but remain unchallenged. Moreover they strengthened the thesis of Dr Kattenbusch's great work² that the old Creed of Rome was itself enriched by these accretions in Gaul, and the corollary of Dr Burn, that they were finally incorporated and authorized in Rome, and from Rome won final acceptance in the Western Church. Dr Burn, loyal to the last in his allegiance to Dr Kattenbusch, still notes that the Creed of Niceta was little more than an enriched edition of the old Creed

¹ Burn *Niceta* p. 156.

² Ferdinand Kattenbusch *Das apostolische Symbol*. 2 vols. 1894, 1900.

of Rome: 'I agree with Kattenbusch that the form used was the old Roman with some slight variations.'¹

But the conviction has been slowly gaining ground that the thesis of Dr Kattenbusch is not the last word as to the origin of the *Textus Receptus*. Rome was not the only centre of missionary activity in the West. There was an equally important advance of missionary enterprise north of the Apennines. Harnack, in his illuminating work on the Missions of the Church before the Council of Nicaea, says that the Church path from North Italy was not to Rome, but by the shorter road by way of the Balkans to the East². There are traces of this Eastern source of North Italian Christianity in the legendary history of the Church of Ravenna. St Apollinaris stays in the house of a certain soldier of Asia, named Irenaeus. He heals Thecla, the wife of a military tribune³. He is exiled to Illyricum, and travels through Salona, Pannonia, along the Danube to Thrace before he returns to Ravenna by way of Greece⁴. The 'passus' of the Creed of Milan, the 'catholicam', the 'resurrectionem huius carnis' of Aquileia all point to the same Eastern source. It would appear that at the close of the third century or at the beginning of the fourth this stream of Danubian influence passed through the Alps into Southern Gaul, and before the time of Phoebadius of Agen became a secondary source of Eastern or 'Greek' tradition in the lower Rhone valley.

But there was another line of advance north of the Alps. The imperial road from Byzantium to the west after leaving Remesiana struck up the Drave valley by way of Sirmium to Pettau. At Pettau this great road forked. The southern line struck across the Alps to Aquileia and North Italy, the northern line continued its course up the Drave, through Noricum and the Dolomite country, across the Brenner into Rhaetia and the Bavarian Highlands, and by way of Bregentium and the Lake of Constance to Basel to enter at last the great plains of Gaul. The sources of Christianity in Noricum and Rhaetia are to be traced to this line of advance. But more important still was the influence of

¹ Burn *Niceta* p. lxxv.

² Harnack *Die Mission und Ausbreitung des Christentums* p. 504.

³ *Spicilegium Ravennatis Historiae* ap. Muratori *Rerum Italicarum Scriptores* vol. i pt. ii p. 530.

⁴ *Agnelli Liber Pontificalis sive Vitae Pontificum Ravennatum* ap. Muratori *op. cit.* vol. ii pt. i p. 32.

the Burgundian and Gothic hosts who marched along this line in the opening years of the fifth century. They had come into contact with the Christianity of the Danube, Arian and Orthodox alike. Their traditions, their use, were Eastern rather than Western; their Creed, if we could touch upon it, was the Creed of the Danube, the common Creed which Arians and Orthodox alike used as the foundation of their Faith. This Creed we do not touch in Gaul in the age of the Visigoths, but we touch it on the Danube in the treatise of Niceta. We find it in Gaul as soon as the process of assimilation had taken place after the reconciliation of the Arians. Is there any reason to doubt that the source was a common one? Is there not good reason to think that the two lines of Eastern influence, branching from Pettau, the one advancing through North Italy to the lower Rhone valley, the other through the Drave valley and behind the Alps to the upper Rhone valley, are the source not only of the so-called Gallican enrichments of the Creed in the *Textus Receptus* of the Gallican service-books, but also of those Eastern features and formularies such as the frequent devotional use of the title 'Salvator', which characterize the Gallican, Spanish, and British Liturgies.

If Rome was the source of the enrichments of the *Textus Receptus*, why is it that they do not appear in Rome as early as they do on the Danube and in Gaul? And why is it that the text of the old Roman Creed remains crystallized throughout the centuries? This conservatism of expression is consistent with a belief in Rome of its apostolic authority, but raises the suspicion that it had been disconnected from its sources. There are many examples in natural history of an organism breaking off from its parent organism in the course of development, and retaining persistently the features of its parent throughout its future existence, the parent organism meanwhile developing under the more free and healthy conditions of its original environment. If the old Creed of Rome was broken off from its parent stem in Asia in the middle of the second century, the problem seems to be explained. The old Creed of Asia, the parent organism, continued to develop and enrich itself under the stress of its original environment; the old Creed of Rome, venerable and venerated for its apostolic authority, but cut off from its natural environment, remained unaltered.

Dr Kattenbusch suggests that the old Creed of Rome was formulated by some prominent Roman in the early years of the second century¹, and was introduced into Asia by Polycarp on the occasion of his visit to Rome in the episcopate of Anicetus². But if this was so, would not the actual condition of the Creeds be reversed? Should we not see the old Creed of Rome constantly growing as each new heresy made its mark in Rome, and the Creed of Asia so far venerated as to remain untouched in its original form? There is nothing on the other hand to prevent the inversion of Kattenbusch's position. Granted that the Creeds of Rome and Asia were practically identical in the latter years of the second century, the work of Polycarp may have been to introduce the Creed of Asia to Rome rather than to introduce the Creed of Rome to Asia. Anicetus was the first successor of St Peter who was of Eastern origin, according to tradition, a Syrian by birth. He and Polycarp discussed many things besides the Paschal question³. It is at least possible, when they made peace together, that Anicetus took the opportunity of adopting the Creed of Asia as the apostolic Creed of the Church of Rome. This was in or about 154⁴. Once adopted, it would receive in Rome special veneration, such veneration as once and for all checked its natural developement. The old Creed of Asia, still in its own land and subject to its original conditions, continued to grow as it had already grown, and slowly to receive those enrichments which ultimately were transmitted by way of the Danube to the *Textus Receptus*. It would appear, then, that the *Textus Receptus* represents to us the natural growth of the old Creed of Asia and not a late edition of the old Creed of Rome; that it is the old mother Creed of Christendom with many marks in it of Catholic enrichment and of the stress of a vigorous life: whilst the old Creed of Rome represents one of its earliest offshoots, venerable in its antiquity, and yet somewhat crystallized by its long isolation. The old Creed of Rome indeed remained for centuries the Apostolic Creed; the old Creed of Asia developed into the Catholic Creed of the West.

¹ Kattenbusch *Ap. Symb.* vol. ii p. 330. He suggests Euaristus or Alexander.

² *Ibid.* p. 187.

³ Eusebius *H. E.* v 24.

⁴ Marcion is no doubt a witness to the existence of a Creed at Rome before 148, but there is no evidence to shew what Creed this was.

One of the most striking marks of isolation and a most significant point of comparison between the old Creed of Rome and the *Textus Receptus* is the persistence in Art. viii of *inde* in the *Textus Receptus* and *unde* in the Creed of Rome. The Eastern theological Creeds use only *καὶ ἐρχόμενον*, or some equivalent form. The *unde* in the old Creed of Rome is represented invariably by the Greek *ὁθεν*. This *ὁθεν* occurs in the Creed of Marcellus of Ancyra, which on other grounds has been identified not with the Creed of Asia but with the Creed of Rome. There is one apparent exception to an invariable use, the presence of *ὁθεν* in the Creed of St Basil of 375. This is the form given in the treatise *de Fide*¹. This treatise, or *sermo* as it is called, is inserted between a *Prooemium de iudicio Dei* and the *Moralia*. It has been regarded as a treatise written in reply to enquiries made by some members of a monastic body. This, however, can only hold good if it is an integral part of the larger treatise. But it is not. The fragment *de Fide* is in the form of a letter, and differs in style, not only from the *Prooemium* but from the introductory sentences to the *Moralia* which follow it. It is clear from the closing sentences of the *Prooemium* that some definition of the Faith formed part of the original treatise. The present fragment or letter has been substituted for the original section. This at least is recognized as a difficulty by the Benedictine editor, Dom Garnier, in his criticism of Tillemont². Is there any clue to the purpose of the letter? It is addressed to some one in high position. It belongs to a period at which St Basil was in correspondence with the Western Bishops. Is it not perhaps an 'apologia pro fide sua' to Damasus of Rome? Like Marcellus of Ancyra, he would accommodate himself as far as possible to the Confession of the Western Church. It may therefore be from a Greek copy of the old Creed of Rome that he derived the *ὁθεν* in this Creed. It can only be a suggestion, but it is one which explains an anomaly, and is consistent with St Basil's anxiety at this time to win the sympathy of the Western Church.

But, it may be asked, is there any evidence against the use of *ὁθεν* in the Greek Creeds? The article is, as a rule, introduced by the conjunction in these Creeds. There is, however, one

¹ Basil *Opp.* ed. Ben. vol. ii p. 223.

² *Ibid.* *Praef.* p. xlii.

Creed which gives a clue to the answer. The Creed of Nike, of 359, is one of the group of Creeds connected with the Council of Ariminum. In the text or body of the Creed is the Eastern form *ἐρχόμενον*. But among the supplementary clauses under Art. ix on the Mission of the Holy Ghost, Arts. vi-viii are repeated, and Art. viii reads, *ἐκεῖθεν ἐρχόμενος κρίναι ζῶντας καὶ νεκρούς*, in close agreement with the 'inde' of the *Textus Receptus*. This is not only evidence from the Church of the Danube, but shews that the *inde* and *ἐκεῖθεν* were as closely related in the Danubian Creed as the *unde* and *θεν* in the Creed of Rome. The *θεν* of St Basil need not therefore be necessarily regarded as evidence against the use of 'inde' in the original source of the *Textus Receptus*.

An important feature of the *Textus Receptus* is the presence of 'catholicam' in Art. x. The phrase took its rise amid the theological controversies of Asia in the second century. Like the addition *τὸν παράκλητον* in Art. ix, it was intimately associated with the contest between the Catholic Church and the Montanists. The word was never assimilated by the old Creed of Rome. It occurs in the Creed forms of Firmilian of Caesarea. It occurs in the Asiatic 'acta sincera'. It appears on the Danube in the Creed of Niceta, in the Ravenna Creed in one of the Sermons of Peter Chrysologus, and in the Creed of Aquileia, published by de Rubeis. It would appear to have been part of the enrichment of the apostolic Creed of Asia, and to have been recognized along the line of advance through North Italy. It appears in Gaul in the Creed of Faustus of Riez.

The clause 'sanctorum communionem' in Art. x makes its first appearance in the Creed of the Danube. As long as the authorship of the treatise *de Symbolo* remained doubtful, the presence of this clause in the Creed of Niceta suggested a Gallican origin, the clause being first recognized as an integral part of the Western Creed in the Gallican Church. But while the works of Niceta were preparing for the press, other evidence for the Danubian origin of the clause was discovered by Dom Morin in a Creed attributed by him with good cause to St Jerome, and published in his *Anecdota Maredsolana*. Dr Burn thinks that this Creed may have been presented by Jerome to Cyril, of

¹ *Anecdota Maredsol.* vol. iii pp. iii, 199.

Jerusalem, in token of his orthodoxy about the year 377¹. It is the baptismal Creed of Jerome enlarged in the earlier clauses in reference to the current controversy in the Churches of the Danube. It is a witness for the Creed of Western Illyricum; for Stridon, the birthplace of Jerome, was in Dalmatia, on the borders of Pannonia, and belonged at that time to Western Illyricum. Again, we are almost forced to admit a Danubian origin for a Gallican formulary. Indeed, Dr Burn admits the force of the evidence: 'The new evidence seems to justify Dr. Sanday's argument that there was a strong set of the current of influence from behind the Balkans through Aquileia to Milan, and so to Gaul.'

Can the 'sanctorum communionem' be traced further? Irenaeus, in his account of the Marcosian heresy, gives a baptismal formulary, which has every appearance of being a travesty of the baptismal Creed of Asia in 160 A.D. It contains six articles. The first three are based upon the formulary of St Matthew xxviii 18. The last three are on Unity, Redemption, and Communion, and correspond with the articles on the Unity of the Church, the Remission of Sins, and the Communion of Saints in the Apostles' Creed. These three articles in the Marcosian formulary are *εἰς ἔνωσιν, καὶ ἀπολύτρωσιν, καὶ κοινωνίαν τῶν δυνάμεων*². If, as is suggested, and as a study of the other Marcosian formularies and rites in these chapters of Irenaeus seems to prove, this Creed is based upon the Creed of the Church, it is possible to restore the last clauses of the Creed of Asia in 160 as follows: *εἰς μίαν ἐκκλησίαν, εἰς ἄφεσιν τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν, εἰς κοινωνίαν τῶν ἁγίων*. The *ἔνωσιν* of Marcus represents the Unity of the Church in the Catholic Creed. The *ἀπολύτρωσιν* when compared with Col. i 14, *ἐν ᾧ ἔχομεν τὴν ἀπολύτρωσιν, τὴν ἄφεσιν τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν*, represents the Article on Holy Baptism. The *κοινωνίαν τῶν δυνάμεων* is the equivalent of the *κοινωνίαν τῶν ἁγίων* and the 'sanctorum communionem' of the *Textus Receptus*³.

Zahn, in his notes on the Apostles' Creed⁴, says: 'It is highly probable that the Latin words are the translation of a Greek original . . . τὴν κοινωνίαν τῶν ἁγίων . . . and ἅγια would certainly first suggest to Greeks the Lord's Supper.' The Marcosian phrase

¹ Burn *Niceta* p. lxxviii.

² *J. T. S.*, April 1905, vol. vi no. 23 p. 407.

³ Irenaeus *Haer.* i 21. 3.

⁴ *Expositor*, 1898, p. 140.

gives emphasis to this explanation. It might perhaps have reference to the heavenly powers, the Gnostic aeons, but not to the elect members of the Marcosian community. The simplest reference of these three Creed articles is to the Church and the two sacraments of Holy Baptism and Holy Communion. And there is one other witness to this earliest form of the Creed articles in the Creed which is recited at the beginning of the Morning Service of the Armenian Church. It is printed by Hahn¹, from the *Quellen* of Caspari: 'Wir glauben an die Vergebung der Sünden in der heiligen Kirche und in der Gemeinschaft der Heiligen.' There is the suggestion of the three Marcosian articles, and of these alone, though it cannot be determined whether the reference is to the 'sancta' or the 'sancti'.

The reference to the 'sancta' was lost very early, for Niceta certainly refers the 'sanctorum communionem' to the 'sancti'. 'Ecclesia quid est aliud quam sanctorum omnium congregatio?' He then enumerates patriarchs, prophets, apostles, and martyrs, and adds: 'etiam angeli, etiam virtutes et potestates supernae in hac una confoederantur ecclesia.' He concludes: 'Ergo in hac una ecclesia credis te communionem consecuturum esse sanctorum.'² But the older meaning was not altogether lost sight of. Dom Morin, commenting on the exposition of the clause in the *Codex Sessorianus* 52, says: 'A propos de l'article sanctorum communionem on rappelle l'obligation imposée à chaque fidèle de communier tous les dimanches; ce qui oblige d'assigner à la pièce une assez haute antiquité.'³ Though the Collection of Sermons in this Codex was formed in the ninth century, Caspari refers this particular sermon to the seventh. It may belong to an even earlier date, for among the *septem remissiones peccatorum* is mentioned the *remissio per martyrium*, which would refer it at least to the fourth century.

There is also the witness of a Norman-French text in a MS of the twelfth century, which, though it stands almost alone, cannot for that reason be altogether disregarded: 'Jeo crei el Seint Espirit; seinte eglise catholica; la communion des seintes choses.'⁴

Is it that the Latin Church of the Danube took advantage of

¹ Hahn *Symbole* p. 155.

² Niceta *de Symb.* c. x.

³ Kattenbusch *Apost. Symb.* ii 743.

⁴ Hahn *Symbole* p. 83.

the ambiguity to strengthen the idea of the Communion of the Church as against the Churches of the Arians and other bodies? Niceta is emphatic as to communion in the one church: 'Scito unam hanc esse ecclesiam catholicam in omni orbe terrae constitutam; cuius communionem debes firmiter retinere. Sunt quidem et aliae pseudo-ecclesiae, sed nihil tibi commune cum illis ut puta Manichaeorum, Cataphrigarum, Marcionistarum, vel ceterorum haereticorum sive schismaticorum, quia iam desinunt esse ecclesiae istae sanctae.'¹

And may it not be through one or other of these sources, one or other of these pseudo-ecclesiae, whether among the Goths or the Burgundians, Arians or Photinians, all of which held the holy mysteries in the highest veneration, that the older meaning of the words was handed on to come up to the surface in later years after the final reconciliation between Arian and Catholic had taken place? It can but be a suggestion, but some suggestion is called for by the evidence of the sermon in *Codex Sessor.* 52 and the Norman French Creed. They probably represent the older, truer sense of the clause 'sanctorum communionem' in its sense of fellowship in the Holy Mysteries of the Body and Blood of Christ.

An interesting point is raised by the clause *descendit ad inferna* in Art. iv. It is not in the Creed of Niceta. And yet its Danubian authority is undoubted. It appears first of all in the creeds connected with the Council of Ariminum in 359 and 360. It has been suggested that the Creed of Sirmium, the Dated Creed of 359, was drawn up with some reference to the Creed of the Church in that part of Pannonia. The frequent allusion to Latin originals and Greek translations in the transactions of 359 and 360 point to the use of a Latin Creed by Valens of Mursa and the Arian Bishops who were supporting him. In the Sirmian Creed the clause takes the place of the *ταφέντα*; in the Creeds of Nike and Constantinople it is added to the *ταφέντα*. Kattenbusch states that its dogmatic significance lies in the controversies prior to the year 300. But it was not unknown in the teaching of the fourth century. Cyril of Jerusalem speaks of the Descent into Hell in connexion with the Burial of Christ, not as the equivalent of it, but as enhancing the glory of the Resur-

¹ Niceta *de Symb.* c. x.

rection¹. And it is possible that the clause had some bearing on the Origenist teaching of the Church of the Danube. Other features, such as the *huius carnis resurrectionem* in Art. xii of the Latin Creeds of this district may be referred to the Origenist controversy. There was at the time of the Council of Nicaea a distinctly anti-Origenist leaning among the Western Bishops. Victorinus of Pettau had himself visited the great library of Caesarea. His visit and his studies cannot have been without influence on the Danube. But apart from its theological significance, the clause has an important bearing on Creed development. It is absent from the Creed of Niceta. It is present, however, in the new Creed of Jerome, and in the Creed of Aquileia. The affinity of a Creed does not always depend on the presence or absence of a particular clause, but on cumulative evidence derived from its general characteristics and from the historical associations in which it is found. The absence of the clause *creatorem caeli et terrae* from the Gallican Creeds of the fifth century is not, therefore, sufficient in itself to disprove the affinity of these Creeds with the Creed of the Danube, or to prove an independent origin for them.

Another touch in the Creed of Niceta seems to be closely connected with the clause *descendit ad inferna*. Art. v reads: *tertia die resurrexit vivus a mortuis*. The teaching of the Descent into Hell is in Cyril of Jerusalem associated with the delivery of the patriarchs. The two ideas are so closely linked together that it is not hard to see a connexion between the *vivus* of the Creed of Niceta and the words of 1 Pet. iii 18: 'Mortificatus quidem carne, *vivificatus* autem spiritu.' This *vivus* is also an important link in the chain of Creed-development to the west. The phrase *vivens a mortuis* occurs in the Creed of Aquileia, published by de Rubeis², which shews that though absent from the Creed of Rufinus it was present in some one or other of the Creed-forms of the province. It is not found in the Creed of Priscillian, but is a constituent part of the Spanish Creeds from the sixth century onwards, that is, after the reconciliation of the Arians, and after what may probably be recognized as a consequence of this reconciliation, the taking up into the Creeds and formulas of the Church of forms and rites, ancient

¹ Cyr. Hier. *Cat.* iv 11-12.

² See Hahn *Symbole* p. 44.

and orthodox in themselves and only looked on with suspicion as long as they were associated with Arianism. This adaptation of Arian uses is suggested by Duchesne in his treatment of the use of Milan¹, and the toleration of the Arian rites of Auxentius by his successor St Ambrose: 'Saint Ambroise, son successeur, trouva établis beaucoup d'usages qui ne méritaient pas tous d'être corrigés.' The suggestion is far-reaching, and has to be reckoned with in the history of the origins of Creed and Liturgy in the Churches of Gaul and Spain. If the twenty years' episcopate of Auxentius is considered by the great liturgiologist to afford a sufficient explanation of the origin of the use of Milan, how much more reason is there for taking into consideration the influence of the long supremacy of the Gothic rule and the Arian or Danubian tradition in Gaul and Spain? The phrase *vivus* occurs, therefore, as we should expect it to occur sporadically, in the Creed of Theodulph of Orleans (ob. 821). It seems reasonable to think that as a Creed-form it accompanied the western advance of the Visigoths, to appear only sporadically in Gaul, to be adopted in Spain, but to be left on one side in the formation of the *Textus Receptus*.

The phrase *Deum et Dominum* or *Dominum et Deum* in Art. ii has a similar history. Ulphilas has *Dominum et Deum nostrum*, Germinius of Sirmium *Dominum Deum nostrum*, the Arian fragment associated with the Church of the Danube by Dr Mercati, *Dominum nostrum et Deum*. The phrase was therefore a constituent part of the Creed of the Danube, though absent from Niceta. It appears like *vivus* only sporadically in Gaul, in the *Deus et Dominus* of Ausonius and the *Dominum Deum nostrum* of Gregory of Tours. But *Deum et Dominum* is a typical feature of the Spanish Creeds. It is not sufficient to say that Martin of Bracara was a native of Pannonia, and that the Danubian characteristic of the Spanish Creed may be traceable to his influence. So was Martin of Tours a native of Pannonia, but he would be bold who would attribute to his influence the *Dominum Deum nostrum* of Gregory of Tours. This, as well as the other characteristic features of the Danube, finds a more reasonable origin in the steady advance westward of the traditions of the Latin Christianity of the Danube.

¹ Duchesne *Origines du Culte chrétien* p. 93.

Another feature of the Latin Creed of the Danube is the *huius carnis resurrectionem* of the Creed of Aquileia. It appears also in Phoebe of Agen, c. 359, and therefore prior to the Visigothic advance. It is also in the Creed of the Mozarabic liturgy. The phrase came into prominence in the Origenistic controversy at the close of the fourth century, and belongs to earlier disputations on the teaching of Origen in the Church of the Danube. It occurs in the letter written in 394 by Epiphanius of Cyprus against John of Jerusalem: 'Quis autem patienter ferat Origenem lubricis argumentationibus resurrectionem carnis huius negantem?'¹ The letter only exists in the translation of Jerome, so that the phrase may be Jerome's though the sense is that of Epiphanius. It is, however, important evidence as to the meaning and use of the phrase at that time. And in the light of this evidence, is there not reason to restore the *huius* to the Creed of Niceta? Caspari read it into the *tuae* of the exposition of Niceta. This *tuae* occurs in two passages in the treatise *de Symbolo*²: 'Consequenter credis et carnis tuae resurrectionem et vitam aeternam'; and: 'Sed tu, qui in Christum credis, carnis tuae resurrectionem profiteris.' Burn says in his note: 'The *tuae* which comes to the preacher's lips so readily does not point to *carnis huius* in the creed-form commented on. Caspari, misled by the *Cod. Chisianus*, which attributed the sermon to Niceta of Aquileia, compared *Miss. et Sacr. Florent.*, "*huius carnis nostrae*".' But with the combined evidence of the Creed of Aquileia as given by Rufinus, and the use of the phrase by Epiphanius, there is some reason for thinking that the *huius* lay behind the *tuae* of Niceta. Its reappearance in the Mozarabic Liturgy is another of the links which join the traditions of the Spanish Creed history with the traditions of the Danube.

The addition *creatorem caeli et terrae* in Art. i is one of the most important characteristics of the *Textus Receptus*. It has been the subject of so much controversy in its relation to the origin of the *Textus Receptus* that it is important to give Dr Burn's statement in his own words: 'It remains true then that no pure Gallican Creed before 700 contains the clause *creatorem caeli et terrae*. We may verify this statement in the testimonies of Caesarius of Arles († 533) and Eligius of Noyon

¹ Epiph. *Opp.* ed. Colon. 1682, tom. ii p. 315. ² Niceta *de Symbolo* cc. x, xi.

(† 659).¹ Dr Burn's conclusions are based upon the use of the *Textus Receptus* in the baptismal ceremonies described by Pirminius in his *Dicta*. Pirminius is dependent on an earlier work by Martin of Bracara, but quotes the Roman form of renunciation and introduces a reference to the Roman prayer of unction. It is implied that the Creed-form is therefore of Roman origin, and that for this reason 'the *Textus Receptus* is the old Roman Creed revised in Rome itself'.² But though the argument is carefully worked out, it does not carry conviction. The cumulative argument is stronger for the gradual growth of the *Textus Receptus* in the churches directly or indirectly influenced by the Latin Christianity of the Danube.

The clause *creatorem caeli et terrae* occurs in two authorities which are connected with the Church of the Danube, the treatise *de Symbolo* of Niceta, and the Arian fragments published by Mai and Mercati. Kattenbusch considers the authority of the Arian sermons the more ancient. The phrase had to compete in the West with other forms. The new Creed of Jerome in its opening clauses assimilates the phrases of the Theological Creeds. It has the form *visibilium et invisibilium factorem*. The Creed of the *Expositio fidei* attributed by Caspari to a Gallican author at the end of the sixth century has the phrase: 'invisibile visibilium et invisibilium omnium rerum conditorem.'³ The Creed of the Bangor Antiphonary of the seventh century has 'invisibilem, omnium creaturarum visibilium et invisibilium conditorem.' The *invisibilem* in both these forms has affinity with the *invisibili et impassibili* of Aquileia. The shorter form of Niceta and the Arian fragments won its way slowly until it took its place in the Gallican service-books. It became in the opening years of the eighth century an integral part of the *Textus Receptus*.

The reference to Pirminius suggests the question as to the circumstances under which the various scattered phrases of the Creed of the Danube were sifted out or finally incorporated in the *Textus Receptus*. The Creed of Pirminius is the *Textus Receptus*. The Creed of Bangor is with some slight variations and additions the *Textus Receptus*. The Creed of Caesarius of

¹ J. T. S. July 1902, p. 496.

² *Ibid.* p. 483.

³ Hahn *Symbole* p. 73.

Arles is with very few exceptions, the chief one being the clause *creatorem caeli et terrae*, the *Textus Receptus*. The Creed of the Gallican service-books and the Ps.-Aug. Sermons 242 and 243 is the *Textus Receptus*. The evidence seems gradually to centre round the Irish monasteries of Luxeuil and Bobbio, and to point to their influence as supplementary to that of Caesarius as the source and channel whence it slowly won its way in the Western Church. A comparison of the Interrogative Creed (B) in the Sac. Gallicanum or Missal of Bobbio with the form of Creed in the English Baptismal Service shews the influence exerted in the West by the Celtic Missions. The English Baptismal Creed has the variant 'everlasting life after death', which corresponds with the *vitam habere post mortem* of the Gallican rite. Dr Burn's conclusion as to this Creed-form seems to contain the key to the solution of the problem: 'B appears to me to be the work of some Irish monk who in the archetype of this section or in this MS itself improved the form after the model of the Bangor Antiphonary which also comes to us from Bobbio.'¹

The Celtic missionaries had special opportunities for assimilating the forms and traditions of the Latin Church of the Danube. The old diocese of Chur was on the great road from the Upper Drave to the Rhine. St Columban and his companion St Gall were welcomed on the Lake of Constance by the Christian priest of Arbon. The 'pilgrimage' of Fortunatus is evidence of the life of the Church in Noricum and Rhaetia in 565. It is not likely that it had been wholly stamped out in the forty years before the arrival of St Columban. The priest of Arbon was not the only priest in the district. His father would be a contemporary of Fortunatus. Bregenz was the western end of the great road by the Vorarlberg to Innsbruck, the Brenner, and the Upper Drave valley. It was in touch with the old Christian centres of Augsburg and Chur.

There is even to this day evidence of the continuity of the Latin occupation of these districts in the remnants of the old Latin language on the Inn and the Rhine. The Ladin dialect is peculiar to the Grisons, and still lingers in the valleys of the Vorder Rhein and the Hinter Rhein. The Romanche is spoken

¹ *J. T. S.* July 1902, p. 491.

in the Engadine. It is more widely spread than the Ladin, but somewhat more closely in touch through the Innthal with the Latin population of the Brenner. The preservation of these Latin dialects in the old diocese of Chur has an important bearing on the continuity of Latin Christianity in these parts.

St Columban remained only a short time at Bregenz. His biographer Jonas writes: 'Interea cogitatio in mentem ruit, ut Veneticorum qui et Sclavi dicuntur terminos adiret, coecaeque mentes evangelica luce illustraret . . . Quievit in loco donec aditus ad Italiam viam pandat.' The call seems to have come to him over the Brenner, to strengthen the Church along the highway of the East, on the confines of the ancient province of Illyricum. He left St Gallen on the Lake of Constance, and himself settled at Bobbio.

St Columban worked in all for twenty-five years more or less in touch with the relics of the old Christianity of the Burgundian and Rhaetian peoples. His Celtic spirit of independence cut him off from the court clergy of Gaul and from the Catholicism of Rome. But the sympathetic nature, native to the Irish race, made him quick to appreciate the work and the traditions of the struggling Christianity which he met with on the Lake of Constance, and in the valleys of the Alps. It is probable that this Celtic sympathy led him to enrich the formularies of his own Church from the rites and traditions of the Latin Church of the Danube still surviving in Burgundy and Rhaetia. Bobbio became the great Celtic centre of learning in North Italy, while the monasteries of St Gallen and of Reichenau became the Celtic schools north of the Alps. They with the mother house of Luxeuil became the nursery of the so-called Gallican tradition, a tradition which was probably as much Illyrican as it was Gallican or Celtic.

These Celtic missions not only quickened into new life the old Latin traditions of the Burgundian and Rhaetian Churches, but assimilated their traditions into their own life. Many of the peculiar Eastern features of the Celtic Liturgy may be traced to this source. The true tradition as to the authorship of the *Te Deum* has been handed down in Irish MSS. Nor is it altogether an accident that the collection of Gallican Masses published by Mone from a palimpsest MS of Reichenau are

entirely Gallican, without any admixture of Roman elements'. The collection is of the seventh century. They may represent the use of the Latin Churches of the Chur district in the time of St Gall and Pirminius.

It is amid these traditions and along the line of the Celtic missions that the use of the *Textus Receptus* may be sought, and from the great schools of Luxeuil, St Gallen, Reichenau, and Bobbio that it spread throughout the Western Church.

THOMAS BARNES.

CODEX TAURINENSIS (Y). V.

ἡ ΟΡΑΣΙΣ ἡ ΑΒΔΙΟΥ !

I

1. ἄδε λέγει· κῶ ὁ θς τῇ ιδουμαίᾳ ἀκοὴν ἤκου· α. παρὰ τοῦ κν καὶ
περιοχὴν εἰς τὰ ἔθνη ** ἀπέστειλεν ἀνάστυγε καὶ ἐξαναστῶμεν . . αὐτὴν
2 εἰς πόλεμον· ² ἰδοὺ ὀλιγοστόν δέδωκά *** ν τοῖς ἔθνεσιν ἡτιμωμένους οὐ
3 εἰ σφόδρα· ³ . . ἐρηφανία τῆς καρδίας σου ἐπῆρέν σε κατασκοπεύοντα ἐν
ταῖς ὑπαῖς τῶν πε . . [ὑ]μῶν τὴν κατοικίαν αὐτοῦ λέγων ἐν . . αὐτοῦ τίς
4 με κατὰξί ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν· ⁴ . . θῆς ὡς ἀετός· καὶ ἐὰν ἀνὰ μέσον . . ἡς
5 νοσσιάν σου ἐκέθειν κατὰ . . . ⁵ εἰ κλέπται εἰσῆλθον πρὸς σέ ἢ . . τοῦ ἀν
ἀπερρίφης· οὐκ ἂν εἴ . . αὐτοῦ· καὶ εἰ τρυγητὰ εἰσῆλ . . . ὑπελίποντο
6, 7 ἐπιφυλλίδα· . . σαὺ καὶ κατελήφθη αὐ . . ⁷ . . σ τῶν ὀρίων σου ἐξά . .
ἀνδρες διαθήκης . . [ἡ]δυνάσθησαν πρὸς σέ ἀν . . κόντες σοι ἐθηκεν
8 ἐνδερα ὑποκάτω σου οὐκ ἔστι ἐν αὐτῷ ⁸ ἐν ἐκείνῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ λέγει κῶ ἀπο
9 σοφούς ἐκ τῆς ιδουμαίας καὶ σύνεσιν ἐξ ὄρου . . σαὺ· ⁹ καὶ πτοηθήσονται

Inscr Oβδειον ε Β* Qβδιον ε Β^c Aβδιον ε ΝQ Aβδειον ε Α Aβδιον δ' 22 1. ορασε
 εκστασις Aq αβδιον οβδειον Β οβδιον Β^b 48 + προφητον 233 του] ομι ΒΝΑ
 48 86 153 228 περιοχην] αγγελιαν (al αγγελου) Σ ** απεστειλεν] εφασπειν
 185 απεστειλεν 233 εφανασταμεν] εφαναστασωμεν Ν* αυτην] αυτον 86 2. δ
 δοκα *** ν] δεδοκα σε εν 22 δεδοκα εν 62 συ ει] ει συ 48 η εν 95 185 ομι ει 22
 3. επηρεν σε] ηπατησε(σε) Aq Σ Θ κατασκηνοντα] -ντος (nisi potius -ντες) Ν* -ν
 Ν^{c,a} -ντας Ν^{c,b} των] in ω fort ras aliq Β? (ν)ψαν ad fin com] OL^a = Υ
 την] ομι ΒΝΑ Q 22 48 228 233 με κατασε] tr 48 228 4. . . θη] μεταειροσε
 Q* (-θης Q^a) -θεις 86 εαν] ομι ΝΑ Q* (hab Q^a om ana ut vid) 22 62 86 14
 OL^a (θ)ης] 62 86 147 5. η] incep ε Ν* ει Α 62 95 185 απερριφης
 απερριφης Ν αυτοις] εαυτοις ΒΑ Q 48 86 153 233 αυτοις (ε improb postea ras
 Ν? υπελειποντο] υπελειποντο ΒΝ^{c,a},^{c,b} (υπολ.Ν*) υπελειποντο Α Q^a (υπελειπον Q*
 51 62 147 επελειποντο 48 86 97 228 233 επελειποντο 95 185 επιφυλλιδα] επιφύ-
 λιδας Β Q υποφυλλιδας Ν^{c,a,b} υποφυλλιδα Ν^{c,a} Α καλαμηματα Θ 6. κατεληφθη
 κατελημφθη ΒΑ κατελιφθη Ν κατελιφθη 62 147 7. ορειαν] ορειαν 86 σιν 1^a
 ομι ΒΝ 48 62 147 Syro-Hex διαθηκης] pr της ΒΝΑ Q L (exc 22 36 51 97)
 (ηδυνασ)θησαν] ηδυνηθησαν L (exc 48 153 228 233) αν . . , κωντες σοι] ανδρες
 ειρηνικοι σου ΒΝΑ Q sic nisi σοι 48 153 228 233 ανδρες ειρηνικοι σου (σοι 147) οι
 συνεσθιωντες σοι (σε 36 97) 22 36 51 62 86 95 97 147 185 وحيثما وجدوا
 Syro-Hex εθηκαν ενεδρα υποκατοι σου] αρτον σου θησουσιν επιδειξιν . . Aq οι συνε-
 σθιωντες σοι ποιησουσιν αλλοτριωσιν ινα μη γενοινται υπο σε Σ αρτον σου θησουσι και
 δεσμον υποκατοι σου Θ ενεδρα] -δραν 147 εστι] -ν ΒΝΑ Q + σοι Α + συν εστι 22
 αυται] αυτοις ΒΝΑ Q (αυτω Q^a) 48 pr εν Α Q 48 + λεγει κυριος 86 8. εκεινη τη
 ημερα] τη ημ. εκ. 48 153 228 λεγει] φησιν Q^{me} απολων] οι ο' απολεσω Q^{me} συνεσεν
 -οεις 62 147 9. [com q adscr in mg 228] και ποτηθησονται] οι ο' ποτηθησονται

10 οἱ . . . ἐκ θαμῖαν ὅπως ἐξαρθῇ ἄνθρωπος ἐξ ὅρους ἡσάν·¹⁰ διὰ τὴν σφαγὴν
καὶ τὴν ἀσέβει[αν τὴν] εἰς τὸν ἀδελφόν σου ἰακώβ καὶ καλύψει σε αἰσχύνῃ
11 καὶ ἐξαρθῇ εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα·¹¹ ἀφ' . . . ἡμέρας ἀντέστης ἐξ ἐναντίας ἐν ἡμέ
** αἰχμαλωτευόντων ἀλλογενῶν δύναμι . . . τοῦ· καὶ ἀλλότριοι εἰσῆλθον
12 εἰς πύλα . . . καὶ ἐπὶ ἡμέρας ἐβαλον κλήρους καὶ [σὺ ἦς] εἰς ἐξ αὐτῶν·¹² καὶ
μὴ ἐπίδης . . . δελφοῦ σου ἐν ἡμέρᾳ ἀλλοτρίω[ν]· . . . χαίρει ἐπὶ τοὺς υἱοὺς
13 ἰούδα . . . λείας αὐτῶν· καὶ μὴ μεγαλ . . . ἡμέρᾳ θλίψεως αὐτῶν·¹³ . . .
πύλας λαῶν ἐν ἡμέρᾳ π . . . [καὶ μὴ] ἐπίδης καὶ σὺ ἐπὶ τὴν . . . ἐν ἡμέρᾳ
14 ὀλέθρου αὐτῶν μηδὲ] . . . ἐπὶ τὴν δύναμιν αὐτῶν] . . . αὐτῶν·¹⁴ μηδὲ
ἐπιστῆ[ς] . . . [αὐτῶν] ἐξολοθρεῦσαι τοὺς ἀνασωζομένους ἐξ αὐτῶν μηδὲ
15 συγκλείσθης τοὺς φεύγοντας αὐτῶν ἐν ἡμέρᾳ θλίψεως·¹⁵ διότι ἐγγὺς ἡμέρα
κὺ ἐπὶ πάντα τὰ ἔθνη ὃν τρόπον ἐποίησας οὕτως ἔσται σοὶ τὸ ἀνταποδομά
16 σου ἀνταποδοθήσεται σοὶ εἰς κεφαλὴν σου·¹⁶ διότι ὃν τρόπον ἔπιες ἐπὶ τὸ
ὄρος μου τὸ ἄγιον πίνονται πάντα τὰ ἔθνη οἶνον πίνονται καὶ ἀναβήσονται

Q^{ms} (אבאבא .אב Syro-Hex^{ms} θαμῖαν] θεμα N Q 62 ὅπως ἐξαρθῇ] οἱ δ' ἀρθῇ
Q^{ms} ὅπως ἐξολοθρεῦθῃ Aq Σ . . . ἐξαρθῇ Θ 10. καὶ τὴν ἀσέβει[αν τὴν] εἰς τὸν ἀδελφόν
σου] καὶ τὴν (δια τὴν Q) ἀσέβειαν (-βίαν N) ἀδελφου σου B Syro-Hex τὴν εἰς τὸν (ὅτι
τον 51) ἀδελφον σου Σ (εξ 48 153 228) sic sine τὴν 86 τὴν εἰς τὸν ἀδελφον σου Σ
τὴν εἰς τὸν ἀδελφον σου] τὴν εἰς τὸν ἀδελφον σου (μοχ ἀδελφου γενος) N^{ca} (ἀδελ-
φον Q^{ms}) καὶ 2°] ὅτι B 48 51 228 τας 22° ἐξαρθῇ] -σε 86 αἰῶνα] αἰσταν
N^a 11. ἀφ—ἐξ ἐναντίας] δια τὴν ἡμέραν ἢ ὑπεστής . . . Σ ἀντέστης] ἀντέστη Q^a
ἐξέστης 228 ἡμε^{***}] ἡμεραις BN 22 48 228 πύλα(ς)] ᾗ τας 62 147 καὶ 2°]
ὅτι 95 185 ἐβαλον] ἐβαλλον N^a (π improb N¹ τ^{id} λ 1° improb N^a) ἐκβαλον 95 185
καὶ (συ ἦς)] καὶ υμεῖς ἐστε Q^{ms} + ως B N A Q 22 48 51 86 95 153 185 233 καὶ συ ἦσθα
36 86 97 ὅτι συ 62 147 καὶ υμεῖς ἐστε ως 228 12. ἐπίδης] ἐπίδοις A 86 ἐφίδης
Q^{ms} τ^{id} ἡμερα 1°] ἡμεραις 228 Θ ἀλλοτρίω(ν)] ἀποξενώσεως αὐτου Aq χαίρει]
ἐπιχαρῆς BN A Q 48 86 153 228 233 ἐπιχαίρει 22 36 51 95 97 147 185 ἐπιχαίρει 62
μεγαλ . . .] μεγαλορρημονῆς B 48 86 μεγαλορρημονῆς N¹ (μεγαρρημονῆς N^a τ^{id}) A Q
μεγαλορρ. Q^a μεγαλορρημονῆς (-ση 22 -σεῖς 62) Σ (εξ 48) αὐτων 2°] ὅτι BN A Q
48 86 153 228 233 Desunt com. 13, 14, 15, 16, integra 86 13. λαων]
λαου μου N^{ca} α' λαου μου Q^{ms} λαου σου A λαου Q^a (λαων Q^a)]אבאבא Syro-Hex
+ אבאבא .אב Syro-Hex^{ms} (καὶ μὴ) ἐπίδης ad fin com] ὅτι 97 (hab 97^{ms})
(καὶ μὴ) ἐπίδης] μῆτε (μῆ Q^a τ^{id}) ἐπίδης Q^a μῆδε ἐπίδης BN A 48 86 233 ἐπὶ 1°] ὅτι
BN A Q 22 48 86 153 228 233 αὐ(των) 1° 2° 3°] αὐτου N^{ca} (μῆδε) . . . ad fin
com] ὅτι B^{ab} N^a (hab μῆδε συνεπίθῃ ἐπὶ τὴν δύναμιν αὐτων ἐν ἡμέρᾳ ἀπολείας αὐτων B^a
N^{ca}, c^b) ἡμερα 2°] ἡμεραις 228 ἐπὶ τὴν δύναμιν αὐ(των)] ἐπὶ τὴν δύναμιν τὴν ἐπ
αὐτον Σ αὐτων 3°] οἱ γ' αὐτου Q^{ms} Syro-Hex^{ms} 14. ἐπιστῆ(ς)] στής A συνεπι-
στής Q (αὐ)των 1°] αὐτου B (αὐτων N^{ca} postea rursus αὐτου) A Q^a Σ ἐξολο-
θρεῦσαι] ᾗ του A Q^a 153 233 ἐξ αὐτων] αὐτου B (ἐξ αὐτων N^{ca} μοχ αὐτου γενος)
48 62 86 αὐτων A Q συγκλείσθης] συνεκλίσθης N (συνκ. etiam Q^a τ^{id}) κλείσθης 62 147
φεύγοντας] φυγοντας Q αὐτων 3°] αὐτου B 48 62 86 Aq Σ Θ (αὐτων N^{ca}
μοχ αὐτου γενος) ᾗ ἐξ A Q 36 153 228 233 15. OL^b = Y ἡμερα] ᾗ η N A
36 51^a 62 95 147 153 185 233 κὺ] ᾗ του A ἔσται] ἔστω A ἀνταποδομα,
ἀνταποδοθ.] ἀνταποδομα, ἀνταποδοθ. A σοὶ 2°] ὅτι BN A Q 48 86 153 233 εἰς]
ἐπὶ 153 228 κεφαλὴν] ᾗ τὴν 153 228 16. διότι] δια τουτο A ἐπιε] ἐπισε
(sic) 62 ἐπὶ] ὅτι 62 147 μου το ἅγιον] το ἅγιον μου BN A Q 36 48 95 97 185
ὅτι μου 22 πάντα τα ἔθνη οἶνον πίνονται] ὅτι B πίνονται πάντα τα ἔθνη οἶνον Q

17 καὶ ἔσονται καθὼς οὐχ ὑπάρχοντες· ¹⁷ ἐν δὲ τῷ ὅρει σιών ἔσται σωτηρία
καὶ ἔσται ἄγιον· καὶ κατακληρονομήσουσιν ὁ οἶκος ἱακώβ τοὺς κατακλη-
18 ρονομήσαντας αὐτούς· ¹⁸ καὶ ἔσται ὁ οἶκος ἱακώβ . . . [ὁ] δὲ οἶκος ἰωσήφ
φλόξ· ὁ δὲ οἶκος ἦσαν εἰς . . . ἐκκαυθήσονται εἰς αὐτοὺς καὶ . . .
19 αὐτούς· καὶ οὐκ ἔσται πυροφόρος . . . διότι κῶ ἐλάλησε· ¹⁹ καὶ κατα . . .
ἐν νάγεβ ὅρος τὸ ἦσαν· καὶ . . . ἄλλοφύλους· καὶ κατα . . . ὅρος τὸ
20 ἐφραίμ καὶ τὸ πε . . . [βε]νιαμὴν καὶ τὴν γαλαα[δίτιν]· ²⁰ . . . αὕτη ἡ ἀρχή
τοῖς υἱ . . . σ σαρέπτων· καὶ ἡ μετοικεσία ἡλμ ἕως ἐφράβα καὶ κληρο-
21 μήσουσι τὰς πόλεις τοῦ νάγεβ· ²¹ καὶ ἀνα . . . σονται ἀνασωζόμενοι
ὅρους σιών τοῦ . . . δικῆσαι τὸ ὅρος τὸ ἦσαν τῷ . . . βασιλεία :

+ +
ἀβδίας πρ. . .

I 1: ¹ ΚΑΙ ἘΓΕΝΕΤΟ ΛΟΓΟΣ ΚΥ ΠΡ ἸΩΝἈΝ ΤὸΝ ΤΟΥ ἈΜΑΘΕΙ . .

2 ² ἀνάστηθι καὶ πορεύθητι εἰς νινευή τ . . . τὴν μεγάλην καὶ κήρυξον
3 αὐτῇ . . . ἡ κραυγὴ τῆς κακίας αὐτῆς πρὸς [μέ] ³ . . νίστη ἰωνᾶς το

I. 1, 2^a Chrys. De Poenit. v 2

2^b Quod nemo laed. 14

αναβήσονται] καταβήσονται BNAQ 48 86 233 καταπίνονται 153 17. σιών] σείω
B (σιων B^b) σωτηρία] πρ η Ν^o A L (εξ 22 48 97) καὶ ἔσται ἄγιον] οτι 23
κατακληρονομησαντας] κληρον. 95 153 185 αὐτοὺς] εαυτοὺς 147 18. OL^a = Y
(ο) δε οἶκος 1^o] καὶ ο οἶκος Q^{ms} L (εξ 48 233) εἰς 1^o] οτι N OL^a εκκαυθήσονται
-σεται A Q 233 καὶ 2^o] οτι N* (hab η Ν^o) πυροφόρος] πυροφόρος N^a A 51 86
95 153 185 καταλελειμμενος Aq Θ διασωζόμενος Σ διότι] οτι N^o Q^a L (εξ 48 233)
86 + ταῦτα 36 19. ἐν νάγεβ] ο νοτος 22^{ms} ἐναγεβ N* (ἐν Νάγεβ Ν^o, ^o) ἐν ἀγέω 62
ἐν ἀγεβ 153 ἐν νάγεω 147 (οι του) νοτου Aq Σ Θ ὅρος 1^o] πρ το BNAQ L (εξ 22
36 51^a 97) τοὺς ἀγρούς Σ Θ το ἐφραϊμ] οτι το BNAQ 22 48 62 86 95 147 185 233
(βε)νιαμὴν] βενιαμειν BNAQ καὶ 5^o] οτι 22 36 51 97 γαλαα[δίτιν] γαλααδετιν
B Q^a (-δίτιν Q^a) -δίτιν 95 185 (βε)νιαμὴν καὶ τὴν γαλαα[δίτιν] βενιαμὴν δε τὴν
γαλααδ Σ Θ 20. αὐτῇ η ἀρχῇ] η ἀρχῇ αὐτῇ BNAQ 48 86 95 153 185 228 233
εὐπορίας αὐτῶν Aq τῆς δυνάμεως ταύτης Σ Θ σαρεπτων] σαρεφθων Q^a 95 185 ἀρεπτων
86 147 ἀρεφθων 153 228 η μετοικεσία] οτι η 153 τῆς μετοικεσίας 228 ἐφραβα]
σφραβα Q^a nisi fort 1 σαφαραδ Q^a Θ βηθλεεμ 86^{ms} φαρααβ 153 σαφαραβ 228^{ms} σφαραεδ Aq
σαφαρα Σ 153 Syro-Hex καὶ 2^o] οτι B 48 95 185 κληρονομήσουσι] -σιν BNAQ
κατακληρ. 36 πόλεις] πόλεις N* (πόλεις Ν^o) του νάγεβ] του ἀγεβ 153 του νοτου
Aq Σ Θ 21. ἀνασωζόμενοι] ἀνδρες σεσωσμενοι A 86 233 ἀνδρες εσωσμενοι (sic)
Q* (ἀνασωζ. Q^a) ἀνδρες ἀνασωζόμενοι 36 97 ἀνασεσωσμενοι η ἀνασωζόμενοι Aq σωζοτες
Σ ἀνασωζόμενοι Θ σιών] σιών B (σιων B^b) το ἦσαν] οτι το BNAQ 48 86 95
185 233 τῷ] πρ καὶ ἔσται BNAQ βασιλεία] βασιλία N* (-λεία Ν^o)
Subscr Οβδείου ε Β* (Οβδίου B^{bc}) Αβδείου ε Ν Αβδίου ε Α Αβδαιον ε Q (+ δουλειαν
κῶ παρ Εβραίοις δ' Q^a) ἀβδίας στιχων ν η 22

I. Inscr ἰωνᾶς γ BNAQ ἰωνᾶς ε 22 1. τον τον αμαθει] τον του αμαθι A Q L (εξ
22 36 51 97) + υιον Θ 86^{ms} αμαθι Syro-Hex^{ms} οτι Chrys αμαθι] αμαθι
Aq αμαθι Σ εμεθαι Θ 2. πορεύθητι] πορευθυθητι B* (πορευθητι B^{ab}) πορευου A 228
νινευη] πρ την Α νηνει 147 νινευι 86 95 153 185 228 Chrys η κραυγή της κακίας]
(κραυη Ν* κραυγή Ν^o) η κακία της κραυγῆς 86 η κακία αὐτων Chrys της κακίας
αὐτῆς] τῆς κατοικίας αὐτῆς (ταύτης 147) 62 147 τῆς κακίας αὐτων 95 185 πρὸς (μέ)]

φυγεῖν εἰς θαρσ[εῖς] . . . κῦ καὶ κατέβη εἰς ἰόππην . . . βαδίζον εἰς θαρσεῖς
καὶ ἔ . . . τοῦ καὶ ἐνέβη εἰς αὐτὸ τοῦ [πλευσαι] . . . εἰς θαρσεῖς ἐκ προσώπ
4. . . 4. [ἐξήγειρε] πᾶς μέγα εἰς τὴν θ . . . μέγας ἐν τῇ θαλάσῃ . . .
5 συντριβῆναι . 8 καὶ ἐφ[οβήθησαν οἱ ναυτικοὶ καὶ] ἀνεβόων ἕκαστος πρ . . .
βολὴν ἐποίησαντο . . . εἰς τὴν θάλασσαν τοῦ κουφισθῆναι ἀπ' αὐτῶν]
6 ἰωνᾶς δὲ κατέβη εἰς τὴν κοιλὴν τοῦ . . . καὶ ἐκάθευδεν ἐκεῖ καὶ ἔρεγχεν . 6 καὶ
προσῆλθε πρὸς αὐτὸν ὁ πρωρεὺς καὶ εἶπεν . . . τί σὺ ῥέγχεις ; ἀνάστηθι καὶ
ἐπικαλοῦ [τὸν θν] σου ὅπως διασώσει ἡμᾶς ὁ θς καὶ οὐ [μὴ] ἀπολώμεθα .
7 7 καὶ εἶπεν ἕκαστος πρὸς . . . αὐτοῦ δεῦτε βάλωμεν κλήρους . . . ὡμεν τίνος
ἐνεκεν ἡ κακία αὐ . . . ἐφ' ἡμᾶς καὶ ἔβαλον κλήρους καὶ . . . κλήρος ἐπὶ
8 ἰωνᾶν . 8 καὶ εἶπον πρὸς . . . λον ἡμῖν διὰ τίνα τὸ κακὸν [τοῦτο ἡμῖν τί]ς
σου ἡ ἐργασία ἐστί· καὶ πῶθεν ἔρχῃ καὶ ποῦ πορεύῃ· καὶ ἐκ ποίας . . .
9 ποῖου λαοῦ σὺ εἶ . 9 καὶ εἶπεν . . . [δ]ούλος κῦ ἐγὼ εἰμι· καὶ κῦ τὸν [θν] . . .
10 [σέβ]ομαι ὅς ἐποίησε τὴν . . . ράν· 10 καὶ ἐφοβήθη . . . ν καὶ εἶπον πρὸς αὐ . . .
11 . . . ὡτί ἔγνωσαν οἱ ἄν . . . ἦν φεύγων ὅτι ἄ . . . 11 . εἶπον πρὸς αὐτόν τί σοι

6^b De Poenit. v 212^a Ibid. v 2

εἰς του ουρανου Chrys 3. φυγεῖν υγ resc N¹ (φουν N^{21d}) θαρσ[εῖς] θαρσις
(sic infra) 48 ἰοππην] ἰππην N² (ἰοππην N^{2a}) ἰοππ 22 51 εἰς οφει Αq Σ Θ καὶ
ε . . . θαρσεῖς 3^o om N² (hab N^{2a}) ενεβη] ανεβη L (acc 36 51 62 97 147) αυτο]
αυτον 86 του (πλευσαι)] του πλεειν 86 του εκπλευσαι 153 θαρσεῖς 3^o θαρσις N^{2a}
4. (εξήγειρε) πᾶς μεγα] εξηρα πᾶς μεγα 62 διηγειρε πᾶς 86 om μεγα BNAQ 36 48 95
97 153 185 233 (hab Σ) εἰς] ἐπι B 48 95 185 233 συντριβῆναι] του διαλυθῆναι
δε^{ab} (prosteia συντρ.) A 86^{me} 5. ἐφ(οβήθησαν οἱ ναυτικοὶ)] + φοβω μεγαλω 36 86
228^{me} (✓ φοβω μεγαλω cum nota marginali: 'Hic obelus non positus erat in
Hexaplis' Syro-Hex^{me}) ανεβοων] ανεβοησαν B 48 95 147 185 233 εβοων A
ανεβοουν 86 εἰς την θαλασσαν] om 147 απ αυ(των)] αυτο 22^a (απ αυτων 22^a)
επ αυτων 86 κατεβη] εκατεβη 95 185 την κοιλην] την κοιλίαν 36 147 om την 185
εκει] om 48 86 (Aq εκει 86^{me}) 153 228 233 ερεγχεν] ερεγκε Q^a 6. προσηλθε]
-θεν BNAQ κατεβη Θ πρωρευς] οἱ γ κυβερνητης Q^{me} ρεγχεις] ρεγχει N²
(ρεγχεις N^{2a,ab}) ρεγχεις Q^a αναστηθι] αναστα BAQ^a (αναστηθι Q^a) 48 95 185 233
Chrys αναστας 86 καὶ 3^o om Q 86 153 233 (τον θν)] κυριον τον θεον Chrys
σπας] ειπας A Q^a (επας Q^a) 22 51 86 153 228 διασωσει ημας ο θς] ο θεος διασωση
ημας 233 διασωσει] -ση BNA 233 σωσει 153 228 ημας ο θς] ο θεος ημας 48 95
153 185 228 om ο θς 86 ημας] ρτ η N ου (μη)] om ου BNAQ (hab N^{2a} Q^a)
απολωμεθα] αποθανωμεν 62 147 7. ειπεν] ειπαν Q 233 βαλωμεν] βαλλ. 62 153
εφ ημας] εν ημιν BNA 48 86 95 185 233 εφ ημιν 22 153 8. ειπον] ειπαν NAQ
86 153 233 . . . λον] + δη Q^{me} Syro-Hex δια τινα το κακον (τουτο ημιν)] om
BN 48 95 185 τινος ενεκεν (ενεκα 228) η κακια αυτη εστιν εν ημιν A Q 86 153 228 233
(και) που πορευη] om BN (η που πορευει N^{2a,b}) A Q (hab Q^{me}) 48 95 185 233 και που
πορευου 51 228 και που πορευει 86 (hab Syro-Hex) συ ει] tr BNA L (acc 22 51 97)
9. (δ)ουλος κῦ ἐγὼ εἰμι] εβραιος ἐγὼ εἰμι Aq Σ Θ ἐγὼ εἰμι] tr N² (ἐγὼ εἰμι N² μοx
εἰμι ἐγὼ γενος) 48 86 κῦ τον (θν)] τον κυριον θεον BNA 48 86 om κῦ 153 228
(σεβ)ομαι] φοβομαι N^{2a,b} 153 εποιησε] -σεν BNAQ την . . . ραν] τον ουρανον
κῦ την γην 233 10. . . ν] φοβω μεγαλω N^{2a,b} (12^a) (μοx φοβον μεγαλ γενος)
σφοδρα 62 φοβον μεγα 147 φοβω μεγαλω Aq Σ φοβον μεγαλ Θ ειπον] ειπαν BNAQ
51 62 147 (τι τουτο εποιησας δ)ιοτι—προς αυτον in com seq] om 62 147
(εποιησας δ)ιοτι] εποιησας ημιν διοτι 86 φευγων] φευων N² (φευγων N^{2a})
11. ειπον] ειπαν BNAQ L (acc 51) σοι ποιησομεν] tr 48 228 σοι ποιησωμεν NA

51 (-σμεν 51^a) 62 147 ἡμῶν] ὑμῶν 62 ἐπορευέτο] ἐπορευτο N^{a,b} ἐπαυρωτο A Q^a
(item 13) ἐπορευέτο Aq Θ προσήρχετο (s. προσεπορευέτο) Σ κλυδῶνα] + επ αυτοις 86
86 228^{me} 12. Chrys = Y αντους] αυτο Q^avid με 1^o] om 95 185
εμβάλετε] ενβαλετε N κμβαλλ = 153 με 2^o] om A Q^a 86 51 86 147 153 228 om
διوتي N* (στι N^{a,b}) κλυδων] γ ργο κ insep N* (κλ. Nⁱ) . . ουτος? + ο μεγας 95
185 228 (ο μεγας ουτος BNAQ L exs 95 185 228) εστιν εφ υμας] εφ υμας εστιν
BNAQ 48 153 228 233 13. και παρεβια(οντο)] καιπερ εβιαζοντο B*vid (και
παρεβιαζ. B^{ab}) προς] θ' σ' εις Q^{me} εις 153 Σ Θ (προς Aq) ηδυναντο] εδυναντο
(ε)ξηγηρετο] ηγηρετο N* (εξη. N^{i,c,a}) 14. προς κν και ειπον μηδαναι] sup ras
et in mg A^a κν] ρr τον N* (om τον N^{a,b}) ειπον] ειπαν BNAQ 48 95 185 233
μ(η απο)λωμεθα—κε 2^o] om N* (hab N^a) (απο)λωμεθα] απολοιμεθα N^a (απολοι.
N^{a,b}) ενεκει] —κα 228 και μη—δικαιον] om 153 αιμα] + eius OL^w εβουλον
βεβουλον N^a (εβ. Nⁱ) 15. OL^w = Y (ενε)λαβον] ελαβον BNAQ ενι-
βαλλ(ον)] εζεβαλλον B 48 233 εβεβαλον N^{a,c,b} 86^{me} ενεβαλον N^a ενεβαλλον 62 και
εστη ad fin com] και ευθυσ ο κλυδων απας επαυσατο 95 185 16. OL^w = Y εφε-
βηθησαν] insep ερ N* τον κν] τον θεον 228^{as} vid και 2^o ad fin com] om 153
ευζαντο] ηζαντο Nⁱ (ηζαντο N*) A Q L (exs προσηγαντο 86) ευχας] ρr τας 48 153
II. 1. καταπειν] και καταπειν N* (καταπ. N^{a,c,b}) τον] om Nⁱ τρεις ημερας
και] om OL^w 2. προς κν ad fin com] de ventre ceti ad dom dm suum OL^w
τον] om N^a (rurs ras) Q αυτου εκ της κοιλιας—κν τον θν in com seq] om N (hab
N^{i,c,a} (vid), e,b) κοιλιας] + αυτου 153 3. ειπεν] + ως Q^{me} εβοησα] ρr ως η
εν θαλει μου προς κν τον θν μου] ad dom dm meum in tribulatione mea OL^w εν
θλαψει μου] om 95 185 εισηκουσε] επηκουσε 62 κρανης] κρανη N^a (-γη
N^{a,b}) κρανης μου] επεκαλεσαμην Σ 4. απεριψας] απεριψας N Q* απερριψας
εις βαθη θαλασσης] proiecisti me in altitudinem cordis maris OL^w και ερριψας με εν
βυθω καρδιας θαλασσων Aq ερριψας με εις αβυσσον εν καρδια θαλασσων Θ ܐܪܝܬܐ ܕܝܡܝܢ
ܕܝܡܝܢ ܕܝܡܝܢ Syro-Hex με 1^o] μες (sic) N om 228 εκκυκλωσαν
με] tr BNAQ οι μετεωρισμοι σου] σ' γνοφοι 88^{me} οι συντριμμοι σου Aq οι γνοφοι
σου Σ σου 2^o] om Q* (hab Q^{1mg}) 5. OL^w = Y και εγω] καγω A ειπον]
ειπα BNAQ 48 153 233 ειπον 86 απωμαι εν οφθαλμοις σου] εβειν εν οφθαλμοις σου

ὀφθαλμῶν σου . . προσθήσω τοῦ ἐπιβλέψαι πρὸς τὸν να **** ἀγιὼν
 6 σου· περιεχύθη ὕδωρ μοι ὥς ψυχῆς μου] ἄβυσσος ἐκύκλωσέ με ἰσχύατη
 7 ἔ . . κεφαλὴ μου εἰς σχισμὰς ὁρέων ⁷ κατέβην [εἰς γῆ]ν μοχλοὶ αὐτῆς
 8 κάτοχοι αἰώνιοι· καὶ . [ἐκ] φθορᾶς ζωῆ μου πρὸς σέ κῆ . . ⁸ . ἐκλείπειν ἀπ'
 ἐμοῦ τὴν ψυχὴν [μου] . . ἦσθην καὶ ἔλθοι πρὸς σέ ἡ προ[σευχῇ] . . ἀγιὼν
 9, 10 σου· ⁹ φυλασσόμενοι μά . . ἔλεον αὐτῶν ἐγκατέλιπον¹⁰ ἔ . . νῆς αἰνέσεως
 11 καὶ ἐξομολογήσε . . ἔάμην ἀποδώσω σοι εἰς [σωτήριον] . . ¹¹ καὶ προσέταξε
 1 κῶ τῷ . . ἰωνᾶν ἐπὶ τὴν ξηράν ¹ καὶ ἐγένετο λόγος κῶ πρὸς ἰωνᾶν ἐκ δευτ . . III
 2 λέγων ² ἀνάστηθι καὶ πορεύθητι εἰς ν[ινευή] . . τὴν πόλιν τὴν μεγάλην καὶ
 3 κήρ **** αὐτῇ κατὰ τὸ κήρυγμα τὸ ἔμπροσ . . [ἐ]λάλησα πρὸς σέ· ³ καὶ
 ἀνέστη ἰων . . ρεύθη εἰς νινευή καθὼς ἐλάλησε . . νινευὴ ἦν πόλις μεγάλη

σου Αq εξεβλήθη ἀπεναντι τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν σου XΘ (αρα) προσθήσω ad fin com] ἴσως
 παλιν προσβλέψω πρὸς ναὸν ἁγίον σου X πως ἐπιβλέψω πρὸς τὸν ναὸν τὸν ἁγίον σου Θ
 ἐπιβλέψαι] ἐπιστρέψαι N* (ἐπιβλέψαι N¹ -ψαι N^{c,a,b}) ἐπιστρέψαι 62 + με X (εxc 22 51 97)
 τον να**] τον λαον B^{ab} τον ναον B^{ab} N om τον A Q X (εxc 51 62 97) ***αγιον] τον
 αγιον X (εxc 233 om τον) 6. OL^w = Y περιεχύθη] επεχυθη 22 ὕδωρ]
 om 86 ὕδωρ μοι] ὕδωρ μου N* (μοι N¹) tr A Q 22 εως ψυ(χης μου)] om μου
 B N A Q (hab Q^a (m^a) v^{id}) 48 62 147 233 ἄβυσσος] θαλασσα X ἐκυκλωσε
 με] -σεν με B N A Q ἐκαλύψε με 86^m εσχατη] ερυθρα Αq απερατος X εἰς
 σχισμας] εἰσχισμας N* (εἰς σχ. N^{c,b}) 7. κατεβην] pr et OL^w (εἰς γῆ)ν
 μοχλοι] εἰς γῆν ης οἱ μοχλοι B N A Q X καὶ . . (ἐκ) φθορας [ση μου] καὶ
 αναβητω φθορα [ση μου] B N* 48 86 (η [ση μου] 86^m) καὶ αν. εκ φθορας [ση μου]
 ξε^{c,e} (v^{id}) καὶ αν. εκ φθορας η [ση μου] A Q X (εxc 48 86 η [ση 95 185) καὶ αν. εκ
 διαφθορας [ση μου] Αq καὶ αν. εκ φθορας [ση μου] XΘ et ascendat corruptio vitae
 meae OL^w + حلالا سى Syro-Hex πρὸς σε] om B N (hab
 ξε^{c,e} (v^{id})) A Q 48 233 Syro-Hex (hab OL^w) 8. ἐκλείπειν] ἐκλειπειν B N απ
 εμου την ψυχην (μου)] την ψυχην μου απ εμου A Q 153 223 anima mea a me OL^w
 απ εμου] εξ εμου 22^a (απ εμου 22) 62 86 147 την ψυχην (μου)] την ισχην μου 147
 233 ελθθ] ελθθ 62 147 προ[σευχῇ]] ευχη B N* X προσευχη N^{ab} A Q 9. OL^w
 = Y φυλασσόμενοι ad fin com] απο φυλασσοντων ματαιοτητα εικη . . Αq οἱ παρα-
 φυλασσοντες ατμους ματαιους τον ελεον αυτων απεβαλοντο X ελεον] ελεος B N*
 (ελεον N^{c,a} ποx ελεος γενoc) A 48 228^a (ελεον 228) 233 ελαιον 62 147 αυτων]
 αυτον 86 εγκατελιπον] -λειπον A Q* (-λειπον Q^a) 10. αινεσεως] αινεσας B*
 (-σεως B^{ab}) δεησεως 86^m καὶ] ε pro κ incep B* σοι εἰς (σωτηριον)] σοι σωτηριου
 B N* 48 εἰς σωτηριον μου N^{c,a} non a^b A Q 86 εἰς σωτηριαν μου 36 51 95 153 185 233 υπερ
 σωτηριου (s. σωτηρίας) X tibi salvatori meo OL^w + ܐܕܝܐ ܠܫܘܝܐ ܕܝܝܐ Syro-Hex
 11. προσέταξε] προσεταγη B N A Q 48 86^m (προσεταξε 86) 95 153 185 228 233 προ-
 σεταξη 22 ειπε Αq XΘ praeceptum est OL^w κῶ] om B A Q 86^m (hab 86) 233
 OL^w απο κῶ N^{c,b} (postea ras) 48 95 153 185 228 ο κυριος 86 κυριος Αq XΘ ܕܥܡܐ ܕܥܡܐ
 sub ܕܥܡܐ Syro-Hex εἰς] εἰς 62 147 εἰς την ξηραν] in aridam OL^w super
 terram OL¹

III. 1. OL^w OL¹ = Y 2. καὶ 1^o] om B N (hab N^{c,a} postea ras) 48 95 185
 πορεύθητι] πορευου 228 ν[ινευή]] νινευην N nineven OL^w ninevi OL¹ ν[ινευή]
 . .] ras aliq Y αυτη] pr en B N A Q X in eam OL^w in ea OL¹ (ε)λαλησα πρὸς
 σε] λεαληκα πρὸς σε 153 + ܕܠܥܡܐ ܕܝܝܐ Syro-Hex (ܕܠܥܡܐ ܕܝܝܐ
 Syro-Hex^m) 3. νινευή] nineven OL^w nineve OL¹ OL¹ (sic infra) + civitatem
 OL^w OL¹ (om OL¹) καθως] καθα B N Q^a (καθως Q^a) X (εxc 22 36 51 97) secundum
 quae OL¹ (sicut OL^w OL¹) ἐλαλησε] -σεν B N A Q τω θῷ] adeo OL¹ (deo OL^w)

4 τῷ θῷ ὡς εἰ πορείας ὁδοῦ ἡμερῶν τριῶν⁴ καὶ ἤρξατο . . . [τοῦ εἰς] πορεύε-
σθαι εἰς τὴν πόλιν ὡς εἰ π[ορείαν ἡμέρας] μιᾶς καὶ ἐκήρυξε καὶ εἶπε ἐπ[ὶ]
5 τρεῖς ἡμέραι καὶ νινευὴ καταστραφήσεται .⁵ . . . σαν οἱ ἄνδρες νινευὴ τῷ θῷ
καὶ . . . [νη]στεῖαν καὶ ἐνεδύσαντο σάκκους [ἀπὸ μικροῦ αὐ]τῶν καὶ ἔως
6 μεγάλου αὐτῶν⁶ . . . [λό]γος πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα τῆς νιν[ευῆς] . . . στη ἀπὸ
τοῦ θρόνου αὐτοῦ . . . στολὴν αὐτοῦ ἀφ' ἑαυτοῦ . . . κον⁷ καὶ ἐκάθισεν ἐπὶ
7 σποδ[οῦ] .⁷ . . . [καὶ] ἐρρέθη ἐν τῇ νινευὴ . . . καὶ παρὰ τῶν μεγισ⁸
[λεγόντων οἱ ἄν]θρωποι καὶ τὰ κτή⁹ . . . βατα μὴ γενεσάσθωσαν μῆδ⁹
8 μῆδ⁹ νεμεσθώσαν] καὶ ὕδωρ μὴ πινέτωσαν⁹ καὶ περιέβαλον[το] . . . ἄκους
οἱ ἄνθρωποι καὶ τὰ κτήνη καὶ ἀνεβάζ[ησαν] πρὸς τὸν θῷ ἐκτενῶς καὶ
ἀνέστρεψ[εν] ἕκαστος ἀπὸ τῆς ὁδοῦ αὐτοῦ τῆς πονη[ρίας] καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς ἀδικίας
9 τῆς ἐν χερσὶν αὐ⁹ . . . οντες⁹ τίς οἶδεν εἰ μετανοήσεται καὶ πα ***** θήσεται

III. 4^b Chrys. *Ad Theod. laps.* i 15. *Ad Pop. Antioch.* iv 1
Antioch. iii 4 9, 10 *Ad Theod. laps.* i 15

γ⁷ *Ad Pop.*

OL⁵) α(σει πορείας ο)δου ἡμερῶν τριῶν] ἡν δε ασει η πορείας οδου ημ. τρ. 95 185 sicut
iter tridui OL¹ (quasi itinere viae dierum trium OL⁵ OL¹) ἡμερῶν τριῶν] tr 48
153 228 4. (τον εἰς)πορεύεσθαι] του εἰσελθεῖν B N (εἰσπορεύεσθαι N^{c,b}) 48 om του
153 ασει π[ορείαν] ασει πορίαι A Q* (πορείαν Q^a ασει πορείας, 95 153 185 + οδου
A Q 36 97 228 233 quasi itinere OL⁵ sicut iter OL¹ ἡμερῶν] μερας N* (ημ. N^{c,b})
ἐκήρυξε] -ξεν B N¹ (ἐκηρυξεν N*) A Q τρεις ἡμέ[ραι] οι λ' τεσσαρεσκατο Q^a
سبعون / سبعة Syro-Hex^{me} νινευη] νινευι Chrys + civitas OL⁵ (om OL¹)
5. (νη)στεῖαν] νηστιαν B (νηστεῖαν B^{ab}) N και ἐνεδ. ai N* (και N^{c,a}) (απο
μικρου αυ)των και εως μεγαλου αυτων] απο μεγαλου αυτων εως μικρου αυτων B 48 86 95
185 228 (om αυτων 1^o 36 51 233) απο μικρου αυτων (om αυτων A Q* hab Q^{me}) εως
μεγαλου αυτων N^{c,b} (postea meg. αυτ. εως μικρ. αυτ. revoc) A Q om και L (exc 36 62 97
147) a maiore usque ad minorem eorum OL⁵ a maximo usque ad minimum eorum
OL¹ 6. (λο)γος] λαος N^{c,b} (μοx λογος revoc) βασιλεα] βασιαι N* (βασιλια
N^{c,a}) νιν[ευη] νινευης N* (s improb N^{c,a} postea ras) nineves OL⁵ (nineve OL¹)
απο] εκ 86 του] om 62 αφ εαυτου] om OL¹ (ab se OL⁵) επι] om OL⁵ OL¹
σποδ(ου)] σποδον 86 7. (και) ἐρρέθη] om 86 (hab 86^{me}) OL⁵ OL¹ ἐρρέθη]
ἐρρηθη B^{ab} Q^a (ἐρρεθη B* Q*) ἐρεθη N* παρα των μεγισ . . .] παντων μεγιστων
αυτω N^{c,a,b} a maioribus civitatis eius OL⁵ a magistratibus illius OL¹ (λεγοντων)]
λεγων B N A Q 48 86^{me} (λεγοντων 86) 95 153 185 dicens OL⁵ OL¹ سبعة Syro-Hex
(oi αν)θρωποι—(νεμεσθωσαν)] οι ανθρωποι και τα κτηνη και τα προβατα και οι βοες η
νεμεσθωσαν Chrys γενεσασθω(αν)] γενεσθωσαν N* (γενεσασθ. N^{c,a,b}) A μηδεν
μηθεν A νεμεσθωσαν] + μηδεν N* (om N^{c,b}) και υδωρ μη πινετωσαν] μηδε υδωρ
πιετωσαν B A Q 48 95 185 και υδωρ μη πινετωσαν N και υδωρ μη πιετωσαν 22 51 86 153
228 και υδωρ πιετωσαν 233 neque aquam bibant OL⁵ OL¹ 8. περιεβαλον(το)]
-βαλλοντο L (exc 22 97) και τα κτηνη] om OL⁵ OL¹ ανεβο(ησαν)] + homines
et iumenta OL⁵ OL¹ τον θῷ] ην κυριον 233 εκτενω] εν ισχυι Aq εθ αν-
στρεψ(εν)] απεστρεψαν B L (exc 22^a 36 62 147 153) ανεστρεψαν N^{c,b} Q* 153 απεστρεψεν
A 22^a (ανεστρεψεν 22) 36 62 147 α' θ' επεστρεψαν Q^{me} αυτου] αυτων 22 48 95 185
228 πονη(ρας)] πο sup ras seq pl litt A* και 5^o] om 62 απο] ντο 22 om OL⁵
(hab OL¹) της αδικίας της] iniusta quae erat OL⁵ iniquitate OL¹ 9. Chrys
= Y οιδεν] ειδεν 185 228 ει μετανοησει] ει επιστρεφει 153 228^{me} και
πα*****θησεται] om B N A Q 48 86 153 228 233 OL⁵ OL¹ ο θς] + και παρακλη-
θησεται 86^{me} 228 + κυριος και παρακληθ. 153 απο] εφ B N A Q 48 86 95 153 185

10 ὁ $\overline{\theta\varsigma}$ καὶ ἀποστρέφει ἀπὸ ὅρ . . . οὐ αὐτοῦ καὶ σὺ μὴ ἀπολώμεθα ; ¹⁰ . . . ὁ
 $\overline{\theta\varsigma}$ τὰ ἔργα αὐτῶν ὅτι ἀπέστρεψαν [ἀπὸ τῶ]ν ὁδῶν αὐτῶν τῶν πονηρῶν καὶ
. . ἦσαν ὁ $\overline{\theta\varsigma}$ ἐπὶ τῇ κακίᾳ ἢ ἐλάλῃ . . οἰῆσαι αὐτοῖς καὶ οὐκ ἐποίησεν
1,2 ¹ [καὶ ἐλυπηθῇ ἰωνᾶς λύπην μεγάλην καὶ συνέχυσθῃ] ² καὶ προσεύξατο πρὸς IV
 $\overline{\kappa\omega}$ καὶ εἰ . . . τῇ γῇ μου ; διὰ τοῦτο προσέφθασα] . . . υγιᾶν εἰς θαρσεῖς
δίδῃτι ἔγνωσ ὅτι σὺ ἐλεῆμων εἰ] καὶ οὐκίρμων μακροθυ . . . καὶ μετανοῶν
3 ἐπὶ ταῖς [κακίαις] ³ . . ποτα $\overline{\kappa\epsilon}$ λάβε τὴν ψν . . . καλόν μοι τὸ ἀποθ[ανεῖν
4 με μᾶλλον ἢ [ζῆν] με ⁴ καὶ εἶπεν $\overline{\kappa\omega}$ πρὸς ἰωνᾶν εἰ σφόδρα λελύπησαι σὺ ;
5 ⁵ καὶ εἰ . . θεν ἰωνᾶς ἐκ τῆς πόλεως καὶ ἐκάθ . . ἀπέναντι τῆς πόλεως καὶ
ἐποίη . . [ἐ]αυτῷ ἐκεῖ σκηνὴν καὶ ἐκάθητο ὃ . . τω αὐτῆς ἐν σκιᾷ ἕως οὗ
6 ἀνέδῃ τ . . . πολεῖ . . καὶ προσέταξε $\overline{\kappa\omega}$ ὁ $\overline{\theta\varsigma}$ κο[λοκύνθη] καὶ ἀνέβη ὑπὲρ
κεφαλῆς ἰωνᾶ . . ἀν ὑπεράνω τῆς κεφαλῆς αὐτοῦ τοῦ σκι[άζειν] αὐτῷ ἀπὸ
7 τῶν κακῶν α . . . χάρη ἰωνᾶς ἐπὶ τῇ κολοκύνθῃ . . [με]γάλην ⁷ καὶ
προσέταξεν ὁ $\overline{\theta\varsigma}$ σκ . . νῆ τῇ ἐπαύριον καὶ ἐπάταξε . . κυνθαν καὶ ἐξηράνθη

10 *Ad Pop. Antioch.* iii 4

IV. 7 Chrys. *In Ps. xciv*

228 10. ἀποστρέφω] ἀποστρέφειν ἑκάστος 86 + ἐκάστος 86 Chrys (*al om*) + unus-
quisque OL^w OL^b OLⁱ OL^{tert} אִישׁ מֵאֶחָד / יְהוּדָיִם וְשַׂמְרֹנִים וְכָל הַיְּהוּדִים
ⲉϣⲓ ⲙⲁⲗⲏⲧⲓⲁ ⲟⲩ ⲛⲟⲩ ⲡⲁⲥ Syro-Hex^{mss} αὐτῶν τῶν αὐτοῦ (*al αὐτῶν*)
Chrys εἰς τὴ κακία ἢ τα κακα & A εἰς τὴ κακοποιε X super mala OL^w malitiam OL^b
de malignitate OLⁱ de malitia OL^{tert} αὐτοῖς αυτοί N* (αὐτοῖς N^{a,b}) + ο κυριος
Chrys

IV. 1. (ελυθη)θη] + επι τουτοις 95 185 και συ(νευχθη)] ܡܠܟܐ ܕܥܡܝܢ Syro-
Hex^{ms} et maestus factus est OL^a confusus OL^b confundebatur OL^c 2. προσε-
ξατο] προσηγάτο B^h text^o 8 A Q 22^a ηγάτο 153 προς εν] προς τον κυριον 86 apud
deum OL^a ad dom OL^b OL^c προσ(φθασα)] proposueram OL^b OL^c praecoccupa-
veram OL^a praeveni OL^b OL^c θαρσει] Taroos OL^b OL^c (Thariss OL^b OL^c) εγ-
ων] + εγω N^oa (mox improb) ο(τι συ ελεημων ει)] οτι ει B N A Q 48 233 οτι συ θς
ελεημων Q οτι συ (θεος adscr supra lin) ελεημων ει 62 οτι συ ει κυριε ελεημων 86 οτι συ
ει θεος ελεημων 147 quia tu misericors es OL^b quia tu misericors OL^b οικτιρησας
οικτειρμων N^b A Q^a (-κιτημ. Q^a) μετανοων επι ταις (κακιας)] παρακαλουμενος περι
του κακου X μετανοων επι κακιας ανθρωπων 86 σ^a παρακαλουμενος 86^{ms} 3. λαβε]
+ θε 62 147 153 228 μοι] οτι B N A Q 36 48 153 228 233 μου 97 μαλλον] οτι
B (hab N^aa postea ras) A Q 48 153 233 OL^b (magis OL^b) η] ει B N^a (η N^ab)
με 2^o] οτι N^ba A Q^a vid (hab Q^{ms}) 86 51 147 153 228^a OL^b OL^c 4. OL^b OL^b
= Y προς ιωνη]] οτι (adscr in mg) 228 ει σφοδρα] συ N^a (improb N^aa postea
ras) ισχυρας 86^{ms} οτι ει 153 ει σφοδρα λελυπησai] αν δικαιοι ελυπηθης X ει
καλοις ελυπηθης Aq θ σφοδρα] valde OL^b vehementer OL^b 5. εκ] απο 62
147 (ε)αυτω] αυτω 48 86 95 185 228^a (εαυτω 228) 233 (ε)αυτω εκει σκηνην]
εκει σκηνην εαυτω A 62 147 εν σκια] οτι 48 95 185 228 OL^b (hab OL^b) εκει 86 ρη
εκει 86 εως ου ανιδη] εως ου αν ιδη 22 51 97 εως ου αφιδη 86^{ms} οτι ου Q ανιδη] απιδη
B N Q αφειδη A 6. κο(λοκυνθη) 1^o 2^o] κολοκυνθη A Q^a (-νη Q^a) κικελωνα Aq θ κισσον
X ιωνα] ρη του 48 86 95 185 eius OL^b (ionae OL^b) αυτου] ionae OL^b eius OL^b
(του σκια] εν αυτω] οτι του 36 97 147 του σκ. αυτου 86 (με)γαλην] + σφοδρα 36 86
228^{ms} supra lin
7. και προσεταξεν ad fin com] εκειλευσεν παλιν ο θεος σκωληνι εκωληνι και
επαταξεν την κολοκυνθη και ευθεας εξηρανθη Chrys ο θς] αν δ^a ρη α A Q 86 62 147
233 dms OL^b OL^b] ܡܠܟܐ ܕܥܡܝܢ Syro-Hex εξηρανθη] απεξηρανθη B N A Q 36 48 86 95 185

8⁸ καὶ . . . τῷ ἀνατεῖλαι τὸν ἥλιον καὶ . . . [ὁ] θς πνι καύσωνος συγκαίοντι [καὶ
ἐπάταξεν] ὁ ἥλιος ἐπὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν ἰωάνᾱ καὶ ὀλιγοψύχει καὶ ἀπελέγετο
9 τὴν ψυχ . . . ⁹, κς ὁ θς πρὸς ἰωνᾶν εἰ . . . σὺ ἐπὶ τῇ κολοκύνθῃ . .
10 λύπημαι ἐγὼ ἕως θαν . ¹⁰, σὺ μὲν ἐφείσω ὑπὲρ . . . οὐκ ἐκακοπάθησας ἐπ'
αὐτῇ οὐδὲ ἐξέ . . . ας αὐτήν' ἢ ἐγενήθη ὑπὸ νύκτα καὶ ὑπὸ νύκτα ἀπόλετο
11 ¹¹ ἐγὼ δὲ οὐ φείσομαι ὑπὲρ . . . τῆς πόλεως τῆς μεγάλης ἐν ἣ κα[τοικοῦν]
πλείους ἢ δώδεκα μυριάδες ἀνῶν . . . οὐκ ἔγνωσαν δεξιὰν αὐτῶν ἢ ἀριστερὰν
αὐτῶν καὶ κτήνη πολλά :—

+
ιωνας στί ρλε :—

I 1¹ [ΚΑ]Ι ΕΓΕΝΕΤΟ ΛΟΓΟΣ ΚΥ ΠΡΟΣ ΜΙΧΑΙΑΝ ΤΟΝ ΤΟΥ ΜΩΡΑΘΕΙ .
ΑΙΣ ΙΩΑΘΑΜ ΚΑΙ ΑΧΑΖ ΚΑΙ ΕΖΕΚΙΟΥ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ . . . [ΥΠ]ΕΡ ΩΝ
ΕΪΔΕΝ ΠΕΡΙ ΣΑΜΑΡΕΙΑΣ ΚΑΙ ΙΛΗΜ :

2² . . . πάντες λόγους· καὶ προσεχέτω . . . οἱ ἐν αὐτῇ· καὶ ἔσται κς ὁ θς [ὁ]
3 . . . μαρτύριον· κς ἐξ οἴκου ἁγίου αὐτοῦ· ³ . . . πορεύεται ἐκ τοῦ τόπου

10, 11 *Ad eos qui scandal. i 6*

233 8. (ο) θς] *pr* κς A Q 153 (ο) θς—(επάταξεν)] *om* 22 (*hab* 22^{ms}) καυσ^{ms}
καυσαν 48 ο ἥλιος] *om* 95 185 ιω(να)] *pr* του 48 86 95 185 (ὀλιγο)ψ^u
ὀλιγοψύχησεν B A Q 48 86 233 ὀλιγοψύχησεν N ὀλιγοψύχη 62 147 ὀλιγοψύχει 95 185
ἀπεσκαρίζε A q ἐξεληθη (s. παρεληθη) Σ θ 9. κς ο θς] *om* κς B Q 48 95 185 *om*
ο θς 153 233 dms OL^h deus OL¹ *ⲕⲁⲓⲁⲓⲁⲓⲁⲓⲁⲓ* Syro-Hex *su*] *om* 95 185
λοκυνθῇ] κολοκύνθῃ A Q^a ἐγῶ] *om* OL¹ (*hab* OL^h) 10. OL^h = Y
om B N A Q 48 95 153 185 233 ὑπὲρ] *om* OL¹ ἐπ αὐτῇ] ἐπ αὐτὴν B N^a (vid) Q
αὐτὴν N^{a,b} Q^a) 48 62 147 233 ἐπ αὐτῆς N* A εἰς αὐτὴν 86 *om* 95 153 185 228 Chrys *om*
καὶ οὐκ B N* (οὐδὲ N^{a,b}) A Q καὶ οὐδὲ 48 86 95 185 233 αὐτῇ] *om* Chrys ἡ ἐγενή
ἡ οὐδὲ ἐγενήθη 86^{ms} ἡ ἐγενήθη ὑπο νύκτα] ἡ ὑπο νύκτα ἐγενήθη A Q 36 233 ἡ καὶ
νύκτα ἐγεν. 153 καὶ υ(πο ν)ύκτα] *om* 97 11. φείσομαι] + nunc parcam OL^h (*om*
OL¹) ὑπὲρ] *om* OL^h (in OL¹) *om* Chrys τῆς μεγάλης] *om* A κα(τοικοῦν)
-σιν B N A Q + ἐν αὐτῇ Q^{ms} 153 228 Chrys πλείους] πλείον N* (πλείους N^a) ἡ
om B N* (*hab* N^a) A οὐκ ἔγνωσαν] *ⲕⲁⲓⲁⲓⲁⲓⲁⲓⲁⲓⲁⲓⲁⲓ* Syro-Hex *om*
αὐτῶν 1^o 2^o] *om* OL^h OL¹ Chrys ἡ 3^o] οὐδὲ A 86^{ms} καὶ κτήνη πολλά] *om* Chr
πολλά] + ἐν αὐτῇ 86^{ms}

Subscr Ἰωνας ε B N Q Ἰωνας προφήτης ε A Ἰωνας ε στιχῶν ρλ 22

Inscr Μειχαιας γ B* Μιχαιας γ B^b A Q Μιχαιας ζ 22 I. 1. (καὶ ἐγενε)το λογος
λογος κυριου ος ἐγενετο 228 *ⲕⲁⲓⲁⲓⲁⲓⲁⲓⲁⲓⲁⲓⲁⲓⲁⲓ* Syro-Hex *ⲕⲁⲓⲁⲓⲁⲓⲁⲓⲁⲓⲁⲓⲁⲓⲁⲓ*
† *ⲕⲁⲓⲁⲓⲁⲓⲁⲓⲁⲓⲁⲓⲁⲓⲁⲓⲁⲓⲁⲓⲁⲓⲁⲓ* Syro-Hex^{ms} του μωραθι] του μωρασθι B (το
μωραθι A) του μωραθι Q* (μωρασθιν Q^{ms}) του μωραθιτην 22 51 του μωραθιτην 62 14
τον μωραθιτην 95 185 του μωρασθι 97 *om* του 228 ιωαθαμ] ιωαθαν 62 ιωνathan 14
αχαζ] αχας Q^a βασιλεων] βασιλεως A 36 62 147 *pr* των 95 185 (υ)πὲρ] περι Q
86^{ms} 153 228 εἶδεν] ἰδε A 22 ἰλημ] *pr* περι B Q L (ex 36 228) περιλημ (sic) A
2. παντες] *om* B A Q (*hab* Q^{ms}) 48 86 (*hab* 86^{ms}) 153 233 (*hab* Syro-Hex) λο-
γους] λογον κυριου 36 *om* 228 οι] + κατοικουντες 22^{ms} 233 εσται] οι ο' εστω Q^{ms}
εστι 153 εστω 228 κς ο θς] κυριος κυριος B 48 86 κς A Q* (κς ο θς Q^{ms}) 233
(εν) 2^o] *om* 228 μαρτυριον] διαμαρτυρομενος Σ *ⲕⲁⲓⲁⲓⲁⲓⲁⲓⲁⲓⲁⲓⲁⲓⲁⲓⲁⲓ* Syro-Hex^{ms} οικον]
ψφους 153 3. τοπου] τοπ sup gas A^a (καὶ καταβησεται)] καὶ ἐπιβησεται A 153

4 αὐτοῦ· [καὶ καταβήσεται] καὶ ἐπιβήσεται ἐπὶ τὰ ὕψη . . . '[καὶ σαλευ]θή-
σεται τὰ ὄρη ὑποκάτω . . . [καὶ αἱ κοιλάδες] τακήσονται ὡς κηρὸς . . . καὶ
5 ὡς ὕδωρ κατα . . . σει· ⁵ διὰ δσέβειαν ἰακῶβ· πάντα ταῦτα καὶ διὰ ἁμαρτίαν
. . . ἠλ· τίς ἡ δσέβεια ἰακῶβ· οὐχὶ συμ[άρεια] καὶ τίς ἡ ἁμαρτία οἴκου
6 ἰοῦδα οὐχ[ὶ ἡ ἰ]λημ; ⁶ καὶ θήσομαι σαμάρειαν εἰς [ὀπωροφυ]λάκιον ἀγροῦ
καὶ εἰς φυτίαν ἀμπελ . . . κατασπάσω εἰς χάος τοὺς λίθους . . . τὰ θεμέλια
7 αὐτῆς ἀποκαλύψω ⁷ . . . τα τὰ γλυπτὰ αὐτῆς κατακό . . . τα τὰ μισθώματα
αὐτῆς ἐμπρ[ήσουσι ἐν] πυρί· καὶ πάντα τὰ εἶδωλα αὐτ μαι εἰς
ἀφανισμόν· διότι ἐκ μισ . . . πόρνης συνήγαγε καὶ ἐκ μισθ . . . [πόρ]νης
8 συνέστρεψεν ⁸ ἐνεκεν τούτου [κόψεται καὶ] θρηνησεί· πορεύσεται ἀν[πό-
δετος] . . . ποιήσεται κοπετὸν ὡς δρ[ακόντων] . . . θος ὡς θυγατέρων σειρή-
9 [νων] ⁹ . . . [κατεκρά]τησεν ἡ πληγὴ αὐτῆς· δ . . . δα καὶ ἤφατο ἕως π
I O ¹⁰ οἱ ἐν γέθ μὴ μεγαλύνεσθε [καὶ οἱ ἐνακίμ μὴ ἀνοι]κοδομεῖτε ἐξ οἴκου
I X [καταγέλωτα γῆν κατα]πάσασθε εἰς κατα[γέλωτα] . . . [κατοικοῦ]σα καλῶς
καθελ[ῶ τὰς πόλεις αὐτῆς οὐκ ἐξῆ]λθε κατοικοῦσα αἰνάν κόψασθαι οἶκον

I. 11^b Chrys. *Ad Pop. Antioch.* xviii 3. *In Acta Apost.* xliii 3

οὐσε 238 καὶ ἐπιβήσεται] om B (hab B^{ab} Q^a et me) A Q^a ὕψη] ὑψηλα Q^a (ὕψη Q^a)
4- (καὶ σαλευ)θήσεται] καὶ ἀνασαλευθήσεται 86^{me} ¹¹ ¹⁴ καὶ σαλευθήσονται 153 καὶ τακ-
ήσονται Aq καὶ ἐκτακῆσονται (s. κατατακῆσονται) X τα] om 62 147 (καὶ αἱ κοι-
λαδες)] om ai 22 (hab 22^a) 51 97 καὶ αὐ κοιλάδες 153 5. διὰ bis] δι Q^a πάντα
ταυτα] in Q^a 153 ἰακῶβ 2^o] pr του B Q 48 86 233 pr οἴκου 228 ουχι 1^o] ου B Q
86 153 233 συμ[άρεια)] pr η 48 95 185 τις η αμαρτια ad fin com] OL^w = Y
tis η αμαρτια] τινα τα ὑψηλα X αμαρτια] ασεβεια 51 οἴκου] pr του 86 ἰοῦδα]
ισραηλ 228 ουχ(ι η ἰ)λημ] om η B A Q X (εξ ουχ η ιερουσαλημ 95 185) 6.
(OL^w = Y) εἰς 1^o] αὐ A 147 153 228 εἰς (ὀπωροφυ)λακίον] ο 1^o sup gas A^a
πειον Q^a εἰς σωρους Aq εἰς βουνους X Θ εἰς 2^o] αὐ 153 φυτίαν] φυτεῖαν B^a A Q^a
7. αὐτῆς 2^o] om OL^w ἐμπρ(ησουσι)] -σιν B A ἐνπρησουσιν Q ἐμπρησῶσι 62 147
σομαι 153 (εν)] om 22 πόρνης 1^o 2^o] πορνείας B A Q X (εξ 22^a 51 95 185)
συνήγαγε—πόρνης 2^o] om 147 συνεστρεψεν] επεστρεψεν Q^{me} 228 κατεστρεψε 62 147
συνεστρεψε 153 8. (κοψεται)] κοψεί 153 θρηνησεί] πενήσσει Q^{me} 228 πορευ-
σεται] pr και 86 228 ανυ(ποδετος)] ο ανυποδητος 62 δρ(ακοντων)] ντω | sup
gas B^{ab} σειρηων Aq λεοντων Θ αὐ θυγατερων] αὐ θυγατερες 153 om αὐ 228 στρου-
θοκαμηλων Aq X filiae OL^w σειρη(νων)] σιρηων Q^a 9. (κατεκρα)τησεν]
ωσ] ¹ ² ³ ⁴ ⁵ ⁶ ⁷ ⁸ ⁹ ¹⁰ ¹¹ ¹² ¹³ ¹⁴ ¹⁵ ¹⁶ ¹⁷ ¹⁸ ¹⁹ ²⁰ ²¹ ²² ²³ ²⁴ ²⁵ ²⁶ ²⁷ ²⁸ ²⁹ ³⁰ ³¹ ³² ³³ ³⁴ ³⁵ ³⁶ ³⁷ ³⁸ ³⁹ ⁴⁰ ⁴¹ ⁴² ⁴³ ⁴⁴ ⁴⁵ ⁴⁶ ⁴⁷ ⁴⁸ ⁴⁹ ⁵⁰ ⁵¹ ⁵² ⁵³ ⁵⁴ ⁵⁵ ⁵⁶ ⁵⁷ ⁵⁸ ⁵⁹ ⁶⁰ ⁶¹ ⁶² ⁶³ ⁶⁴ ⁶⁵ ⁶⁶ ⁶⁷ ⁶⁸ ⁶⁹ ⁷⁰ ⁷¹ ⁷² ⁷³ ⁷⁴ ⁷⁵ ⁷⁶ ⁷⁷ ⁷⁸ ⁷⁹ ⁸⁰ ⁸¹ ⁸² ⁸³ ⁸⁴ ⁸⁵ ⁸⁶ ⁸⁷ ⁸⁸ ⁸⁹ ⁹⁰ ⁹¹ ⁹² ⁹³ ⁹⁴ ⁹⁵ ⁹⁶ ⁹⁷ ⁹⁸ ⁹⁹ ¹⁰⁰ ¹⁰¹ ¹⁰² ¹⁰³ ¹⁰⁴ ¹⁰⁵ ¹⁰⁶ ¹⁰⁷ ¹⁰⁸ ¹⁰⁹ ¹¹⁰ ¹¹¹ ¹¹² ¹¹³ ¹¹⁴ ¹¹⁵ ¹¹⁶ ¹¹⁷ ¹¹⁸ ¹¹⁹ ¹²⁰ ¹²¹ ¹²² ¹²³ ¹²⁴ ¹²⁵ ¹²⁶ ¹²⁷ ¹²⁸ ¹²⁹ ¹³⁰ ¹³¹ ¹³² ¹³³ ¹³⁴ ¹³⁵ ¹³⁶ ¹³⁷ ¹³⁸ ¹³⁹ ¹⁴⁰ ¹⁴¹ ¹⁴² ¹⁴³ ¹⁴⁴ ¹⁴⁵ ¹⁴⁶ ¹⁴⁷ ¹⁴⁸ ¹⁴⁹ ¹⁵⁰ ¹⁵¹ ¹⁵² ¹⁵³ ¹⁵⁴ ¹⁵⁵ ¹⁵⁶ ¹⁵⁷ ¹⁵⁸ ¹⁵⁹ ¹⁶⁰ ¹⁶¹ ¹⁶² ¹⁶³ ¹⁶⁴ ¹⁶⁵ ¹⁶⁶ ¹⁶⁷ ¹⁶⁸ ¹⁶⁹ ¹⁷⁰ ¹⁷¹ ¹⁷² ¹⁷³ ¹⁷⁴ ¹⁷⁵ ¹⁷⁶ ¹⁷⁷ ¹⁷⁸ ¹⁷⁹ ¹⁸⁰ ¹⁸¹ ¹⁸² ¹⁸³ ¹⁸⁴ ¹⁸⁵ ¹⁸⁶ ¹⁸⁷ ¹⁸⁸ ¹⁸⁹ ¹⁹⁰ ¹⁹¹ ¹⁹² ¹⁹³ ¹⁹⁴ ¹⁹⁵ ¹⁹⁶ ¹⁹⁷ ¹⁹⁸ ¹⁹⁹ ²⁰⁰ ²⁰¹ ²⁰² ²⁰³ ²⁰⁴ ²⁰⁵ ²⁰⁶ ²⁰⁷ ²⁰⁸ ²⁰⁹ ²¹⁰ ²¹¹ ²¹² ²¹³ ²¹⁴ ²¹⁵ ²¹⁶ ²¹⁷ ²¹⁸ ²¹⁹ ²²⁰ ²²¹ ²²² ²²³ ²²⁴ ²²⁵ ²²⁶ ²²⁷ ²²⁸ ²²⁹ ²³⁰ ²³¹ ²³² ²³³ ²³⁴ ²³⁵ ²³⁶ ²³⁷ ²³⁸ ²³⁹ ²⁴⁰ ²⁴¹ ²⁴² ²⁴³ ²⁴⁴ ²⁴⁵ ²⁴⁶ ²⁴⁷ ²⁴⁸ ²⁴⁹ ²⁵⁰ ²⁵¹ ²⁵² ²⁵³ ²⁵⁴ ²⁵⁵ ²⁵⁶ ²⁵⁷ ²⁵⁸ ²⁵⁹ ²⁶⁰ ²⁶¹ ²⁶² ²⁶³ ²⁶⁴ ²⁶⁵ ²⁶⁶ ²⁶⁷ ²⁶⁸ ²⁶⁹ ²⁷⁰ ²⁷¹ ²⁷² ²⁷³ ²⁷⁴ ²⁷⁵ ²⁷⁶ ²⁷⁷ ²⁷⁸ ²⁷⁹ ²⁸⁰ ²⁸¹ ²⁸² ²⁸³ ²⁸⁴ ²⁸⁵ ²⁸⁶ ²⁸⁷ ²⁸⁸ ²⁸⁹ ²⁹⁰ ²⁹¹ ²⁹² ²⁹³ ²⁹⁴ ²⁹⁵ ²⁹⁶ ²⁹⁷ ²⁹⁸ ²⁹⁹ ³⁰⁰ ³⁰¹ ³⁰² ³⁰³ ³⁰⁴ ³⁰⁵ ³⁰⁶ ³⁰⁷ ³⁰⁸ ³⁰⁹ ³¹⁰ ³¹¹ ³¹² ³¹³ ³¹⁴ ³¹⁵ ³¹⁶ ³¹⁷ ³¹⁸ ³¹⁹ ³²⁰ ³²¹ ³²² ³²³ ³²⁴ ³²⁵ ³²⁶ ³²⁷ ³²⁸ ³²⁹ ³³⁰ ³³¹ ³³² ³³³ ³³⁴ ³³⁵ ³³⁶ ³³⁷ ³³⁸ ³³⁹ ³⁴⁰ ³⁴¹ ³⁴² ³⁴³ ³⁴⁴ ³⁴⁵ ³⁴⁶ ³⁴⁷ ³⁴⁸ ³⁴⁹ ³⁵⁰ ³⁵¹ ³⁵² ³⁵³ ³⁵⁴ ³⁵⁵ ³⁵⁶ ³⁵⁷ ³⁵⁸ ³⁵⁹ ³⁶⁰ ³⁶¹ ³⁶² ³⁶³ ³⁶⁴ ³⁶⁵ ³⁶⁶ ³⁶⁷ ³⁶⁸ ³⁶⁹ ³⁷⁰ ³⁷¹ ³⁷² ³⁷³ ³⁷⁴ ³⁷⁵ ³⁷⁶ ³⁷⁷ ³⁷⁸ ³⁷⁹ ³⁸⁰ ³⁸¹ ³⁸² ³⁸³ ³⁸⁴ ³⁸⁵ ³⁸⁶ ³⁸⁷ ³⁸⁸ ³⁸⁹ ³⁹⁰ ³⁹¹ ³⁹² ³⁹³ ³⁹⁴ ³⁹⁵ ³⁹⁶ ³⁹⁷ ³⁹⁸ ³⁹⁹ ⁴⁰⁰ ⁴⁰¹ ⁴⁰² ⁴⁰³ ⁴⁰⁴ ⁴⁰⁵ ⁴⁰⁶ ⁴⁰⁷ ⁴⁰⁸ ⁴⁰⁹ ⁴¹⁰ ⁴¹¹ ⁴¹² ⁴¹³ ⁴¹⁴ ⁴¹⁵ ⁴¹⁶ ⁴¹⁷ ⁴¹⁸ ⁴¹⁹ ⁴²⁰ ⁴²¹ ⁴²² ⁴²³ ⁴²⁴ ⁴²⁵ ⁴²⁶ ⁴²⁷ ⁴²⁸ ⁴²⁹ ⁴³⁰ ⁴³¹ ⁴³² ⁴³³ ⁴³⁴ ⁴³⁵ ⁴³⁶ ⁴³⁷ ⁴³⁸ ⁴³⁹ ⁴⁴⁰ ⁴⁴¹ ⁴⁴² ⁴⁴³ ⁴⁴⁴ ⁴⁴⁵ ⁴⁴⁶ ⁴⁴⁷ ⁴⁴⁸ ⁴⁴⁹ ⁴⁵⁰ ⁴⁵¹ ⁴⁵² ⁴⁵³ ⁴⁵⁴ ⁴⁵⁵ ⁴⁵⁶ ⁴⁵⁷ ⁴⁵⁸ ⁴⁵⁹ ⁴⁶⁰ ⁴⁶¹ ⁴⁶² ⁴⁶³ ⁴⁶⁴ ⁴⁶⁵ ⁴⁶⁶ ⁴⁶⁷ ⁴⁶⁸ ⁴⁶⁹ ⁴⁷⁰ ⁴⁷¹ ⁴⁷² ⁴⁷³ ⁴⁷⁴ ⁴⁷⁵ ⁴⁷⁶ ⁴⁷⁷ ⁴⁷⁸ ⁴⁷⁹ ⁴⁸⁰ ⁴⁸¹ ⁴⁸² ⁴⁸³ ⁴⁸⁴ ⁴⁸⁵ ⁴⁸⁶ ⁴⁸⁷ ⁴⁸⁸ ⁴⁸⁹ ⁴⁹⁰ ⁴⁹¹ ⁴⁹² ⁴⁹³ ⁴⁹⁴ ⁴⁹⁵ ⁴⁹⁶ ⁴⁹⁷ ⁴⁹⁸ ⁴⁹⁹ ⁵⁰⁰ ⁵⁰¹ ⁵⁰² ⁵⁰³ ⁵⁰⁴ ⁵⁰⁵ ⁵⁰⁶ ⁵⁰⁷ ⁵⁰⁸ ⁵⁰⁹ ⁵¹⁰ ⁵¹¹ ⁵¹² ⁵¹³ ⁵¹⁴ ⁵¹⁵ ⁵¹⁶ ⁵¹⁷ ⁵¹⁸ ⁵¹⁹ ⁵²⁰ ⁵²¹ ⁵²² ⁵²³ ⁵²⁴ ⁵²⁵ ⁵²⁶ ⁵²⁷ ⁵²⁸ ⁵²⁹ ⁵³⁰ ⁵³¹ ⁵³² ⁵³³ ⁵³⁴ ⁵³⁵ ⁵³⁶ ⁵³⁷ ⁵³⁸ ⁵³⁹ ⁵⁴⁰ ⁵⁴¹ ⁵⁴² ⁵⁴³ ⁵⁴⁴ ⁵⁴⁵ ⁵⁴⁶ ⁵⁴⁷ ⁵⁴⁸ ⁵⁴⁹ ⁵⁵⁰ ⁵⁵¹ ⁵⁵² ⁵⁵³ ⁵⁵⁴ ⁵⁵⁵ ⁵⁵⁶ ⁵⁵⁷ ⁵⁵⁸ ⁵⁵⁹ ⁵⁶⁰ ⁵⁶¹ ⁵⁶² ⁵⁶³ ⁵⁶⁴ ⁵⁶⁵ ⁵⁶⁶ ⁵⁶⁷ ⁵⁶⁸ ⁵⁶⁹ ⁵⁷⁰ ⁵⁷¹ ⁵⁷² ⁵⁷³ ⁵⁷⁴ ⁵⁷⁵ ⁵⁷⁶ ⁵⁷⁷ ⁵⁷⁸ ⁵⁷⁹ ⁵⁸⁰ ⁵⁸¹ ⁵⁸² ⁵⁸³ ⁵⁸⁴ ⁵⁸⁵ ⁵⁸⁶ ⁵⁸⁷ ⁵⁸⁸ ⁵⁸⁹ ⁵⁹⁰ ⁵⁹¹ ⁵⁹² ⁵⁹³ ⁵⁹⁴ ⁵⁹⁵ ⁵⁹⁶ ⁵⁹⁷ ⁵⁹⁸ ⁵⁹⁹ ⁶⁰⁰ ⁶⁰¹ ⁶⁰² ⁶⁰³ ⁶⁰⁴ ⁶⁰⁵ ⁶⁰⁶ ⁶⁰⁷ ⁶⁰⁸ ⁶⁰⁹ ⁶¹⁰ ⁶¹¹ ⁶¹² ⁶¹³ ⁶¹⁴ ⁶¹⁵ ⁶¹⁶ ⁶¹⁷ ⁶¹⁸ ⁶¹⁹ ⁶²⁰ ⁶²¹ ⁶²² ⁶²³ ⁶²⁴ ⁶²⁵ ⁶²⁶ ⁶²⁷ ⁶²⁸ ⁶²⁹ ⁶³⁰ ⁶³¹ ⁶³² ⁶³³ ⁶³⁴ ⁶³⁵ ⁶³⁶ ⁶³⁷ ⁶³⁸ ⁶³⁹ ⁶⁴⁰ ⁶⁴¹ ⁶⁴² ⁶⁴³ ⁶⁴⁴ ⁶⁴⁵ ⁶⁴⁶ ⁶⁴⁷ ⁶⁴⁸ ⁶⁴⁹ ⁶⁵⁰ ⁶⁵¹ ⁶⁵² ⁶⁵³ ⁶⁵⁴ ⁶⁵⁵ ⁶⁵⁶ ⁶⁵⁷ ⁶⁵⁸ ⁶⁵⁹ ⁶⁶⁰ ⁶⁶¹ ⁶⁶² ⁶⁶³ ⁶⁶⁴ ⁶⁶⁵ ⁶⁶⁶ ⁶⁶⁷ ⁶⁶⁸ ⁶⁶⁹ ⁶⁷⁰ ⁶⁷¹ ⁶⁷² ⁶⁷³ ⁶⁷⁴ ⁶⁷⁵ ⁶⁷⁶ ⁶⁷⁷ ⁶⁷⁸ ⁶⁷⁹ ⁶⁸⁰ ⁶⁸¹ ⁶⁸² ⁶⁸³ ⁶⁸⁴ ⁶⁸⁵ ⁶⁸⁶ ⁶⁸⁷ ⁶⁸⁸ ⁶⁸⁹ ⁶⁹⁰ ⁶⁹¹ ⁶⁹² ⁶⁹³ ⁶⁹⁴ ⁶⁹⁵ ⁶⁹⁶ ⁶⁹⁷ ⁶⁹⁸ ⁶⁹⁹ ⁷⁰⁰ ⁷⁰¹ ⁷⁰² ⁷⁰³ ⁷⁰⁴ ⁷⁰⁵ ⁷⁰⁶ ⁷⁰⁷ ⁷⁰⁸ ⁷⁰⁹ ⁷¹⁰ ⁷¹¹ ⁷¹² ⁷¹³ ⁷¹⁴ ⁷¹⁵ ⁷¹⁶ ⁷¹⁷ ⁷¹⁸ ⁷¹⁹ ⁷²⁰ ⁷²¹ ⁷²² ⁷²³ ⁷²⁴ ⁷²⁵ ⁷²⁶ ⁷²⁷ ⁷²⁸ ⁷²⁹ ⁷³⁰ ⁷³¹ ⁷³² ⁷³³ ⁷³⁴ ⁷³⁵ ⁷³⁶ ⁷³⁷ ⁷³⁸ ⁷³⁹ ⁷⁴⁰ ⁷⁴¹ ⁷⁴² ⁷⁴³ ⁷⁴⁴ ⁷⁴⁵ ⁷⁴⁶ ⁷⁴⁷ ⁷⁴⁸ ⁷⁴⁹ ⁷⁵⁰ ⁷⁵¹ ⁷⁵² ⁷⁵³ ⁷⁵⁴ ⁷⁵⁵ ⁷⁵⁶ ⁷⁵⁷ ⁷⁵⁸ ⁷⁵⁹ ⁷⁶⁰ ⁷⁶¹ ⁷⁶² ⁷⁶³ ⁷⁶⁴ ⁷⁶⁵ ⁷⁶⁶ ⁷⁶⁷ ⁷⁶⁸ ⁷⁶⁹ ⁷⁷⁰ ⁷⁷¹ ⁷⁷² ⁷⁷³ ⁷⁷⁴ ⁷⁷⁵ ⁷⁷⁶ ⁷⁷⁷ ⁷⁷⁸ ⁷⁷⁹ ⁷⁸⁰ ⁷⁸¹ ⁷⁸² ⁷⁸³ ⁷⁸⁴ ⁷⁸⁵ ⁷⁸⁶ ⁷⁸⁷ ⁷⁸⁸ ⁷⁸⁹ ⁷⁹⁰ ⁷⁹¹ ⁷⁹² ⁷⁹³ ⁷⁹⁴ ⁷⁹⁵ ⁷⁹⁶ ⁷⁹⁷ ⁷⁹⁸ ⁷⁹⁹ ⁸⁰⁰ ⁸⁰¹ ⁸⁰² ⁸⁰³ ⁸⁰⁴ ⁸⁰⁵ ⁸⁰⁶ ⁸⁰⁷ ⁸⁰⁸ ⁸⁰⁹ ⁸¹⁰ ⁸¹¹ ⁸¹² ⁸¹³ ⁸¹⁴ ⁸¹⁵ ⁸¹⁶ ⁸¹⁷ ⁸¹⁸ ⁸¹⁹ ⁸²⁰ ⁸²¹ ⁸²² ⁸²³ ⁸²⁴ ⁸²⁵ ⁸²⁶ ⁸²⁷ ⁸²⁸ ⁸²⁹ ⁸³⁰ ⁸³¹ ⁸³² ⁸³³ ⁸³⁴ ⁸³⁵ ⁸³⁶ ⁸³⁷ ⁸³⁸ ⁸³⁹ ⁸⁴⁰ ⁸⁴¹ ⁸⁴² ⁸⁴³ ⁸⁴⁴ ⁸⁴⁵ ⁸⁴⁶ ⁸⁴⁷ ⁸⁴⁸ ⁸⁴⁹ ⁸⁵⁰ ⁸⁵¹ ⁸⁵² ⁸⁵³ ⁸⁵⁴ ⁸⁵⁵ ⁸⁵⁶ ⁸⁵⁷ ⁸⁵⁸ ⁸⁵⁹ ⁸⁶⁰ ⁸⁶¹ ⁸⁶² ⁸⁶³ ⁸⁶⁴ ⁸⁶⁵ ⁸⁶⁶ ⁸⁶⁷ ⁸⁶⁸ ⁸⁶⁹ ⁸⁷⁰ ⁸⁷¹ ⁸⁷² ⁸⁷³ ⁸⁷⁴ ⁸⁷⁵ ⁸⁷⁶ ⁸⁷⁷ ⁸⁷⁸ ⁸⁷⁹ ⁸⁸⁰ ⁸⁸¹ ⁸⁸² ⁸⁸³ ⁸⁸⁴ ⁸⁸⁵ ⁸⁸⁶ ⁸⁸⁷ ⁸⁸⁸ ⁸⁸⁹ ⁸⁹⁰ ⁸⁹¹ ⁸⁹² ⁸⁹³ ⁸⁹⁴ ⁸⁹⁵ ⁸⁹⁶ ⁸⁹⁷ ⁸⁹⁸ ⁸⁹⁹ ⁹⁰⁰ ⁹⁰¹ ⁹⁰² ⁹⁰³ ⁹⁰⁴ ⁹⁰⁵ ⁹⁰⁶ ⁹⁰⁷ ⁹⁰⁸ ⁹⁰⁹ ⁹¹⁰ ⁹¹¹ ⁹¹² ⁹¹³ ⁹¹⁴ ⁹¹⁵ ⁹¹⁶ ⁹¹⁷ ⁹¹⁸ ⁹¹⁹ ⁹²⁰ ⁹²¹ ⁹²² ⁹²³ ⁹²⁴ ⁹²⁵ ⁹²⁶ ⁹²⁷ ⁹²⁸ ⁹²⁹ ⁹³⁰ ⁹³¹ ⁹³² ⁹³³ ⁹³⁴ ⁹³⁵ ⁹³⁶ ⁹³⁷ ⁹³⁸ ⁹³⁹ ⁹⁴⁰ ⁹⁴¹ ⁹⁴² ⁹⁴³ ⁹⁴⁴ ⁹⁴⁵ ⁹⁴⁶ ⁹⁴⁷ ⁹⁴⁸ ⁹⁴⁹ ⁹⁵⁰ ⁹⁵¹ ⁹⁵² ⁹⁵³ ⁹⁵⁴ ⁹⁵⁵ ⁹⁵⁶ ⁹⁵⁷ ⁹⁵⁸ ⁹⁵⁹ ⁹⁶⁰ ⁹⁶¹ ⁹⁶² ⁹⁶³ ⁹⁶⁴ ⁹⁶⁵ ⁹⁶⁶ ⁹⁶⁷ ⁹⁶⁸ ⁹⁶⁹ ⁹⁷⁰ ⁹⁷¹ ⁹⁷² ⁹⁷³ ⁹⁷⁴ ⁹⁷⁵ ⁹⁷⁶ ⁹⁷⁷ ⁹⁷⁸ ⁹⁷⁹ ⁹⁸⁰ ⁹⁸¹ ⁹⁸² ⁹⁸³ ⁹⁸⁴ ⁹⁸⁵ ⁹⁸⁶ ⁹⁸⁷ ⁹⁸⁸ ⁹⁸⁹ ⁹⁹⁰ ⁹⁹¹ ⁹⁹² ⁹⁹³ ⁹⁹⁴ ⁹⁹⁵ ⁹⁹⁶ ⁹⁹⁷ ⁹⁹⁸ ⁹⁹⁹ ¹⁰⁰⁰

- 12 . . μενον αὐτῆς· λήψεται ἐξ ὑμῶν πληγὴν . . ης· ¹² τίς ἤρξατο εἰς ἀγαθὰ
 13 κατοικοῖ[ση] ὁδ[ύ]νας ; ὅτι κατέβη κακὰ παρὰ κῦ ἐπὶ πύλ[ας] ἐλ[η]μ· ¹³ ψόφος
 ἀρμάτων καὶ ἱπ . . ν· κατοικοῦσαι λαχεῖς ἀρχηγός [ἀμαρτίας] αὕτη ἐστὶ
 14 τῇ θυγατρὶ σιών· ὅτι ἐν . . σαν· ἀσέβειαι τοῦ ἱηλ· ¹⁴ διὰ τοῦτο [δώσεις]
 ἐξαποστελλομένους ἕως κληρονο . . θ οἶκους ματαίους οἶκοι ματαίων [εἰς
 15 κεν] ὅν ἐγένοντο τοῖς βασιλεῦσιν ἱηλ· ¹⁵ ἕως τοῦ]ς κληρονόμους σου ἀγάγω
 σοί· κατοί . . [λα]χεῖς· κληρονομίαν ἕως ὁδολλάμ . . [ῆ] δόξα τῆς θυγατρὸς
 16 σιών· ¹⁶ ξύρησαι . . . τὰ τέκνα σου τὰ τρυφερά· . . . τὴν ξύρησίν σου ὡς
 II 1 ἀेतός· ὅτι . . . σαν ἀπὸ σοῦ· ¹ ἐγένοντο λογι . . [κόπους] καὶ ἐργαζόμενοι
 κακὰ ἐν . . . καὶ ἅμα τῇ ἡμέρᾳ . . . [δ]ιότι οὐκ ἦσαν πρὸς [τὸν θν] . .
 2 ² καὶ ἐπεθύμουν ἀγρούς· . . . [ὄρφα]νοὺς καὶ οἶκους κατεδυνάστευον· καὶ

16 In Is. iii 9

ευθυνουσα (sic) θ' σανιαν εἰς κοπέτον 86^{ms} αἰναν—οἶκον] sup ras B^{ab} αἰναν]
 σεννααρ B Q (σεννααρ Q^a) 36 (αἰναν 36^a ms) 48 86 (αἰναν 86^{ms}) 153 233 σενναν 62 147
 σαιναν 228 ενα (al σεννααρ al αἰναν) Chrys in acclam OL^w ܡܢܝܢ Syro-Hex ܡܢܝܢ
 σθαι] εἰς κοπέτον Σ plangite OL^w ληψεται] ληψεται B A ληψέσθαι 62 ληψέσθαι 95
 147 185 pr και 147 12. (OL^w = Y) τις ἤρξατο εἰς ἀγαθὰ κατοικοῦ[ση] οδ[ύ]νας]
 ὅτι ἠρρωσθησεν εἰς ἀγαθὸν καθήμενη μαρῶθ Aq ὅτι ἐνομισεν (ἠλπισεν!) εἰς ἀγαθὸν ἡ
 κατοικοῦσα ἡ παραπικραίνουσα Σ ἀναμενουσα εἰς ἀγαθὸν κατοικοῦσα εἰς υψὸς Θ κατοί-
 κου[ση]] κατοικησὶ 62 κατοικοῦσιν 147 -κουσα 153 228 (πύλ)ας] πύλαις 36 51 97 147
 228 13. ψόφος] pro φ coep π (! γ) B* vid κατοικοῦσαι] quae habitat λαχεῖς]
 λαχίς 147 153 ἀρχηγός] ἀρχηγοὶ 86 αὕτη] αὕτης A (θ' αὕτη Q^{ms}) om 228 eius
 haec OL^w hab sub Σ Syro-Hex ἐστὶ] -ιν B A Q (ἐστὶ Q^a) ἐστὰι 153 τῇ θυγατρὶ
 σιών] huic domus istrachel OL^w σιών] σείων B* (σίων B^b) ἀσέβειαι] pr ai A 95
 185 233 του] huius OL^w 14. (δώσεις)] δώσει B Q 48 233 δαῖρα Aq Σ Θ dabit
 OL^w (Syro-Hex = Y) οἶκους ματαίους] ψευδους (s. ψευσματος) Aq αχζιβ Σ εἰς αὐστ-
 κης Θ pr in OL^w οἶκοι ματαίων] om B A Q 48 86 (hab 86^{ms}) 153 228 (hab 228^{ms})
 233 OL^w Syro-Hex pr αἰκοδομησατε 62 147 (εἰς κεν)ον] εἰς καινον 62 147 εἰς και-
 153 (κεν)ον ἐγενοντο] κενὰ ἐγενετο A Q* (-νοντο Q^a κενον ἐγενοντο Q^{ms}) 153 233
 ἱηλ] pr του B Q 48 86 153 228 233 ἱερουσαλημ 228 15. ε(ως) 1^o—ὁδολλάμ] usque
 dum heredes adducant inhabitantes hereditates lachis usque odollam OL^w ε(ως)
 1^o ad fin com] εως τον κληρονομον (τους κληρονομους Θ) ἀγαγωσὶ (αζω s. αγωσιν σὺ Θ)
 κατοικοῦσα λαχεῖς κληρονομία· εως ὁδολλάμ ἡξεί ἡ δόξα ῥ της θυγατρὸς ῥ ἱσραηλ Aq Θ
 ἐτι κληρονομον αζω και σοι κατοικία μαρεσα· εως ὁδολλάμ ἡξεί τῆς δόξης ἱσραηλ Σ σοι]
 om B A Q 1L (exc 22 36 51 97) ἀγαγω σοί] ἀγαγωσιν B A Q (ἀγαγω σοι Q^{ms}) 48 86
 153 228 233 ἀγαγω σου 95 185 (λα)χεῖς] λαχίς 62 147 153 κληρονομιαν] κληρο-
 νομία B A Q 48 95 185 228 233 -ίας 153 ὁδολλάμ] λ 1^o ras B^a vid ὁδολαμ 62 147
 153 (ῆ)] om 62 147 (ῆ) δόξα—κληρονομίαν in com 2 cap. II] om 153 σιών]
 ἱσραηλ B A Q 48 86 (ὁ σιών 86^{ms}) 233 16. OL^w = Y ξυρησαι] pr και Chrys
 σου τα τρυφερά] τα tr. σου 48 86 228 233 ξυρησιν] χηριαν B* A Q* χηριαν B^{ab} Q^a
 48 233 ξυρησιν Q^{ms} ξηρησιν 22 (χηριαν 22^a supra 11a) 35 51 62 86 (Εβρ. τὴν χηριαν α'
 σ' φαλακρωσιν 86^{ms}) 95 97 185 228^{ms} (χηριαν 228) ܠܝܚܝܢ Syro-Hex ܠܝܚܝܢ
 ܠܝܚܝܢ Syro-Hex^{ms} (viduitatem OL^w)

- II. 1. ἐγενοντο] οὐαί Aq Σ (κοπους] και ἐργαζόμενοι] om 62 (δ)ιοτι ad fin com]
 ὅτι ἰσχυρον χεῖρ αὐτοῦ Aq ὅτι ἰσχυεν ἡ χεῖρ αὐτῶν Σ διότι ἐχουσιν ἰσχυὴν τὴν χεῖρα αὐτῶν
 Θ ουκ] om 233 προς (τον θν)] om τον 62 147 ad dom OL^w ad deum OL¹
 2. (ὀρφα)νοὺς] sub ῥ Syro-Hex οἶκους] vs sup ras A^a και οἶκους—ἀνδρα 1^o] om

διήρπαζον ἄνδρα κ . . τὸν οἶκον αὐτοῦ· ἄνδρα καὶ τὴν κληρονομίαν αὐτοῦ·
 3^a διὰ τοῦτο τάδε λέγει κ̄ρ ἰδοὺ . . λογιζομαι ἐπὶ τὴν φυλὴν ταύτην κα . . ὣν
 οὐ μὴ ἄρῃτε τοὺς τραχίλους ὑμ . . οὐ μὴ πορευθῇτε ὀρθοὶ ἐξαίφνης . . μὲς
 4^a πονηρός ἐστιν· ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ . . ληφθήσεται ἐφ' ὑμᾶς παραβολή . . νηθή-
 σεται θρῆνος ἐν μέλει λεγόντ**** λαιπωρία ἐταλαιπωρήσαμεν . . λαοῦ μου
 κατεμετρήθη σχοινίω [καὶ οὐ]κ ἦν ὁ κωλύσων αὐτὸν τοῦ ἀποστ[ρέφαι] οἱ
 5^a ἀ]γροὶ ὑμῶν διεμετρήθησαν· διὰ . . κ ἔσται σοι βάλλον σχοινίον ἐν
 6^a κλῆ . . κλησίᾳ κ̄ν· μὴ δακρύετε δάκρυς . . [δα]κρύεωσαν ἐπὶ τούτοις οἱ
 7^a ὀφ[θαλμοὶ ὑμῶν] οὐ γὰρ ἀπώσεται ὀνειδῇ· λέγων . . . παρώργισε π̄να κ̄ν·
 8^a εἰ ταῦτα ἐπιτηδεύματα αὐτοῦ ἐστίν; οὐκ οἱ λόγοι . . . [καὶ ἐμ]προ-
 σθεν ὁ λαός μου εἰς ἐχθ[ραν] ἀντίστη κατέ]ναντι τῆς εἰρήνης αὐτοῦ . . ραν
 9^a τοῦ ἀφελέσθαι ἐλπίδα συντριμμῶν [πολέ]μων· διὰ τοῦτο οἱ ἡγούμενοι τοῦ
 λαοῦ . . [ἀπ]ορριφῇσονται ἐκ τῶν οἰκίῶν τρυφῆς . . διὰ τὰ πονηρὰ ἐπιτη-

OL¹ (hab OL¹) ἄνδρα 1^a] ρτ τον 228 ἄνδρα 2^a] ρτ και B Q^{ms} (om Q*) 48 228
 233 sub x Aq x Syro-Hex (om OL¹ OL¹) και την κληρονομειαν αυτου] om 95 185
 3. την φυλην ταυτην] την φυλακην την εμην 153 plebem hanc (om hanc OL¹) OL¹
 OL¹ αρητε] ευρητε 153 αρειτε 233 ορθοι] ορθοι A εξαιφνης] om 228
 4. ληφθησεται] λημφθ. BA παραβολη] om 153 λεγοντ**] λεγων BA Q 36 48
 56 153 228 233 λεγοντων 22 51 62 95 97 147 185 dicentium OL¹ εταλαιπωρησα-
 μεν] laboravit OL¹ μου] om 51 κατεμετρηθη] κατεμερισθη 147 σχοινιω] ρτ
 εν BA Q OL¹ (και ου]κ ην ο κωλυσων αυτον τον αποστ[ρεφαι]] πως αποδοθησεται
 μοι τοις γειτοσι; Aq πως αναχωρησει μοι του επιστρεφαι; x πως ανασταλευσει αυτον του
 επιστρεφαι; θ κωλυσων] κωλυων 48 51 (62 scv κολουσων 147 scv κολουσων) 86 95 153
 185 233 αποστ[ρεφαι]] επιστρεφαι 62 147 υμων] ημων BA Q 22* (υμων 22) 86
 51 (vestri OL¹) διεμετρηθησαν] διεμερισθησαν B 22 48 (62 86 scv διεμετρηθησαν) 147
 233 εν μερισμοις (s. διαμερισμοις s. διαιρεσεις) Aq διεμερισθησαν x μεριει (s. διαμεριει s.
 διελει) θ 5. σοι] om 153 βαλλων] om 153 βαλων 228 ρτ qui OL¹ κ̄ν
 ευρω 86 6. μη δακρυετε ad fin com] μη σταλαζετε σταλαζοντες ου σταλαζετε εις
 τωστων ου καταληγη εντροπας (ο λεγων) Aq μη επιτιματε· εαν επιτιμησῃτε ουκ επιτιμων
 τε (fort. επιτιματες τωστων ου κωλυει κατασχυμμος) x μη δακρυετε] μη κλαιετε
 BA Q 48 (62 147 scv δακρυεται) 153 228 233 μη διακρινετε 86 nolite lacrimari OL¹
 επι τωτοις] επι τωτω A Q* (επι τωτοις Q*) 153 233 επι τωτω 86 οι οφ[θαλμοι
 υμων]] om BA Q x (hab 22 36 51 97 228^{ms} lin) οι οφ. υμων επι τωτω 86 om OL¹
 Syro-Hex ου γαρ] ουδε γαρ 48 228 και γαρ 62 ονειδη] ονειδει 62 7. λεγων]
 ρτ ο BA Q x (εκ 36 51 [hab 51*] 95 97 185) ρτ omnis qui OL¹ ρτ qui OL¹ παρωρ-
 γισε] -σεν BA Q exasperaverunt OL¹ (inritavit OL¹) ει τα(ντα)] + τα BA Q^{ms}
 (ου ταυτα τα Q*) 153 233 ου ταυτα 22 51 97 ου ταυτα τα 36 48 228 quia haec OL¹
 OL¹ αυτου] αυτων 153 ουκ] ουχ BA Q 36 48 62 147 153 233 ουχι 22 51 86 95
 97 185 228 ουκ οι λογοι . . . ad fin com] μητι ου ρηματα μου αγαθυνουσι μετ αυτον
 ευθεις πορευομενου; Aq μη ου λογοι μου αγαθοποιουσι τω ορθω αναστρεφομενω; x
 8. (και εμ]προσθεν—(αντεστη)] και συναντω . . . Aq προ μας δε ο λαος μου ως εχθρος
 αντεστη x (εμ]προσθεν] + αυτων 147 εις εχθ[ραν αντεστη)] αντεστη εις εχθραν
 153 233 εις] om OL¹ εχθ[ραν] εχραν A* (εχθραν A^b) (αντεστη)]
 αντικατεστη A 36 (κατε]ναντι ad fin com] απο ιματιων ενδυματων εξιδυσατε
 τους οδοιπορουντας αμεριμων εκ πολεμου x ελπιδα] ελπιδας 48 62 147 233
 9. (OL¹ OL¹ = Y) δια τωτω] om B 48 οι] om BA Q 48 86 153 228
 233 του] om BA Q 48 86 95 153 185 228 233 (απ]ορριφῇσονται] αποριφ.
 B οικειων] οικειων 62 147 οικων 153 228 233 τε] om Q* (hab Q^{ms})

- 10 δεύματα αὐ . . . θησαν· ἐγγίστατε ὅρεσιν αἰωνίοις·¹⁰ . . . πορεύου ὅτι οὐκ ἔστι
 11 σοι αὕτη ἀνα . . . ἔνεκεν ἀκαθαρσίας· διεφθάρητε . . .¹¹· διώχθητε οὐδενὸς
 διώκοντος· . . . [ψευ]δέες· ἐστάλαξέ σοι εἰς οἶνον καὶ . . . ἔσται ἐκ τῆς
 12 σταγόνος τοῦ λαοῦ . . .¹²· νος συναχθήσεται ἰακώβ . . . [ἐκ]δεχόμενος
 ἐκδέξομαι τοὺς . . . τοῦ ἡλ . . . ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ θήσομαι . . . φῆν αὐτῶν ὡς
 πρόβατα ἐν θλί . . . [ποίμν]ιον ἐν μέσῳ κοίτης αὐτῶν ἔξα ἀνάβηθι
 13¹³ διὰ τῆς κοπῆς· . . . αὐτῶν διέκοψαν καὶ διήλθον . . . αὐτῆς· καὶ ἐξῆλθον
 III 1 ὁ . . . πρὸ προσώπου αὐτῶν· ὁ δὲ [κσ] ἡγήσεται αὐτῶν¹ καὶ ἐρεῖ ἀκούσατε
 δὴ αἱ [ἄρχαι οἴκου ἰακώβ καὶ οἱ] κατάλοιποι οἴκου ἡλ· [οὐχ ὑμῖν ἐστὶ] . . . τὸ
 2 κρίμα·² μισοῦντες τὰ καλὰ· καὶ ζητοῦντες τὰ πονηρά· . . . ζοῖτες τὰ δέρματα
 3 αὐτῶν ἀπ' αὐτῶν [καὶ τὰς] σάρκας αὐτῶν ἀπὸ τῶν ὀστέων αὐτῶν·³ . . . πον κατέ-
 φαγον τὰς σάρκας τοῦ λαοῦ . . . τὰ δέρματα αὐτῶν ἀπ' αὐτῶν ἐξέδ . . . τὰ ὀστᾶ
 αὐτῶν συνέθλασαν καὶ ἐμέλ[ισαν ὡς] σάρκας εἰς λέβητα καὶ ὡς κρέα[ς] . . .
 4⁴ οὕτως κεκραζόνται πρὸς κν καὶ σεται αὐτῶν· καὶ ἀποστρέψει τὸ πρ^π·
 [αὐ] τοῦ ἀπ' αὐτῶν ἐν τῷ καιρῷ ἐ[κείνῳ] . . . ἐπονηρεύσαντο ἐν τοῖς ἐπιτ^π·
 5 ἐπ' αὐτούς·⁵ τάδε λέγει κσ ἐπ . . . τοὺς πλανῶντας τὸν λαόν μου . . . - τας

III. 1^b Chrys. *In Ioan.* Homil. lii 1.

10. ἐστι] -ιν BAQ σοι] vobis OL^w αὐτῇ] + η A om 62 147 228 (hab
 228^a) διεφθάρητε] διεφθείρατε 185 11. οὐδενος] ουθενος A Q (ψεν 3α]
 ψευδος B 48 62 153 228 233 mendax OL^w ἐσταλαξέ] -φεν BAQ σοι] om 153
 τῆς] του 228 12. ἰακωβ] istrahel OL^w (ἐκ)δεχομενος] in mg et sup ra A⁴
 του ἡλ] του λαου τουτου A αυτων 1^ο αυτου B 48 233 (eorum OL^w 1^ο Syro-Hex)
 ως προβατα—κοιτης αυτων] (ως) ποιμνιον [Syro-Hex] ως αγελη εν [Syro-Hex]
 [Syro-Hex] Aq ως βοσκηματα εν οχυρωματι ως αγελη εν μεσω της κρημου [Syro-Hex]
 (ποιμν)ιον] ποιμνια 22 36 51 95 97 185 greges OL^w [Syro-Hex] αυτων
 2^ο] αυτης 22 36 97 αναβηθι] om B A Q 36 48 (62 147 scr αναβηθη) 153 13.
 (OL^w = Y) δια της διακοπης B A Q 36 48 228 (διακοπης 228^a) δια της σκοπης 153 δια
 της κοπης] ανεβηλα Θ αναβησεται ο διακοπτων Σ και 1^ο] om A ο δε] και 86 οτι 153
 (ἡγήσεται)] προῆγησεται 86 pr διεκοψαν 147 ἡγήσατο 153
 III. 1. και ερει] in tempore OL^w ακουσατε] pr ταυτα 228 δη] + ταυτα B [Syro-Hex]
 48 86 153 233 + haec OL^w [Syro-Hex] αι] om 62 147 228 (οικου) 1^ο
 om 22 OL^w του 36 51 62 95 97 147 185 (και οι) καταλοιποι οικου ἡλ] αρχη οικου . . .
 Aq Θ ηγουμενα . . . Σ οικου 2^ο] om 153 (ουχ υμιν ἐστι)] ουχ υμων ἐστι 62 47
 Chrys ουχ υπεμεινε τι 153 η ουχ υμων Σ ἐστι] -ιν BAQ 2. (OL^w = Y)
 μισουντες] pr οι A Q 153 233 απ αυτων] + εξεδειραν 86 om 185 (και τας) σαρκας
 αυτων] om 147 οστων] οσσεων BAQ αυτων 4^ο] om 97 3. του] om 1 53
 απ αυτων] απο των οσσεων αυτων A Q 86^{me} (απ αυτων 86) 153 233 om 62 147 οστα]
 οστια B συνεθλασαν] συνεκλεισαν A εμελ(ισαν)] εμερισαν 22 36^a (εμελισαν 36^b)
 51 62 95 97 147 185 λεβητα] -τας 153 κρεα(ς)] κρεα BAQ (κρεας Q^a) 48 86 26
 153 185 233 4. κεκραζονται] Aq = Y βοησονται Σ κν] pr τον [Syro-Hex] εκ 36 51
 97 147 153 233 και αποστρεψει] αλλα αποκριφει Σ (αυ)του] sup ras A⁴ τω
 καιρω (εκείνῳ)] τη ημερα εκεινη 228 επονηρευσαντο ad fin com] εκακωσαν τα επι-
 τηδευματα αυτων Aq επονηρευσαντο δια των επιτηδευματων Σ επονηρευσαντο πρι-
 (s. ενεκεν) των επιτηδευματων αυτων Θ επ αυτους] επ αυτοις 22 36 51 62 95 97 147
 185 om 228 (hab 228^{me}) hab sub [Syro-Hex] 5. αυτων 1^ο] om 62 147 επ

ἐν τοῖς ὁδοῦσιν αὐτῶν ***κη . . ἐπ' αὐτοῖς εἰρήνην καὶ οὐκ . . [εἰς τὸ
6 στό]μα αὐτῶν ἡγίασαν ἐπ' αὐτ[όν] . . 6. τοῦτο νῦν ὑμῖν ἔσται ἐξ [ὁράσεως]
7 . . ὑμῖν ἔσται ἐκ μαντε[ας] . . . τοὺς προφήτας καὶ σ . . . ἡμέρα· 7 καὶ
καταισχυ . . . ἐνύπνια· καὶ κατα . . . καὶ καταλαλήσουσι [κατ' αὐτῶν
8 πάντες αὐτοὶ] διότι οὐκ ἔσται ὁ ἐπακούων αὐτῶν· 8 ἀλλὰ μὴν] ἐγὼ
ἐνεπλήσθην ἰσχύος ἐν πνι κν . . ἱματός καὶ δυναστείας τοῦ ἀπαγγεῖ . . ὦ
9 ἱακῶβ ἀσεβείας αὐτοῦ καὶ τῷ ἱηλ . . τίας αὐτοῦ· 9 ἀκούσατε δὴ ταῦτα
. . μενοὶ οἶκον ἱακῶβ καὶ οἱ κατάλοιποι . . ἱηλ οἱ βδελυσσόμενοι κρίμα καὶ
10 πᾶν . . ὀρθὰ διαστρέφοντες· 10 οἱ οἰκοδομο . . σιών ἐν αἵμασι καὶ ἡλημ ἐν
11 ἀδικί[αις] 11 . . ἡγούμενοι αὐτῆς μετὰ δώρων ἔκρι . . οἱ ἱερεῖς αὐτῆς μετὰ
μισθοῦ ἀπέκρινοντο] καὶ οἱ προφήται αὐτῆς μετὰ ἄρ . . μαντεύοντο· καὶ
ἐπὶ τὸν κν ἐπα[νέ]οντο λέ[γοντες] οὐχὶ κσ ἐν ἡμῖν ἔστιν; οὐ [μὴ ἐπέλθῃ]
12 ἐφ' ἡμᾶς κακά· 12 διὰ τοῦτο δι' ὑ[μᾶς] . . ἀγρὸς ἀροτριάθῃσεται καὶ [λημ

8^a Chrys. *In Is.* i 110. *De Libell. Rep.* 2

αυτοις ειρηνην] επ αυτον ειρηνην B A Q 62 86 (επ αυτους 86^{me}) 153 ειρηνην επ αυτον 48
228 επ αυτων ειρηνην 147 233 και ουκ . . . ad fin com] και ουκ εδωκαν επι το στομα
αυτων ηγιασαν επ αυτον πολεμον Aq Θ επι δε τους μη διδοντας (s. κατα δε των μη
διδοντων) εις το στομα αυτων 6001 6010100 πολεμους X (εις το στο)μα] εν τω
στοματι 62 147 ηγιασαν] ηγειραν B A Q (ηγιασαν Q^{me}) 36 48 153 228 (ηγιασαν
228^{me}) (6001 Syro-Hex) επ αυτ(ον)] επ αυτων 95 147 185 6. υμιν 1^o] ημιν
62 147 ε[] απο 86 de OL¹ ε[(ορασεως)] ωστε μη οραν υμας X ε[(ορασεως)
—εσται 2^o] ομι 95 185 (ορασεως)] -εων 147 υμιν εσται] tr 48 95 185 228 ημιν
εσται 147 εκ μαντε(ας)] ωστε μη μαντευσθαι υμας X ημερα] + luminis OL¹
7. και καταλαλησουσι—(αυτοι)] και περιβαλονται επι των χειλεων αυτων παντες X
(κατ αυτων παντες αυτοι)] ομι 62 διوتي ουκ εσται ο επακουων αυτων] διوتي ουκ ην
αποκρισις του θεου X διوتي ουκ εστιν αποκρισις ελωειμ Θ εσται] εστιν Q^{me} 62 147 228
επακουων] εισακουων B επακουσαν A Q 36 υποκουων 86 233 υποκουσαν 153 αυτων 2^o] ομι
OL¹ 8. αλ(λα μην)—δυναστειας] αλλα μην εγω ενεπλησθην ισχυος πνευματος
και κριματος και δυναστειας X εκωλυθη (s. συνεσχεθη) εγω ειμι ενεπλησθην ισχυος
πνευματος . . . Θ αλ(λα μην)] εαν μη B A Q L (εxc 22 51 95 97 185) ομι μην 62 147
ομι 86 si OL¹ εγω ενεπλησθην ισχυος] εγω εμπλησσω ισχυν B Q L (εxc 22 51 95 97
185) εμπλησσω εγω ισχυν A ομι εγω 153 ego implevero virtutem OL¹ ενεπλησθην—
δυναστειας] Chrys = Y εν πνι κν] εν πνευματι αγιω 62 147 spiritu meo sancto OL¹
αυτου] ομι OL¹ 9. (OL¹ OL¹ = Y) ιακωβ] ἱηλ A οι καταλοιποι] οι εξου-
σιαζοντες (s. δυναστευοντες) Aq Θ ἱηλ] ιακωβ A οι 2^o] ομι 153 10. (OL¹
OL¹ = Y) σιων] σιων B Q (σιων B^b Q^a) ομι A αιμασι] sanguinem OL¹ αιματι
Chrys αδικι(αις)] αδικειαις B^a (-αις B^b) 11. αυτης 1^o 2^o 3^o] αυτων 153 eorum
OL¹ OL¹ μισθου] mercedibus OL¹ (mercede OL¹) απε(κρινοντο)] εφωτιζον Aq Θ
αυτης 3^o] ομι OL¹ 6001 X ciut 6010101 supra lin Syro-Hex και επι τον κν επα-
νε(παυοντο)] ομι 147 ομι τον 233 κσ] pr o 48 ημιν] υμιν Q^a (ημιν Q^a) 185
(επελθη)] ελθη 62 147 ομι 86 ημας] υμας 228 κακα] pr τα A 12. δια
τουτο—εσται] δια τουτο χαριν υμων σιων χωρα αροτριάθῃσεται και ιερουσαλημ λιθολο-
γηθησεται Aq υμας] ημας 147 (ως)] ομι 228 (hab 228^{me}) (ο)παροφυλακιον]
-λακειον Q^a (-λακειον Q^a) σωρος (s. λιθολογια) Aq βουνοι X ερημασιν Θ (εις)] ως
A Q^a (εις Q^a) (εις) αλσος δρυμου] εις υψος δρυμον X εις βουνον δρυμου Θ

- IV 1 ὡς ὁ] πωροφυλάκτον ἔσται καὶ τὸ ὄρος . . [εἰς] ἄλσος δρυμοῦ· ¹ καὶ ἔσται ἐπ' ἐσχάτων ἡ]μερῶν ἐμφανὲς τὸ ὄρος τοῦ [οἴκου κυ] ἐπὶ τὰς κορυφὰς τῶν
 2 ὁ . . ρισθῆσεται ὑπεράνω τῶν [καὶ σπενύ]ουσιν ἐπ' αὐτὸ λαοί· ² καὶ πορεύε-
 ται ἔθνη πολλὰ καὶ ἐροῦσι δεῦτε ἃ . . ἀναβῶμεν εἰς τὸ ὄρος κυ καὶ εἰς τὸν
 . . οἶκον τοῦ θυ ἱακῶβ καὶ δείξουσιν ἡ . . ὁδὸν αὐτοῦ καὶ πορευσόμεθα
 3 ἐν τ . . βοῖς· ὅτι ἐκ σιών ἐξελεύσε . . καὶ λόγος κυ ἐξ ἑλῆμ· ³ καὶ κρινεῖ
 ἀνὰ [μέσον] λαῶν πολλῶν καὶ ἐξελέγξει ἔθνη ἢ σχυρὰ ἔως εἰς μακράν· καὶ
 κατακόψουσιν τὰς μαχαίρας αὐτῶν εἰς ἄροτρα καὶ τὰ δόρατα· αὐτῶν εἰς
 δρέπανα· καὶ οὐκέτι οἱ μὴ ἄρη] ἔθνος ἐπ' ἔθνος μάχαιραν καὶ οἱ ἐκείνους οὐ]
 4 μὴ μάθωσι πολεμεῖν· ⁴ καὶ ἀνα . . ἕκαστος ὑποκάτω ἀμπέλου αὐτοῦ . .
 ἕκαστος ὑποκάτω συκῆς . . κ· ἔσται ὁ ἐκφοβῶν· τὸ γὰρ σ[τόμα]· κράτορος
 5 ἐλάλησε ταῦτα ⁵ . . λαοὶ πορεύσονται ἕκαστος τὴν ὁδὸν αὐτοῦ] ἡμῖς δὲ
 6 πορευσόμεθα . . μὴν εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα καὶ . . ⁶ [ἐν ταῖς] ἡμέραις ἐκείναις
 λέγει [κυ] . . [τὴν συν]τετριμμένην καὶ τὴν . . . ξομαι· καὶ οὗς ἀπώσα-
 7 μην] ⁷ . . [τὴν συν]τετριμμένην εἰς ὑπόλειμα· καὶ . . ἀπωσμένην εἰς ἔθνος

IV. 1 Theod. In Esch. xvii. In Psal. xcix 2^a Chrys. De Serp. 1 2^a Exposit.
 in Psal. xlviii 1

IV. 1. ἐπ' ἐσχάτων ἡ]μερῶν] ἐν ταῖς ἐσχαταῖς ἡμέραις Theod. ἐ[σχάτων]] ἐσχατῶν
 Q^a (ἐσχατῶν Q^a) ἡμερῶν] ἢ τῶν BAQ τοῦ (οἴκου κυ] τοῦ κυρίου BA Q^a
 (κυρίου Q^a) 62 233 κυρίου 48 86 (τοῦ οἴκου κυρίου 86^{me}) 147 153 228 θεοῦ Aq 18
 + καὶ ο οἶκος τοῦ θεοῦ Theod. L¹ 100 Sygo-Hex ἐπὶ τὰς κορυφὰς] ἐπ' ἀκρῶν Theod
 (καὶ σπενύ]ουσιν) καὶ συναχθῆσονται Σ ἐπ' αὐτοῦ] πρὸς αὐτὸ B (αὐτὸν B^b) A 48 πρὸς
 αὐτὸν Q (ἐπ' αὐτὸν Q^{me}) ἐπ' αὐτῶν 62 86 95 147 185 2. πορεύεται] πορευσόμεθα
 BAQ 48 51 86 153 228 233 πορεύεται 22 36 62 95 97 147 185 L¹ 100 Sygo-Hex
 + πρὸς αὐτὸ A + ἐπ' αὐτὸν Q 153 + ἐπ' αὐτὸν 233 ἐροῦσι] -σιν BAQ α . . .
 οἱ BAQ L¹ ἀναβῶμεν] πορευθῶμεν Chrys. το ὄρος] τοῦ οἴκου 228 κυ 1^a
 του A Q 22 36 51 97 233 Chrys. dei OL^a τον . . . (!)] οἱ BAQ L¹ τα
 ἡμῶν 153 πορευσόμεθα] πορευσονται 51 -σόμεθα 147 οἱ ἐκ σιών] ἐκ σιών γὰρ
 quoniam (lex) de sion OL^a OL^a σιών] σείων B 3. ἀνα (μέσον)] μεταξὺ A
 πολλῶν] plurimos OL^a ἐξελέγξει] ἐλεγεῖ A Q 62 86 95 147 153 185 233 γενί-
 et detegit OL^a εἰς μακράν] εἰς γῆν μακράν A 36 153 233 οἱ 95 185 εἰς γῆν
 lin 228 καὶ 3^a] οἱ 95 185 κατακόψουσιν] -σιν BAQ μαχαίρας] ῥομφαί-
 BAQ (μαχαίρας Q^{me}) 48 153 233 (τα δόρατα)] τὰς ζιβύνας A Q^a (τα δόρατα Q
 153 (233 scr ζιβύνας) τὰς ζιβύνας 86 L¹ 100 Sygo-Hex καὶ οὐκέτι 1^a -καὶ οὐκέτι 2
 οἱ 36 147 οὐκέτι οὐ μὴ ἀρῇ] οὐκέτι μὴ ἀνταρῇ B οὐκέτι οὐ (οἱ οὐ Q^a) μὴ ἀρῇ A
 οὐκέτι οὐ μὴ ἀνταρῇ 48 οὐκέτι μὴ ἀρῇ 62 228 233 ἐπ' οἱ οὐ πρὸς Q^{me} πρὸς 228
 Aq Σ μαχαίραν] ῥομφαίαν BAQ 48 153 228 233 οὐκέτι οὐ μὴ] οὐκέτι μὴ
 48 228 οὐ μὴ A Q 86 μαθῶσι] -σιν BAQ + ἐτι A Q 153 233 (οἱ ἐτι OL^a OL^a
 Sygo-Hex) 4. ἕκαστος 1^a -ἕκαστος 2^a] οἱ 62 αὐτοῦ 1^a] οἱ Q^a 1^a (ἡ
 Q^a (2^a) ὑποκάτω 2^a] X ὑποκάτω Aq Σ ἐκφοβῶν] + αὐτοῦς 36 + εὖς OL^a το γὰρ
 σ[τόμα] διότι το στομα BAQ 48 153 233 οἱ στομα 228 quia os OL^a ἐλάλησε
 -σιν BAQ 5. ἕκαστος] ἢ σε Q^a (τὴν ὁδὸν αὐτοῦ)] L¹ 100 Sygo-Hex
 Sygo-Hex 1^a 100 (viam suam OL^a) 6. ἡμέραις ἐκείναις] ἡμέρα ἐκείνη BAQ
 48 153 228 illa die OL^a οἱ L¹ 100 Sygo-Hex (τὴν συν]τετριμμένην - (τὴν
 συν]τετριμμένην, in com seq] οἱ 153 7. εἰς ὑπόλειμα] οἱ 153 ὑπόλειμα] ὑπολειμμα
 BAQ ὑπολειμμα B^b Q^a + διαμενον Q^{me} + L¹ 100 Sygo-Hex ἔθνος]

ἰσχυρόν· καὶ . . εὔσει κ̄ ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ἐν ὄρεσι σιών ἀπὸ τοῦ [νῦν ἔω]ς εἰς
 8 τὸν αἰῶνα· ⁸ καὶ σὺ πύργος ποι . . [αὐχ]μώδης θυγάτηρ σιών ἐπὶ σέ ἤξει . .
 εὔσεται ἡ ἀρχὴ ἡ πρώτη βασιλεία [ἐκ βαβυλ]ῶνος· τῇ θυγατρὶ ἰλημ·
 9 ⁹ καὶ νῦν . . [ἐγνω]ς κακά; μὴ βασιλεὺς οὐκ ἦν σοι; . . ἀπώλετο ὅτι κατε-
 10 κράτησαν . . τικτούσης; ¹⁰ ὠδινε καὶ ἄν [15 litt (?)] θυγάτηρ σιών ὡς
 ἡ τίκτουσα ελευσῇ ἐκ πόλεως καὶ κα . . . ἐν πεδίῳ καὶ ἤξεις ἔως
 βα . . . ῥύσεται σε καὶ ἐκεῖθεν λυ[τρώ]σεται σε] . . σου ἐκ χειρὸς ἐχθρῶν
 11 σου· ¹¹ . . [ἐπισυναχθ]ῆσεται ἐπὶ σέ ἔθνη πολλὰ [καὶ λαοὶ λέγοντες ἐπιχα-]
 12 ρούμεθα καὶ ἐπόψον . . . ἡμῶν· ¹² καὶ αὐτοὶ οὐ κῦ καὶ οὐ συνήκαν
 13 συνήγαγεν αὐτοὺς ὡς . . . ¹³ [ἀν]άστηθι καὶ ἀλόα ἀ κέρατά σου
 θήσομαι σιδηρὰ καὶ τὰς ὀπλὰς σου θήσομαι χαλκᾶς· καὶ καταπατήσεις ἐν
 αὐτ[αῖς] ἔθνη· καὶ λεπυνεῖς λαοὺς πολλοὺς καὶ [ἀναθ]ῆσεις τῷ κῦ τὸ
 1 πληθὸς αὐτῶν καὶ [τὴν ἰσχύ]ν αὐτῶν τῷ κῦ πάσης τῆς γῆς· ¹ νῦν [ἐμ· V
 φρα]χθήσεται θυγάτηρ ἐν φραγμῷ συν . . ξεν ἐφ' ὑμᾶς ἐν ῥάβδῳ πατά-

10-13 Theod. In Eszech. xxxix

εθνον B* (εθνος B^{1b}) ἰσχυρον] δυνατον B 48 κ̄ om 36 ορεσι] ορει
 BAQ² montem OL^w σιων] σειων B του (νυν)] + και εως του νυν 62 (εω)s]
 pr και A Q εις] pr και L pr et OL^w 8. αυχ(μωδης)] αυχμωδους Q 153
 σκοτωδης Aq αποκρυφος Σ arida OL^w θυγατηρ σιων] Σ = Y θυγατηρ] θυγατερ
 A Q (ilem 10) 51 228 επι σε] εως . . Aq επι σε Θ (εκ) om 86 153 (εκ
 βαβυλ]ανος] hab sub ~ Syro-Hex, qui notat: 'Hic obelus non positus erat in
 Hexaplis' 9. και] + tu OL^w (εγνω]ς κακα] εκακωσας . . Aq ουκ ην σοι]
 ουκ εν σοι 86 153 ουκ εστι σοι Aq Σ Θ 10. σιων] σειων B η] om BAQ² L
 (exc 36 51 62 97 147) Theod και εκειθεν λυ(τρωσεται σε)] om B (hab B^{ab} (mss)) 36
 147 OL^w (hab Syro-Hex) εκ χειρος] εκ χειρων 86^{ms} 11. (επισυναχθη]σεται]
 επισυναχθη BAQ 153 233 Theod επισυναχθησαν 48 επισυναχθησονται 86 (αχθησεται
 86^{ms}) συνελεγσαν Aq (!) συναχθησεται Σ congregatae sunt OL^w (και λαοι)] om
 BAQ 48 86 97 153 228 (hab 228^{ms}) 233 OL^w]~~~ Syro-Hex
 λεγοντες] pr οι A Q (επιχα]ρουμεθα] ~~~~ Syro-
 Hex^{ms} 12. (OL^w Theod = Y) και αυτοι] αυτοι δε B 48 ipsi autem OL^w
 κῦ] κῦ B (κῦ B^{ab}) 13. (αν]αστηθι] αναστα A Q* (αναστηθι Q^a) 153 233 αλοα]
 αλωα 86 147 τας οπλας] τα οπλα 233 θησομαι 2^o] om OL^w χαλκας]
 χαλκα 233 και καταπατησεις εν αυτ(αις ε)θνη και λεπυνεις] και κατατηξεις B 48 και
 λεπυνεις A Q 153 233 et tabescere faciam in eis gentes et minutatim facies OL^w
 ~~~~ Syro-Hex και καταξεις Theod καταπατησεις εν  
 αυτ(αις)] κατατηξεις εν αυτοις (ανταις 95 185) 62 86 95 147 185 228 και (αναθ]ησεις]  
 και αναθησει 62 αναθηματισεις Aq Σ Θ το] om Theod το πληθος αυτων] το κερδος  
 αυτων Σ τα δωρα αυτων Θ την ωφελειαν . . Quint και (την ισχυν)] και τον πλουτον  
 86<sup>ms</sup>

V. 1. νυν (εμφρα]χθησεται θυγατηρ εν φραγμῳ] νυν ωδινησουσι σε θυγατερ συνεχομενη  
 (s. πολιορκουμενη) Σ nunc vastaberis filia latronis Aq Σ Θ Quint (εμφρα]χθησεται]  
 ευφρανθησεται 62 147 pr και 228 θυγατηρ] + εφραιμ A Q 22<sup>a</sup> (om 22) 36 62 147 153  
 228<sup>a</sup> (om 228) 233 (om OL<sup>w</sup> hab Syro-Hex) εν φραγμῳ] B 22 48 62  
 147 228 (εν φρ. 228<sup>a</sup>) 233 ενφραγμῳ] (! εν φρ.) A Q in conclusione OL<sup>w</sup> υμας]  
 ημας Q<sup>a</sup> 48 62 153 233 εν ραβδῳ ad fin com] . . πληξουσιν επι σιαγονα τον κριτην  
 ισραηλ Aq ραβδῳ τυφουσιν κατα σιαγονας τον κριτην ισραηλ Σ . . παταξει επι σιαγονα τον



2 [ἔ]ουσιν ἐπὶ] σιαγόνα τὰς φυλάς τοῦ ἡλ. 2 καὶ σὺ [β]ηθλέ[ε]μ οἶκος τοῦ  
ἐφράθα μὴ ὀλιγοστὸς [ἐ]λ τοῦ εἶναι ἐν χιλιάσιν ἰουδα' ἐκ σοῦ μοι . . [τοῦ]  
εἶναι εἰς ἄρχοντα ἐν τῷ ἡλ. καὶ [αἱ] ἐξοδοὶ αὐτοῦ ἀπ' ἀρχῆς ἐξ ἡμερῶν  
3 αἰῶν . 3. τοῦτο δώσει αὐτοὺς ἕως καιροῦ . . τέξεται καὶ οἱ ἐπίλοιποι τῶν  
4 ἀδ[ελφῶν] αὐτοῦ ἐπιστρέψουσιν ἐπὶ τοὺς . 4 [καὶ στή]σεται καὶ ὄψεται καὶ  
ποιμανεῖ . . τοῦ ἐν ἰσχύϊ κσ καὶ ἐν τῇ δόξῃ . . τοῦ θν αὐτῶν ὑπάρξουσιν]  
5 . [μεγαλυν]θήσεται ἕως ἁκρων τῆς . 5 . . τῇ ἡ εἰρήνῃ ὅταν ὁ ἀσσυρίος] . .  
γῆν ὑμῶν καὶ ὅταν . . ὑμῶν καὶ ἐπεγεργῇ . . [ἐπτα ποι]μένες καὶ ὀκτὼ  
6 δῆγματα ἀνθρώπων. 6 καὶ [ποι]μανοῦσι τὸν ἀσσοῦρ ἐν ῥομφαίᾳ καὶ τὴν . . οὐ  
νεβρώδ ἐν τῇ τάφρῳ αὐτῆς καὶ \*\*\*\*\* σε ἐκ τοῦ ἀσσοῦρ ὅταν ἐπέλθῃ ἐπὶ

V. 2 Chrys *Contra Iud.* iii. *In Diem Nat.* ii. *De Sancta Trin.* ii. *Expos. in Psal.* xlv

κριτην ισραηλ Θ εν 2<sup>ο</sup>] om 95 185 σιαγονα] σιαγονας A 36 62 147 233 περι  
σιαγονα 86<sup>ms</sup> τας σιαγονας 153 maxillas OL<sup>w</sup> τας φυλας] τας πυλας B τον κριτην  
86<sup>ms</sup> om 153 tribus OL<sup>w</sup> του ἡλ.] om 153 2. (βηθλε)εμ] ηθλεεμ (sic) 147  
οικος] + habitationis OL<sup>w</sup> (om OL<sup>tert</sup>) + illius OL<sup>o</sup> του] om B 48 86 του  
εφραθα] γη ιουδα Chrys Theod μη ολιγοστος ad fin com] numquid minima es ut  
sis in milibus iuda ex te mihi prodiet qui sit princeps in istrabel et egressus ipsius  
ab initio ex diebus saeculi OL<sup>w</sup> num exigua es ut constitueris in millibus iuda ex te  
mihi procedet ut sit princeps apud israel et processiones eius a principio diebus  
saeculi OL<sup>o</sup> non minima es in ducibus iuda ex te enim exiet dux qui pascet  
populum meum israel . . . OL<sup>tert</sup> ουδαμως ελαχιστη ει εν τοις ηγεμοσιν ιουδα εκ σου  
γαρ μοι (al om μοι Chrys) εξελευσεται ηγουμενος οστις ποιμανει τον λαον μου τον ισραηλ  
και αι εξοδοι αυτου απ αρχης εξ ημερων αιωνος Chrys Theod μη] om BA Q 48 153  
233 Syro-Hex (του ειναι) 1<sup>ο</sup>] εν τοις ηγεμοσιν 36 pr su 233 εκ σου] εξ ου B (ε  
σου B<sup>7c</sup>) (του) ειναι 2<sup>ο</sup>] pr ηγουμενος A εν τω ἡλ.] του ισραηλ B 48 om εν 153  
233 (αι)] om B Q 48 62 86 233 εξ ημερων αιων . .] εξ αιωνος εξ ημερων 147  
3. (OL<sup>w</sup> = Y) δωσει] δωσεις 22<sup>a</sup> (δωσει 22) 153 αυτους] αυτα 228 αυτου]  
αυτων BA Q 48 (exc αυτου 51 95 97 185 σου 147 αυτους 228) αυτου Aq 28 επιστρεφον-  
σιν] om 36 4. (στη)σεται] stabunt OL<sup>w</sup> (στη)σεται, ποιμανει] adnot τε  
ωβελισμε[τα] εις τους δυο τοπους ου κεινται ε τω εξασελ[ιδω] Q<sup>ms</sup> οψεται] videbunt  
OL<sup>w</sup> hab sub 4 Syro-Hex ποιμανει] pascent OL<sup>w</sup> κσ] κυριον 62 147 om  
OL<sup>w</sup> και εν τη δοξη] και εν ισχυι 228<sup>ms</sup> αυτων] αυτου 62 υπαρξουν(σιν)] και  
κατοικησουσι 22 . . (μεγαλυν)θησεται ad fin com] tote γαρ μεγαλυνθησεται εις  
εσχατον της γης 22 (μεγαλυν)θησεται] -θησονται B<sup>7b</sup> (-σεται B<sup>7d</sup>) A Q 36 48 86  
228 233 magnificabuntur OL<sup>w</sup> ακρων] ακρου 86 της] om 36 5. (OL<sup>w</sup> = Y)  
η] om B Q 22 48 228 (hab 228<sup>a</sup>) 233 οταν ο ασσυριο(ς)] ασσοῦρ οταν B 48 om ο  
22 86 153 233 ασσοῦριος οταν 228 υμων 1<sup>ο</sup>] ημων 153 και 1<sup>ο</sup>] om 51 (επτα  
ποι)μενες] επτα μηνες 228 (επτα ποι)μενες ad fin com] επτα νομεις και οκτω  
καθεσταμενους ανθρωπους Aq επτα ποιμενας και οκτω χριστους ανθρωπων 22 επτα ποιμενας  
και οκτω αρχηγους ανθρωπων Θ 6. και (ποι)μανουσι—εν τη ταφρω αυτης] et  
pascent terram assur in gladio et regionem nemrod intra portas eius 22 (ποι)-  
μανουσι] -σιν BA Q τον] το 22 (exc 51 228 233) ασσοῦρ] ασσοῦρ BA Q 48 νεβρωδ]  
νευροδ- 62 νεβροδ 147 νεβρωω 228 nebroth OL<sup>w</sup> εν τη ταφρω αυτης] εν ζιβναις (ε.  
σειρομασταις) αυτης Aq εντος πυλων αυτης 22 εν πυλαις αυτων Θ εν παραξιφισιν αυτων  
Quint αυτης] αυτου 153 και \*\*\*\*\* σε] και ρυσεται BA Q 48 86 153 233 και ρυσεται  
δε 22 (exc 48 153 233 και ρυσομαι σε 36) et eripiam te OL<sup>w</sup> ] 153, 153, 153, 153

7 . . ἡν ὑμῶν καὶ ὅταν ἐπιβῇ ἐπὶ τὰ ὄρι . . <sup>7</sup> καὶ ἔσται τὸ ὑπόλειμμα τοῦ  
 ἱακῶβ . . . θνεσιν ἐν μέσῳ λαῶν πολλῶν ὡς . . παρα κυ ἐπιτίπτονσα καὶ  
 ὡς ἄρ . . [ἄρ]ωστιν ὅπως μὴ συναχθῇ μηδεὶς [μηδὲ ὑπο]στῇ ἐν νιοῖς  
 8 ἀνθρώπων· <sup>8</sup> καὶ ἔσται τὸ ὑ . . τοῦ ἱακῶβ ἐν τοῖς ἔθνεσιν ἐν μέ . . ολλῶν  
 ὡς λέων ἐν τοῖς κτήνε . . καὶ ὡς σκύμνος ἐν ποιμνί . . ὡν· ὃν τρόπον ὅταν  
 9 διέλθῃ . . ὅς ἄρπασῃ καὶ μὴ ᾗ ὃ ἐξαί[ρου]μένος <sup>9</sup>· ὠθησεται ἡ χεὶρ σου ἐπὶ  
 10 τοὺς . . καὶ πάντες οἱ ἐχθροὶ σου ἐ . . αὐ· <sup>10</sup> καὶ ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ [ἐκείνῃ] . .  
 11 ἐξολοθρεύσω τοὺς ἱπ . . σου καὶ ἀπολῶ τὰ ἄρμα . <sup>11</sup>· εὗσω τὰς πόλεις τῆς  
 12 . . [π]άντα τὰ ὀχυρώματά σου· <sup>12</sup> καὶ ἐξολοθρεύσω τὰ φάρμα[κα] σου ἐκ  
 13 τῶν χειρῶν σου καὶ ἀποφθ[ε]γγόμενοι οὐκ ἔσονται ἐν σοί· <sup>13</sup> καὶ ἐξολοθρ . .  
 γλυπτὰ σου καὶ τὰς στήλας σου ἐκ . . καὶ οὐκέτι οὐ μὴ προσκυνήσῃς .  
 14 γοῖς τῶν χειρῶν σου <sup>14</sup> καὶ ἐκκόψω τ . . ἐκ μέσου σου καὶ ἀφανίσω τὰς πόλ  
 15 . <sup>15</sup>· καὶ ποιήσω ἐν ὀργῇ καὶ ἐν θυμ . . σιν ἐν τοῖς ἔθνεσιν ἀνθ' ὧν οὐκ . .  
 1 ἰ ἀκούσατε διὴ ἃ εἶπε κυ· ἀνάστ . . τι πρὸς τὰ ὄρη καὶ ἀκουσάτωσαν οἱ VI

V. 8 Theod. *Interpr. Ep. ad Hebr.* vii. *Haer. Fab. Compend.* Lib. ii

- [ϕ]αλ[ι] Syro-Hex. [ϕ]αλ[ι] Syro-Hex<sup>mss</sup> ('Ineptae interpolationis, quae  
- [ϕ]αλ[ι] Syro-Hex<sup>mss</sup> ('Ineptae interpolationis, quae  
Syro nostro, ut videtur, propria et peculiaris est, neque originem neque sensum  
indagare potuimus' Field.) ελεθη] εληθ 228 7. (OL<sup>w</sup> = Y) το υπολειμμα  
του ιακωβ] τα ιακωβ το υπολ. 163 υπολειμμα] υπολιμμα B Q (-λειμμα B<sup>b</sup> (vid) A)  
επιπινουσα] πιπνουσα BAQ 48 86 153 228 233 και ως—(αγρ)ωστω] και ος  
ψευκαδες επι ποαν Αq και ωσει νηφτος επι χορτον ΣΘ οποας μη ad fin com] οι ουχ  
υπομενει ανδρα και ου περιμενει υιους ανθρωπων Αq ος ου μενει ανθρωπον και ουκ ελπισει  
επι υιον ανθρωπου Θ ος ου πεποιθησει επ ανθρωπον και ου περιμενει (S. προσδοκησει S.  
προσδεξαται) υιον ανθρωπου οι γ' μη] μηδε 62 147 μηδεις] om 62 147 μηδε ει 86  
228 (μηδε υπο)στη] δε υποστη 153 om υποστη 233 8. (OL<sup>w</sup> = Y) το] τι  
185 του] om B 48 51 .. ολλων] πολλων λαων B Q τοις 2°] om BAQ L  
(exc 22 51 62 95 147 185) διεληθ] εληθ 86 αρπαση]-σει 62 -σαι 153 εξαι-  
(ρουμενος)] ρουμενος Q\* (εξαιρ. Q<sup>mss</sup>) 9. (OL<sup>w</sup> = Y) 10. και 1°] + εσται  
BAQ + erit OL<sup>w</sup> + Ιουμ Syro-Hex τη ημερα (εκεινη)] τη ημερα Β εκεινη τη  
ημερα Q 153 233 σου] om B 36 (tuos OL<sup>w</sup>) 11. (Totum comma deest 153  
OL<sup>w</sup> = Y) (π)αντα—εφολοθρευσω in com seq] om 233 12. εφολοθρευσω]  
εφολεθρ. B εφαρω AQ 36 (ολθεθρενω 36<sup>mss</sup>) 153 228 disperdam OL<sup>w</sup> τα φαρμακα] pr  
παντα A 233 χειραν σου—χειραν σου in com seq] om 153 και αποφθ(εγγομεν)οι]  
και κληρονομοιοι Αq και σημειοδοσκοπομενοι Σ et qui respondeant OL<sup>w</sup> εν] om 62  
147 228 OL<sup>w</sup> 13. εφολοθρ.] εφολεθρ. BAQ τας] om 62 τας στillas σου]  
fanos tuos OL<sup>w</sup> ουκειτι ου μη] ουκειτι μη BAQ L (exc 22 36 51 97) προσκυνηση]  
-σεις AQ\* (-σης Q\*) L (exc 22 51 62 228) -σει 62 14. αφανιω] αφανισω Q 62  
147 228 disperdam OL<sup>w</sup> 15. (OL<sup>w</sup> = Y) οργη] θυμων A εν 2°] om 153  
θυμων] οργη A

VI. 1. ακουσατε δη α ειπε κς ακουσατε δη λογον. κυριος Kyrios ειπεν B 48 95 185  
 ακουσατε δη λογον κυ α ο κς ειπεν A ακουσατε δη α ο κς ειπεν Q 86 (α' ακουσατε δη  
 λογον κυριου 86<sup>me</sup>) 228 ras aliq post α 22 audite itaque quae dms dixit OL<sup>m</sup>  
 (سَمِعُوا لِكَلِمَاتِي سَمِعُوا لِكَلِمَاتِي Syro-Hex) ακουσατε]-σετε 228 δη] om 135  
 α ειπε κς α . . . (sic) ειπε κυριος 22 α ειπεν ο (om ο 36) κυριος 36 51 62 97 147 media<sup>a</sup>  
 κυριος ειπε 153 λογον κυριου α κυριος ειπεν 233 αναστ . . . ad fin com] surge aduersus



2 βουνοὶ] φωνήν σου· <sup>2</sup> ἀκούσατέ μοι λα[οί] . . . τοῦ κυ καὶ αἱ φάραγγες  
 θεμέλια . . . κρίσις τῷ κυ πρὸς τὸν λαὸν αὐ[τοῦ] . . . τὰ τοῦ ἱηλ διελεγχθή-  
 3 σεται· <sup>3</sup> λαός . . . ἡσά σοι ἢ τί ἐλύπησά σε ἢ [τί παρηνώχλη]σά σοι; ἀποκρί-  
 4 θητί μ . . . <sup>4</sup> . [ἀνήγαγόν σε] ἐκ γῆς αἰγύπτου καὶ ἐ . . . [ἐλυ]τρωσάμην σε καὶ  
 5 ἐξ . . . σώπου σου τὸν μωσ[ῆν] . . . ριάμ; <sup>5</sup> λαός μου μνή . . . . κατὰ σοῦ  
 βαλὰκ . . . . πεκρίθη βαλαὰμ υἱὸς τοῦ βεῶρ ἀπὸ [τῶν σχ]οίων ἐως τοῦ  
 6 γαλγάλ ὅπως γινω . . . [ἡ δ]ικαιοσύνη τοῦ κυ <sup>6</sup> ἐν τίνι καταλά[βω] . . .  
 ἀντιλήψομαι θν μου ὑψίστου; εἰ . . . ψομαι αὐτὸν ἐν ὀλοκαυτάμασιν ὃ  
 7 [μόςχοις ἐ]νιαυσίοις; <sup>7</sup> εἰ προσδέξεται κυ ἐν . . . ὦν ἡ ἐν μυριάσι χιμάρων  
 πίωνων; [εἰ δώσω] πρωτότοκα ὑπὲρ ἀσεβείας [μου] . . . κοιλίας μου ὑπὲρ  
 8 ἁμαρτίας; <sup>8</sup> [εἰ] ἀπήγγειλά σοι ἄνθρωπε τί καλόν; . . . ἡτεῖ παρὰ σοῦ ἀλλ'

VI 2 Chrys. In Ascens. D. N. Jes. Chr. iii. De Fato et Provid. iv. Exp. in Psal.  
 cxlii ii. In Ep. 1 ad Tim. v Hom. xvi 1 3 In Psal. L. De Ferend. Reprehend.  
 iii. Contra Lud. i. In Parab. de fil. prod. ii. Theod. Interpret. Ep. ad Rom. iii.  
 4<sup>a</sup> Chrys. Exp. in Psal. cx iii 7 Adv. Iud. vii 3 7<sup>b</sup> In Isaiam i 6.  
 7, 8 Adv. Iud. iii 7 8 In Parab. de fil. prod. iii

montes experire iudicium et audiant colles vocem tuam OL<sup>w</sup> και] om 86 (οι  
 βουνοι] om οι L (exc 36 153 233) λαοι 86<sup>ms</sup> φωνην σου] φωνην σου om 62 147 153  
 2. ακουσατε—τον λαον αυ(του)] ακουσατε φαραγγες και τα θεμελια της γης οτι κρισις τα  
 κυριω προς τον λαον αυτον Chrys ακουσατε μοι λα(οι)] om μοι BA Q ακουσατε  
 βουνοι L (exc 36 48 62 228) ακουσατε οι βουνοι 36 ακουσατε ορη 48 228 om 62 audite  
 colles OL<sup>w</sup> 𐤀𐤁𐤁𐤁𐤁𐤁 Syro-Hex' λα(οι)] βουνοι A Q\* (ορη Q<sup>ms</sup>) και οι  
 φαραγγες θεμελια (της γης)] και τα στερεα . . . Aq και τα παλαια θεμελια της γης Σ και  
 τα αρχαια θεμελια της γης Θ Ethanim fundamenta terrae Quint φαραγγες] φαρηγι  
 95 θεμελια] pr τα 62 147 om 185 διελεγχθησεται] διαλεγχ. 62 88 147  
 (153 scr διελεχ.) 3. (OL<sup>w</sup> Theod = Y) η τι ελυπησα σε] om (al hab) Chrys  
 hab sub ~ Syro-Hex ελυπησα σε] tr 153 (παρηνωχλη)σα σοι] εμοχθωσα (s.  
 εμοχθωσα) σε Σ σοι 2<sup>o</sup> σε 62 147 4. σε 1<sup>o</sup> 2<sup>o</sup>) αυτους Chrys γη] om  
 OL<sup>w</sup> και 1<sup>o</sup>) hab sub ~ Syro-Hex (ελυ)τρωσάμην] ελυτρωσα 153 μωσ(η)  
 μουσην Q moysen OL<sup>w</sup> 5. βαλακ] βαλαακ 62 153 balacm (sic) OL<sup>w</sup>  
 βαλααμ] βααλαμ L (exc 51 62 147 233) του 1<sup>o</sup>) om 228 απο (των σχ)οίων]  
 σετιμ Aq Σ Θ του γαλγαλ] των γαλγαλα 62 147 (η δ)ικαιοσυνη] αι ελεημοσυνη  
 Σ του 3<sup>o</sup>) om 86 228 6. εν τινι] αντι 233 καταλα(βω)] adsequar OL<sup>w</sup>  
 comprehendam OL<sup>w</sup> αντιληφωμαι] αντιλημφομαι B αντιληψ. Q et adprehendam  
 OL<sup>w</sup> adsumam OL<sup>w</sup> θν μου υψιστου ει . . . ψομαι] om Q\* (hab Q<sup>ms</sup>) μου] om 153  
 εν ολοκαυτάμασιν] pr in sacrificiis OL<sup>w</sup> (om OL<sup>w</sup>) εν 3<sup>o</sup>) pr aut OL<sup>w</sup> (om OL<sup>w</sup>)  
 εν (μοσχους)] εν μεσω μοσχους 62 7. ει προσδεξεται κυριος εν ολοκαυτάμασιν ει δωσω  
 πρωτοτοκα μου υπερ ασεβειας μου καρπον κοιλιας μου υπερ αμαρτιας ψυχης μου Chrys  
 ει] η 147 ει προσδεξεται κυ] si accepto favet dominus OL<sup>w</sup> aut si suscipiet OL<sup>w</sup>  
 κυ] pr ο A εν 1<sup>o</sup>) om 147 εν 2<sup>o</sup>) om 86 χιμαρων πιονων] χειμαρρων ελαιου Aq  
 ρειθρα ελαιου Σ χιμαρων] χειμαρρων B Q 147 233 αρνων A (caprarum OL<sup>w</sup> haedorum  
 OL<sup>w</sup>) (ει δωσω)] ει δω BA Q 48 153 228 (δωσω 228<sup>a</sup>) 233 η δωσω 147 aut dabo OL<sup>w</sup>  
 OL<sup>w</sup> (πρ)ωτοτοκα] + μου BA Q L OL<sup>w</sup> OL<sup>w</sup> πρωτοτοκον 153 υπερ om BA Q 86  
 153 233 OL<sup>w</sup> OL<sup>w</sup> ασεβειας (μου)] om μου BA Q 48 62 153 228 (hab 228<sup>a</sup>) 233  
 8. (ει) απηγγειλα ad fin com] απηγγελη (al απαγγελω) σοι ανθρωπε τι καλον και τι  
 κυριος ο θεος εκζητει (al επιζητει) παρα σου αλλ η αγαπαν ελεον και ποιειν κριμα και  
 δικαιοσυνην και ετοιμον ειναι πορευεσθαι (al + σε) σπισω κυριον του θεου σου Chrys  
 (ει) απηγγειλα σοι] ει απηγγελη σοι BA Q\* (απηγγελη Q\*) ερεθη σοι Aq Θ ειπε σοι Σ





- ἐλαιον· καὶ ποιήσεις οἶνον \*\*\*\*\* πῆγς οἶνον· καὶ ἀφανισθήσεται . . λαοὶ  
 16 μου<sup>16</sup> καὶ πάντα τὰ ἔργα οἴκου ἀ\*\*\*\* ἐπορεύθητε ἐν ταῖς βουλαῖς αὐτῶν  
 . . παραδῶ σε εἰς ἀφανισμόν καὶ [τοὺς κατοικοῦντας αὐτὴν εἰς συρισμόν]  
 VII 1 . . . [λα]οὺ μου λήψονται<sup>1</sup> οἱμοὶ ὅτι [ἐγενήθη]ν ὥς συνάγων καλὰ μὴν ἐν ἀμύ-  
 τ[ψ] . . λίδα ἐν τρυγῆτι οὐ . . . ὅς τοῦ φαγεῖν τὰ πρωτ[15 litt.] ἢ ψυχῇ μου  
 2 οἱμοὶ ψυ[χῇ] [<sup>2</sup> 17 litt.] βῆς ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς φ . . . οὐχ ὑπάρχει πασ . . . ται  
 3 ἕκαστος . . [ἐκθλίβου]σιν ἐκθλιβῆ<sup>3</sup> ἐπ . . . ν ἐτοιμάζουσιν· ὁ ἄρχων αἰτεῖ  
 καὶ ὁ κρ[ιτῆς εἰ]ρηνικοὺς λόγους ἐλάλησε καταθύ . . χῆς αὐτοῦ ἐστι· καὶ ἐξ-  
 4 λουῖμαι τὰ . . αὐτῶν<sup>4</sup> ὥς σῆς ἐκτρώγων καὶ βαδί[ζων] ἐπὶ κανόνος ἐν ἡμέρᾳ  
 5 σκοπιᾶς σου· . . αἱ ἐκδικήσεις σου ἦκασι νῦν ἔ . . αυθοὶ αὐτῶν<sup>5</sup> μηδὲ  
 καταπι[στεύετε ἐν] φίλοις μηδὲ ἐλπίζετε ἐπὶ ἡγου . [ἀ]πὸ τῆς συγκοίτου

VII Chrys. 1<sup>a</sup> In Marth. Mar. et Las. Ad Stag. iii 10 2<sup>a</sup> In Psal. ci 1. Fil.  
 ex se nih. fac. iii. Ad Stag. ii 5. In Ioan. Homil. lxiv. Exr. in Psal. cxix 5  
 5 Cum Sal. et Aurel. i. In Matth. Hom. xxxv

BA Q 48 86 153 233 \*\*\*\*\* πῆγς οἶνον] καὶ οὐ μὴ πῆγς BA Q (καὶ οὐ μὴ πῆγς  
 οἶνον Q<sup>ms</sup>) 48 153 233 καὶ οὐ μὴ πῆγς 22 36 51 95 97 185 228 omi 62 καὶ οὐ μὴ πῆγς  
 οἶνον 86 147 καὶ οἶνον οὐ μὴ πῆγς Chrys 16. καὶ 1<sup>o</sup>] ᾤρ καὶ ἐφυλάξας τὰ δικαιώματα  
 ζαμβρεῖ (ζαμβρὶ A ζαμβρῇ Q) BA Q L (ex 22 95 97 185 228 [hab 228<sup>ms</sup>]) ᾤρ σι  
 ἐφυλάχθη τὰ προσταγμάτων (ζαμβρὶ Σ ᾤρ καὶ ἐφυλάξας τὰ προσταγμάτων αμβρ Θ (Syr-  
 Hex=Y) καὶ πάντα τὰ ἔργα] omi τα 22 36 95 97 185 πάντα ἔργα 51 καὶ πάντα τὰ  
 ἔργα  
 ορία (sic) 86 ἐπορεύθητε] ἐπορευθῆς 51 βουλαῖς] οδοῖς B 48 (ܠܝܕܐܝܬܐ Syr-  
 Hex) αὐτῶν] αὐτοῦ 22<sup>a</sup> 51<sup>a</sup> (αὐτῶν 22 51) 153 παραδῶ] παραδῶν A Q παρὰ  
 δώσει 153 (κατοικοῦντας] ἐνοικοῦντας Q<sup>ms</sup> 228 οἰκοντας 86 αὐτὴν] αὐτῶν  
 αὐτὴ 228 εἰς συρισμόν] εἰς συριγμόν Q<sup>a</sup> L (ex 48 153 233) ἐν συριγμῶ 86 (λα)  
 μου] λαῶν BA Q 36 48 86 153 228 233 λήψονται] ληψέσθε B Q 36 48 86 153 228  
 233 ληψέσθε A

VII. 1. οἱμοὶ] ἀλαλα Aq Σ ܠܐ ܠܐ ܠܐ ܠܐ Syro-Hex ἐγενήθη] ἐγενομένη  
 A Q<sup>a</sup> ἐγενήθη Q<sup>a</sup> Chrys (αἱ κατελείφθη Chrys) ὡς συναγὼν καλὰ μὴν ἐν ἀμύτ(ω)]  
 ὡς ἐν τοῖς ἐσχατοῖς τῆς σπαράς Σ ἐν 2<sup>o</sup>] ἐπὶ 62 147 τὰ πρωτ[15 litt.] ἢ ψυχῇ μου  
 οἱμοὶ ψυ(χῇ)] τὰ πρωτογόνα οἱμοὶ ψυχῇ BA Q 48 86 97 153 233 τὰ πρωτογόνα ἐπεπο-  
 θησεν (ἐπεθυμησεν 95 185 α ἐπεποθησεν 228) ἢ ψυχῇ μου οἱμοὶ ψυχῇ 22 36 51 62 95 147  
 185 228 ܠܐ ܠܐ ܠܐ ܠܐ ܠܐ Syro-Hex 2. φ . . . (1)] καὶ (ο  
 Chrys) κατορθῶν ἐν ἀνθρώποις BA Q L Chrys Syro-Hex ὑπάρχει] ἐστὶ (αἱ ὑπάρχει)  
 Chrys πασ . . . ται] πάντες (πάντα 153) εἰς αἵματα δικάζονται BA Q L Syro-Hex  
 (ἐκθλίβου]σιν ἐκθλιβῆ] ἐκθλιβῆ 95 185 θηρεύουσιν ἀναθεματι Aq Σ 3. ο  
 κριτῆς] omi ο Q<sup>a</sup> κριτῆς sicut ras Q<sup>1</sup> 1<sup>a</sup>? (εἰρηνικοὺς λόγους ad fin com) ἐν ἀνταποδοσει  
 καὶ ο μέγας λαλεῖ τὴν ἐπιθυμίαν τῆς ψυχῆς αὐτοῦ καὶ κατὰ τοὺς δάσεις ἢ δασυτῆς αὐτοῦ Σ  
 ἐλάλησε] -σεν BA Q ἐστι] -ιν BA Q ᾤρ ὡς Q<sup>a</sup> 228 αὐτῶν] αὐτοῦ 228  
 4. (τὰ ἀγαθὰ αὐτῶν) ὡς σῆς ἐκτρώγων ad fin com] ο ἀγαθὸς αὐτῶν ὡς ἀκανθὰ ο ὀρθὸς ὡς  
 ἐξ ἐμφραγμοῦ ἐν ἡμέρᾳ τῶν προσκοπευόντων σοι· ἡ ἐπισκοπὴ σου ἡλθε· νῦν ἐστὶ  
 κλαυθμὸς αὐτῶν Σ ὡς σῆς] ὡς βολίς Aq ὡς ἀκανθὰ Θ βαδί(ζων)] ἀδίζων B<sup>a</sup> (βαδ.  
 B<sup>1</sup> 1<sup>ab</sup>) ἐν] ᾤρ ὡς 36 153 ἡμέρα] ἡμέραις 51 62 86 147 σου 1<sup>o</sup>] omi BA Q  
 (hab Q<sup>ms</sup>) 48 153 233 αἱ] omi Q<sup>a</sup> (hab Q<sup>a</sup>) 36 95 185 ἐκδικήσεις] + enim OL<sup>a</sup>  
 ἦκασι] -σιν BA Q 5. μηδὲ 1<sup>o</sup>] μη BA Q Chrys καταπι(στεύετε)] καταπιστεύε  
 Q<sup>a</sup> (-ετε Q<sup>a</sup>) fidere OL<sup>a</sup> πιστεύε Chrys (ἐν) φίλοις] omi 86 ἐν φίλοις 95 147 185  
 μηδὲ 2<sup>o</sup>] καὶ μη BA Q (μηδὲ Q<sup>ms</sup>) 48 ἐλπίζετε] ἐλπίζε Q<sup>a</sup> (-ετε Q<sup>a</sup>) speretis OL<sup>a</sup>

δ σου φύλαξαι . . . ἔσθαι τι αὐτῇ· \*διότι υἱὸς ἀτιμά . . . θυγάτηρ ἐπανείστηκεν  
ἐπὶ τὴν . . . νύμφη ἐπὶ τὴν πενθερὰν [αὐτῆς] . . . ἀνδρὸς πάντες οἱ ἄνδρες  
. . . αὐτοῦ.

(α)το] ἢν ἀλλὰ καὶ (αὐτὸν) Chrys συγκοιτου] συγκοιτου BA Q (συγκ. B<sup>ab</sup> Q<sup>a</sup>)  
τι αὐτῇ] αὐτῇ τι A om τι Chrys δ. υἱος] ἢν ο Q<sup>a</sup> (om Q<sup>a</sup>) ἐπανείστηκεν]  
ἐπανείστηκεν BA Q (οἱ ο' ἀναστήσεται Q<sup>ms</sup>) 48 86 153 233 ἐπανείστηκεν 22 36 51 62  
95 97 147 185 insurrexit OL<sup>b</sup> νύμφη ἐπὶ τὴν πενθερὰν (αὐτῆς)] om 95 185 ἀνδρὸς  
πάντες οἱ ἄνδρες] πάντες ἀνδρὸς B 48 πάντες οἱ ἄνδρες A Q<sup>a</sup> 86 (ἀνθρώπου καὶ ἀνδρὸς  
86<sup>ms</sup>) 153 ἀνδρὸς οἱ ἄνδρες Q<sup>a</sup> vid 228 ἀνδρὸς πάντες 36 97 πάντες ἀνδρὸς 233 omnis  
viri OL<sup>b</sup> αὐτῶν] αὐτῶν 86

W. O. E. OESTERLEY.

(To be continued.)



THE ORIGINAL TEXT OF ONE OF ST ANTONY'S  
LETTERS.

ST ANTHONY left behind him, besides a reputation for asceticism, seven letters which have been several times published in a Latin version, derived at third hand from the original Coptic through a Greek translation. The complete Coptic text of the letters is in all probability not extant: but a fragment of it hitherto, I believe, unpublished exists among the Borgian MSS now at Naples. This fragment (Naples 1, B. 1, 3) consists of two pages, numbered on recto and verso 57 to 60; and contains the whole of one letter, with the end of another and the beginning of a third. The order of the letters is different from that of the Latin version. The complete letter is here numbered 4, but corresponds to the seventh of the Latin series: it is preceded by the end of the sixth, which must therefore have stood third in the Coptic: and is followed by the fifth, which retains the same number in both texts.

Besides the difference in the order there is one other noticeable variant, the omission of the end of the seventh letter in the Latin version. The omission, however, is probably only due to incompleteness in the MS from which the Latin version is printed, or in its archetype.

The Latin below is taken from *Orthodoxia Theologiae*, Basel 1555, pp. 425 sqq.

†г҃ѣтїи отп епег калрос ꙗтапег ерраг ероу же оташ  
имне пе. еѣе пещма же имша же птеѣиптраге. отп  
отминше имат ежоот нитїи. алла ешпѣ тѣформн по-  
сѣфос чпаѣротесѣфос. †шне ероѣи тирѣи хиппегїаот  
шпегїинос.

Take heed then what kind of a time (καιρός) this is into which we have come. And (δέ) concerning the details<sup>1</sup> of the word of this freedom there is much to tell you : but (ἀλλά), if I give occasion (ἀφορμή) to a wise man (σοφός) he will grow wiser (σοφός)<sup>2</sup>. I salute you all from the small even to the great<sup>3</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Peyron only mentions *γυμνα* in the sense of *comminutio*: but here the sense 'details' seems to be required.

Intelligite ergo tempus in quod aduenimus quale sit. De minutia autem uerbi libertatis erant plurima quae dicerentur uobis. Sed si *dederō occasionem sapienti, sapientior erit*<sup>a</sup>. Saluto uos a *minimo usque ad maximum*<sup>b</sup>.

<sup>2</sup> Prov. ix 9.

<sup>3</sup> Jer. xxxi 3 f (Heb. viii 11).

## ΟΜΑΙΟΣ ΑΝΤΩΝΙΟΥ ΕΠΙΣΤΟΛΗ. Ξ.

Αντωνιος πετρουι ημεμερατε τιροτ.<sup>1</sup> ηςηντ ρηηχοεις ης  
 χαίρετε ημελος πτεκκλησια ηφεσκαλει αν εισιρε απετη  
 μεετε:—Τοτωσ ηρετημεμε εταγαπη ετοτωι ημμητη· κε  
 ποταγαπη αν τε ηςωματικη· αλλα οταγαπη τε ημμη  
 ρεψημμεποτε· τηητ<sup>2</sup>ηρ γαρ ηςωμα ημμητεταχρδ οταε  
 ηςμμηοντ αν εςκμη εβολ ρηη ρεπηη ηςμμηο. Οτοη ημ  
 ετρηδε ρηη ημμηποτε· ατω ετραρερ επερεπολη· οτρηραλ  
 ητεπηποτε ηε· τεηητηρηραλ γαρ ποτηητηελιος αν τετηρητε·  
 αλλα οτακαιον τε εςδηκαμμοειτ εροτη ετηητηηρε. Ετεπα  
 ηηεπροφητης μμηναποστολος ηεχρδς ετοταδ ηαι ητα ηκοτε ηη  
 σοτηο εταρηοτοτ ετηηρημα ηαποστολη ηητηηταγδος

<sup>1</sup> η erased.

<sup>2</sup> I retain the capital here and later in ηεηταρηωη as in the MS.

## LIKEWISE (ὁμοίως) OF ANTONY, EPISTLE (ἐπιστολή) IV.

Antony writes to all his beloved brethren in the Lord greeting (χαίρετε). Ye members (μέλος) of the church (ἐκκλησία), I fail (ἐγκακέιν) not to take thought of you. I would have you know the love (ἀγάπη) I bear you, that it is not a bodily (σωματικῇ) love (ἀγάπη), but (ἀλλά) a devout love (ἀγάπη). For (γάρ) bodily friendship has no stability, nor (οὐδέ) is it abiding; it is moved by the wandering winds. Every one that *fears God and keeps His commandments* (ἐντολή)<sup>3</sup> is a servant of God. For (γάρ) in this servitude there is not perfection (-τελιος), but (ἀλλά) it is a just thing (δίκαιον) and leads to sonship. For this reason the prophets (προφῆται) too and the apostles, the saintly choir (χορός) chosen by God to be entrusted with the apostolic (ἀποστολική) message (κήρυγμα), in the

## SANCTI ANTONII ABBATIS, EPISTOLA VII.

Antonius omnibus dilectissimis fratribus in Domino salutem, non deficio memorans uestri qui estis catholicae membra. Agnoscere autem uos uolo dilectionem quam habeo in uobis, quia non est corporea, sed est dilectio spiritus culturae Dei. Corporum quippe nostrorum amicitia in substantia et in constantia est, quae mouetur saepe ab extraneis uentis. Cuncti uero qui *timent Dominum et custodiunt mandata eius*<sup>3</sup> serui sunt Dei. Sed non est in ipsa seruitute perfectio, nisi quod tantum iusta tenet, deducens filiorum adoptionem. Propter quod et Prophetæ et Apostoli omnisque sanctorum chorus Deo suscepti, ut crederetur ei apostolica predicatione, per uoluntatem patris uincti

<sup>3</sup> Eccles. xii 13.



αἰποῦτε· πεῖωτ ἀτῶνε ἐταῖρ ραπεῖχῃ ἰς. Παῦλος γάρ πω-  
μος· καὶ παῦλος πεταῖρ πτεπεῖχῃ ἰς παποστῶλος ἐτῶρμ ρῶτε  
πесрлл πтепῶμος пῃеррῶн пῃман рῃотῃптрмрал епанотс  
шантῃсамсом ерхоеис бхпῃῃос пм· атῶ птῃхῶн εἶολ  
потшмше епаноту птетаретῃ εἶολ ргтоотῃ мπειαποстῶли-  
кон:—бшшанрῶн<sup>1</sup> γάρ εροτη етехарис τῶте шῶре ἰς хоос пат  
ка пῃпамотте се ап ерῶтῃ ка пармрал алла епамотте  
ерῶтῃ ка пашῃῃер мппаснт ка пентаисотмот тῃрот  
птамπεῖωт атῃамῶтп ероот· пепТатрῶн еротп γάρ еатῃ-  
заске мῃоот εἶολ ргтῃ пепῃῃ етотῃῃ· атсотῶпот κατῃ-  
тетотсῃῃ ἡῃоерῃ. Змптретсотῶпот ка атῶш εἶολ етῃ  
ммос ка птамш γάρ ап потῃῃῃ мῃптрмрал етῃоте он алла  
пῃ отῃῃῃ мῃптршре пг етῃῶш εἶολ прῃтῃ ка аῃῃῃ πεῖωт ка

<sup>1</sup> Read ετῃшанрῶн to agree with the following пат.

goodness (ἀγαθος) of God the Father were made bondsmen of Christ Jesus. For (γάρ) Paul says: *Paul, the bondsman of Christ Jesus<sup>2</sup>, the Apostle (ἀπόστολος) who was called<sup>3</sup>*. Accordingly (ὥστε) the writing of the law (νόμος) works with us in good servitude until we can gain the mastery over every passion (πάθος) and accomplish a good ministry of virtue (ἀρετή) through this apostolic gift (ἀποστολικόν). For (γάρ) if they approach grace (χάρις), then (τότε) shall Jesus say to them: *I will not call you servants, but I will call you friends and brethren: for all things I have heard of my Father, I have made known unto you<sup>4</sup>*. For (γάρ) they who have approached have been taught (διδάσκω) by the Holy Spirit (Πνεῦμα), and they know themselves after (κατά) their spiritual (πνευματική) being (οὐσία). And (δέ) in knowing themselves they cry aloud saying: *For (γάρ) we have not received a spirit (πνεῦμα) of bondage again to fear: but (ἀλλά) a spirit (πνεῦμα) of sonship, wherein*

Christi effecti sunt. Denique Paulus ait: *Vinctus Iesu Christi<sup>2</sup> uocatus Apostolus<sup>3</sup>*. Scripta itaque lex cooperatrix fiat uobis in hoc seruitio, usque quo dominari possimus omni uitio, et perficiamur in optimo ministerio uirtutis per apostolicum mandatum. Quia si prope fuerimus effecti ad accipiendum donum, tunc dicet uobis Iesus quia *Iam non uocabo uos seruos meos, sed amicos et fratres: quia quaecumque nota fecit mihi Pater reuelauit uobis<sup>4</sup>*. Quotquot enim proposuerunt edocti sunt per Spiritum sanctum, hi cognouerunt semetipsos secundum sensualem suam extantiam, in ipsa uero sui cognitionem proclamauerunt dicentes: *Non enim accepimus spiritum seruitutinis iterum in timore, sed accepimus spiritum filiorum adoptionis, in quo clamamus Abba Pater<sup>5</sup>, ut cognoscamus*

<sup>2</sup> Eph. iii 1, Philem. 1.

<sup>3</sup> Rom. i 1.

<sup>4</sup> John xv 15.

<sup>5</sup> Rom. viii 15.



ꙗс епееме епентапнотте харѣзе имоот пап. бѣже апон  
 ѿшѣре ес апон рен ꙗлѣрѣномос ѿлѣрѣномос мен мпнотте  
 ѿшѣрѣлѣрѣномос ѿпетотаѧѧ. Наспѣт иммерате ѿстпклѣ-  
 рѣномос ѿпетотаѧѧ ренпшаммо ерѡтѣ ап неарѣтѣним алла  
 потѣ не. етеѣтѣнн ап еѡл рупеѣѣѡс ѿсарѣнон етеѣтотѡѣр  
 ѧе еѡл мпнотте Пере пепѣа гар рѡп еротн еотѣтхѣ ере  
 несрѣт харм отѧе отѡмѧѧ ѿреѣрѣноѣе отѣгѣон патпамс не  
 еѣсарѣт еѡл ѿкроѣ нм. Аллоѡс наммерате есрѣл пѣтѣ-  
 ѣѡе ѿренпшамме ѿлотѣос еѡтѣѧѡм псѡтѡпот пентаѣсѡтѡпѣ  
 гар аѣсѡтн ппнотте пентаѣсѡтн ппнотте ѣмпшѧѧ етреѣотѡшѣт  
 паѣ катаѡе етѣшѣе Наммерате рѡпѣѡеѣс сѡтнпѣтѣтѣ пента-  
 сѡтѡпот гар аѣсѡтн петотѡеѣш пентаѣсѡтн<sup>1</sup> петотѡеѣш ѧе

<sup>1</sup> Read πεντακοτη.

*we cry Abba Father, that we may know the things which God has given (χαρίζεσθαι) us<sup>1</sup>. If we are sons, we are heirs (κληρονόμοι), heirs (κληρονόμος) of God and joint-heirs<sup>2</sup> (-κληρόνομος) of the saints. My beloved brethren and joint-heirs (-κληρόνομος) of the saints, all the virtues (ἀρετή) are not alien to you, but (ἀλλά) they are yours; ye are not subject to this fleshly (σαρκικόν) life (βίος), but (δέ) ye reveal God. For (γάρ) the spirit (πνεῦμα) does not enter into a soul (ψυχή) whose heart is corrupt nor (οὐδέ) a sinful body (σῶμα)<sup>3</sup>. It is a holy (ἅγιον) faculty (δύναμις) and flees all deceit<sup>4</sup>. Verily (ἀληθῶς), my beloved, I write to you as reasonable (λόγιος) men, and capable of knowing yourselves. For (γάρ) he who knoweth himself, knows God: he who knows God, is worthy to worship Him according (κατά) as he ought. My beloved in the Lord, know yourselves: for (γάρ) they that know*

quanta nobis donauerit Deus<sup>1</sup>. Quia et filii sumus et haeredes, haeredes quidem Dei, cohaeredes<sup>2</sup> sanctorum. Fratres dilectissimi et cohaeredes sanctorum, omnis uirtus non est aliena uobis, sed uestra existit; si tamen inculpabiles sitis a mala uita, Deo autem manifesti<sup>3</sup>. In mala enim anima non intrabit spiritus Dei, nec habitabit in corpore subdito peccatis<sup>4</sup>. Sancta quippe est uirtus fugiens ab omni dolo<sup>5</sup>. Vere dilectissimi, quia sicut rationalibus scribo et quasi potentibus cognoscere uosmetipsos. Quia qui semetipsum cognouerit, Deum cognouit: qui uero cognouerit Deum, hunc adorare debet sicut oportet. Et charissimi in Domino cognoscite uosmetipsos, quia qui semetipsos cognoscunt,

2 1 Cor. ii 12.

<sup>3</sup> Rom. viii 16, 17.

<sup>4</sup> 2 Cor. v 11.

<sup>6</sup> Sap. i 4.

• Sap. i 5.

ⲁⲩⲱⲙⲟⲩ ⲡⲧⲁⲣⲟⲩⲧ ⲉⲣⲁⲩⲟⲩⲧ ⲡⲉⲥⲉⲛⲓⲙ ⲁⲛ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϣⲓⲧⲡⲓⲣⲉⲛⲁⲥⲛⲉ ⲉⲧⲱⲟⲩⲉ  
 ⲉⲧⲉⲁⲗⲓⲣⲓⲟⲥ ϣⲁⲣ ⲡⲧⲁϣⲧⲱⲟⲩⲛ ϣⲡⲓⲣⲁⲕⲟⲩⲉ ⲁϣⲱ<sup>1</sup> ⲡⲣⲉⲡⲱⲥⲁⲩⲉ ⲡⲱⲙⲓⲟ  
 ⲉⲧⲉⲡⲓⲟⲡⲟⲩⲉⲛⲓⲥ ⲛⲉ ⲡⲉⲧⲉⲙⲙⲡⲧⲉⲣⲁⲣϣⲓ ⲁϣⲧⲁⲣϣⲓ ⲡⲁϣ · ⲡⲁⲧⲱⲥⲁⲩⲉ  
 ⲙⲓⲟϣ ϣⲡⲓⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲁϣⲧⲉⲗⲟⲥ ⲡⲁϣ ⲡⲓⲁⲧⲛⲓⲙ<sup>2</sup> · ⲁϣⲧⲛⲓⲙ ⲡⲁϣ ⲉⲣⲱⲁⲛ  
 Ⲑⲧⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲉⲣⲡⲟⲩⲉ ⲉⲧⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲱⲁⲧⲥⲟ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲡⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲉϣⲱϣ ⲉϣⲱⲁⲡⲓⲣⲓⲟⲩⲉ  
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 ⲧⲟⲟⲧⲉ ⲥⲟⲩⲡⲟⲥ<sup>3</sup> ⲡⲓⲕⲁⲓⲫⲁⲗⲁⲓⲁⲓⲁⲓ ⲟⲩⲡⲓⲗⲛⲉⲛ ⲡⲁⲧⲧⲁⲗⲥⲟ · ⲉⲡⲉⲛⲧⲁ  
 ⲡⲉⲧⲙⲙⲁⲧ ϣⲁⲣ ⲥⲟⲧⲱⲡⲓⲉ ⲙⲙⲓⲛⲉ ⲙⲙⲓⲟϣ ⲡⲉⲣⲉ ⲡⲉϣⲗⲁⲥ ⲡⲁϣⲱ ⲁⲛ  
 ⲡⲉ ⲙⲡⲉⲧⲉⲡⲓⲣⲟⲟⲩⲛ ⲙⲓⲟϣ ⲁⲛ ⲁⲗⲗⲁ ϣⲟⲧⲟⲡⲓⲣ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲛⲉ ⲙⲡⲉϣ-  
 ⲥⲟⲧⲱⲡⲓⲉ :

<sup>1</sup> Read ⲁϣⲱ.

<sup>2</sup> I give here, as throughout, the original punctuation, though obviously wrong. I have also endeavoured to represent the rather eccentric system of dots and lines.

<sup>3</sup> Read ⲥⲟⲩⲡⲟⲥ.

themselves *know* their *time*<sup>4</sup>: and (δε) they that know their time, can stand firm and not move through the diversity of tongues. For (γάρ) as for Arius, he arose in Alexandria, and spake strange words about the Onlybegotten (μονογενής): to Him that is without beginning (ἀρχή) he gave a beginning (ἀρχή), to the Unspeakable among men he gave an end (τέλος), to the Immoveable he gave motion. *If a man sin against a man*, they pray to God for him; *but* (δέ) *if a man sin against God*, to whom *shall* they *pray for him*?<sup>5</sup> That man then (οὖν) struck at a great chapter (κεφάλαιον) a blow (πληγή) irremediable. For (γάρ) if he had known himself, his tongue would not have said this. He did not know himself; but (ἀλλά) he revealed that he did not know himself.

et *tempus cognouerunt*<sup>4</sup>; qui uero cognouerunt tempus, ii poterunt statuere semetipsos immobiles a diuersitate linguarum. De Arrio uero qui in Alexandria surrexit, et loquitur aliena uerba de Unigenito, cui qui est et qui sine tempore est, tempus non adsciuit, et ineffabilis finem inter creaturas non dedit, immobilis immobilitatem non affixit . . .

<sup>4</sup> Luc. xii 56.

<sup>5</sup> 1 Reg. ii 25.

## ΟΜΑΙΟΣ ΑΝΤΩΝΙΟΥ ΕΠΙΣΤΟΛΗ. Ε.

Αντωνιος ερσαλ πνευματε ιησyre πῖσραηλιτις ετοταδῃ  
κατατετοτσια ηποερά πῖρχρια απ ποπομαζε πῖραπ ηπετῖ  
σωμα παλ ετπαοτειπε γε πτετῖ ρεπ ηyre πῖσραηλιτις ΑΛΛΗΘΩς  
παηyre ταγαπῃ ε

LIKEWISE (ὁμοίως) OF ANTONY, EPISTLE (ἐπιστολή) V.

Antony writes to his beloved children, the holy Israelites, after (κατά) their spiritual being (οὐσία νοερά), there is no need (χρεία) to mention (ὀνομάζειν) the names of your bodies (σῶμα) which pass away, for ye are Israelite children. Verily (ἀληθῶς), my brethren, the love (ἀγάπη) . . .

BEATI ANTONII ABBATIS EPISTOLA V.

Antonius dilectissimis natis filiis Israelitis secundum sensualem ipsorum extantiam. Non enim necesse est nominari uocabula quae transeunt qui filii estis Israel. Adhuc uere nati mei, dilectio quam habeo in uos non est corporalis.

E. O. WINSTEDT.



## NOTES AND STUDIES

## THE OXYRHYNCHUS AND OTHER AGRAPHA.

IN Early Church writings there is no lack of allusions to reputed or supposed sayings of our Lord not written down by the Evangelists. Dr Alfred Resch, in his *Agrapha* (1889), classes seventy-four of them as genuine *Logia* and others as *Apocrypha*. Resch's compilation was examined critically by Mr J. H. Ropes, of Harvard, in his *Die Sprüche Jesu die in den kanon. Evang. nicht überliefert sind* (1896). In the next year Grenfell and Hunt brought out the first instalment of the famous Sayings of Jesus found by them on the site of Oxyrhynchus (1897, 1903). On all these I have written in *The Oxyrhynchus Logia and the Apocryphal Gospels* and a *Lecture on the Oxyrhynchus Sayings*, both published at the Clarendon Press (1899, 1905). It is proposed here (1) to continue the discussion with especial reference to what I have since read on the Sayings, and (2) to append notes on some of the previously known Agrapha. The three sets of the Sayings will be referred to as the *Logia*, the *New Sayings*, and the *Gospel Fragment* (*Lect.* p. 1).

## I. THE OXYRHYNCHUS AGRAPHA.

1. *The New Sayings.*

For a conjectural Greek text of the New Sayings see *Lect.* p. 29 f. In the preface to them as I read it the risen Lord speaks to St Thomas and others (John xx 26, cf. Mark xvi 7 *his disciples and Peter*), in words of the Fourth Gospel varied by the Logiographer so as to serve as an introduction to *these* sayings (*Lect.* p. 4), cf. Luke xxiv 44 f; Acts i 3, *alive after his passion . . . forty days, and speaking the things concerning the kingdom of God*; Iren. I (p. 26, ed. Harvey), where some are said to have held that He remained on earth eighteen months.

N.S. 1. *Lect.* pp. 5 f, 31] *Saith Jesus, Let him not cease that seeketh . . . until he find, and when he hath found let him marvel. And having marvelled he shall reign, and reigning he shall rest.*

Clement in *Strom.* v quotes the saying nearly as above (*Zahn Gesch. N.T. Kan.* ii 657 n. 2), not telling us whence; and in *Strom.* ii he quotes in substance the latter half of it, with *wonder* (θαυμάζων) for

*marvel* (θαυβῆσθαι), as from the Gospel according to the Hebrews. Compare (1) Mark x 23 f, *How hardly shall they that have riches enter into the kingdom of God! And the disciples marvelled at his words. . . . It is easier for a camel to go through the eye of a needle . . . And they were astonished out of measure, saying . . . , Who then can be saved?* (2) John v 20, *and greater works than these will he shew him that ye may wonder*, on which Westcott writes, 'It cannot but appear strange at first sight that wonder is given as the object of Christ's works . . . But wonder might give occasion for faith. Under this aspect "wonder" is presented in two remarkable traditional sayings of the Lord preserved by Clement of Alexandria (*Strom.* ii 9. 45): *He that wonders shall reign, and he that reigns shall rest: Wonder at that which is before you.* 'Wisdom', 'the truth' (*Ch. Q. R.*, July, 1904), and other words have been suggested to fill the gap after 'that seeketh'.

Dr J. Vernon Bartlet in the *Contemporary Review*, in No. 1 of the *Review of Theology and Philosophy*, and in *The New Testament in the Apostolic Fathers*, p. 136 (1905), propounds the theory that the Oxyrhynchus collection was known to Clement as 'the local Gospel according to the Hebrews', a work of Alexandrine Christians different from Jerome's *Ev. sec. Hebraeos*, N.S. 1 or its equivalent being supposed to be cited 'in loose paraphrastic form' in *Strom.* ii, v. But N.S. 1 is clearly composite, being made up presumably of Clement's two-clause Logion on Wonder and the Kingdom (*Strom.* ii) and an exhortation connecting it with the preface to the Sayings, to the effect that a man should seek and seek until he finds the spirit and power of the Lord's wonderful and life-giving words. The longest form of the Saying is, I think, obviously not the earliest.

Socrates in Plato makes Wonder the beginning of Philosophy; Aristotle applies this to the case of wonder at the heavens; and so Philo on *Special Laws* (M. ii 330 f, cf. i 12), expatiating upon Ex. xxi 26, lays down that philosophy, the source of all truly good things, comes to men from the heaven (cf. James i 17) through the eye (Plato *Tim.* p. 47 B) which admires its wonders. Thus the Platonic saying about wonder may have become familiar to 'Hebrews' in Alexandria and elsewhere. It is further evident that wonder may be the beginning of belief in persons, and thus of religious faith (John iv 48, v 20).

Wonder and Kingship may have come to be associated in different ways. A Stoic might have said, 'He who wonders shall reign', because wonder is the beginning of wisdom: a theologian, that wonder leads to faith, and so to the kingdom of God. That he who reigns shall *rest*, which has nothing to do with wonder, may have been added some time afterwards as an appendix to βασιλεύσει. Disciples of Christ, the

Wisdom of God, looked for the promised 'rest' in His kingdom. According to Mark l.c. a sort of wonder precedes the apprehension of the true nature of the kingdom and the way to it. N.S. 1 may rest partly upon this, but it seems to me to give a confused order with wonder not at the 'beginning' but intermediate to discovery and attainment. If the nucleus of the Saying was philosophic the original word for 'wonder' in it would have been *θαυμάζειν*. For *θαυβεῖσθαι*, which connotes a wonder akin to awe, see also Wisd. xvii 3 and Mark i 27, x 32.

N.S. 2. *Lect.* pp. 7 f, 31 f] This is the longest of the Sayings or Logia, and one of the most obviously composite. It suffices here to quote it briefly, thus, *Saith Jesus, Do ye ask, Who are they that draw us up to the kingdom, if it is in heaven? The things of earth, these are they that draw you. And, The kingdom of heaven is within you, and whosoever shall know himself shall find it.*

Two sayings about the kingdom of heaven are here connected by an editorial 'And', meaning, as in Heb. i 10, 'And he saith in another place' (*Ox. Log.* p. 8). The latter saying is a working up of Luke xvii 21, or the substance of it, with the Greek philosophical, 'Know thyself'. In Philo *De Praem. et Poen.* (M. ii 415, 421) we find illustrations of both. By contemplation, he says, of the world and its order men may rise up as on a sort of heavenly ladder to the thought of God, and he cites the passage from Deut. xxx which was compared with the latter saying in *Lect.* p. 9.

St Ephraim on the *Diatessaron*, as quoted in Syr. M<sup>1</sup> from Moes. pp. 209, 211, gives the sense of Luke l.c. thus: 'The kingdom of God is in your heart . . . not by days of observing . . . in your heart—which he spake of himself who was standing in the midst of them', *in your heart* being perhaps merely a paraphrase. Ciasca (cap. 40) renders the corresponding Arabic by 'intra vos', and under *بُحُلَّة* from the same root Lane gives 'mind or heart'.

N.S. 3. *Lect.* pp. 12 f, 32 f] *Saith Jesus, A man will not hesitate to ask about the place of his (?) . . . many first shall be last, and the last first . . .* This in the papyrus is one of the most defective of the sayings. As I have restored it conjecturally it alludes to the 'many mansions' of John xiv 2. Dr Bartlet makes it a precept: the disciples shall not hesitate to ask Him about the 'place of glory' (Swete) while He is yet with them. In Syr. M see *places* for 'mansions', and cf. Herm. *Sim.* ix 27. 3, 'their *place* is with the angels'.

<sup>1</sup> Syr. M is Professor Burkitt's *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe* (Camb. 1904), which gives the Curetonian Version (C) of the Four Gospels and the readings of the Sinai Palimpsest (S). Tatian's *Evang. Harm. Arabice* was brought out by Ciasca at Rome in 1888.



N.S. 4. *Lect.* pp. 14 f, 33] A Saying well restored by the discoverers, and at first sight a seemingly not very interesting repetition of Gospel sayings about the eventual bringing to light of things hidden. But in reality it gives a wholly different turn to them. It promises a revelation to the Gnostic (as Clem. Alex. would say), the intellectual Christian who desires really to know.

N.S. 5. *Lect.* pp. 16 f, 33] This is so defective in the Greek that some restorers have not ventured to complete it. Nevertheless I think it quite likely that the reply of Jesus here to the disciples is a short summing up, more or less in the form suggested in *Lect.* p. 17, of several verses of Matt. vi with an allusion to Col. iii 3 *your life is hid*. In any case I take it to be a certainly composite saying, which answers a series of distinct questions with one comprehensive Logion, to the effect that the Christian's religious observances must not be formal and histrionic but according to truth (John iv 24). The questions being, How should we fast, pray, give alms? and generally, What should we observe and do? The answer as reconstructed begins, 'Ye shall not be as the hypocrites'. Compare in the *Didache*, 'Let your fasts be not with the hypocrites . . . Neither pray ye as the hypocrites' (viii 1 f; cp. ii 6, iv 12, v 1); and 'Your prayers and your alms and all that ye do, so do as ye have it in the Gospel of our Lord' (xv 4).

## 2. *The Logia.*

See *The Oxyrhynchus Logia* and *Lect.* p. 24 f. Passing over the fragments numbered 1, 4, 8, by the first editors, we have to consider briefly Nos. 2, 3, 5-7.

Log. 2] *Saith Jesus, Except ye fast the world, ye shall in no wise find the kingdom of God. And, Except ye sabbatize the sabbath ye shall not see the Father.* Here we have again two sayings connected by an editorial 'And'. About the wrong or exceptional construction 'fast the world' more than enough has been written; but see 1 Cor. vii 31 *and they that use the world as not abusing it*, where Westcott and Hort give τὸν κόσμον, *the world* (acc.), without note or comment. Professor Bevan points out that *fast the world* is a good Arabic construction, comparing from Derenbourg and Spiro's *Chrestomathie*, p. 34 (ed. 2, 1892), 'If thou desirest to escape from the chastisement of God, then *fast the world* (صُمِّ الدُّنْيَا) and let the breaking-of-thy-fast from it be death.'

'The Father' is a term used by Philo, as near the end of *Vit. Mos.* (M. ii 179), where the departing Moses is summoned by the Father to be immortalized. The Sabbath is described (M. ii 166, 197, 281) as motherless, sprung from the universal Father alone, and ever-virgin;

the birthday of the world, on which heaven and earth keep holiday; a day not for work or vain amusements but for the study of philosophy, for on it God 'saw' all that He had made.

Log. 3] *Saith Jesus, I stood in the midst of the world and in flesh was I seen of them . . . And, My soul grieveth for the sons of men . . .* The change of tense from 'stood' to 'grieveth' is at once accounted for by the hypothesis that 'And' here again connects independent sayings. In the former Jesus is represented as looking back from after the Resurrection to *the days of his flesh* (Heb. v 7). An Apocryphon (Resch. p. 457 f) makes Him point to a certain spot and say, 'This is the middle of the world'.

Log. 5] (1) *Saith Jesus, Wheresoever there be two they are not godless; and where there is one only, I say, I am with him.* (2) *Raise up the stone and there thou shalt find me; cleave the tree and there am I.*

For a full discussion of this see *Ox. Log.* pp. 31-53: the simplest conclusion is as follows. In Matt. xviii 19 f it is said that if two agree in asking anything it shall be done for them, 'For where two or three are gathered together *in my name*, there am I in the midst of them', cf. Ex. xx 24. In (1) Jesus says that He will be even with one only. And (2) He will be, not merely with men assembled in His name and for a religious purpose, but with any one who is faithfully doing his work (Gen. iii 19), clearing ground for cultivation, raising the stone (Is. v 2) and cleaving the tree. This seems to be alluded to in the 'Gospel of Thomas' (*Ox. Log.* p. 93).

That Jesus should promise to be with any *one* is in itself nothing strange (*Lect.* p. 37); but the mention of the 'one only' here in (1), as in the parallel in Ephr. Syr. (Ropes p. 48), is a mark of posteriority to Matt. l.c.; and (2) is an appendix to an appendix.

Log. 6] *Saith Jesus, A prophet is not acceptable in his own country. Neither doth a physician work cures upon them that know him.* 'Neither', for *And not*, marks this as another duplex Saying.

Log. 7] This has been shown, I think, to be a more or less late working up of canonical sayings (*Lect.* p. 27), with a historical background. The Church now spread over the world, as in cent. 2, and firmly established is the 'city set (Syr. M & Ciasca, *buillt*) on a hill', and it is the house built and founded 'upon a rock'.

### 3. *The Gospel Fragment.*

This, as I understand it, begins with a recommendation of the simple life: men should not be thinking all day long what they shall eat, drink or wear<sup>1</sup>. They are much better than the lilies, 'which *grow* (*αὐξάνει*), neither do they spin'. So I rendered the Greek as deciphered

<sup>1</sup> Syr. C in Luke, 'Do not . . . be occupied in these things'.

by Grenfell and Hunt, but with an 'If' as to its accuracy (*Lect.* p. 19). Satisfied with Dr Bartlet's excellent suggestion, I now read, 'which *card* *not* neither do they spin'. The papyrus being in tatters the reading here must be partly conjectural, but his οὐ ξαίνει is quite possible and the sense decides for it. Clement in *Paed.* ii 10 (P. 231) and some Gospel manuscripts (Resch p. 226; W. H.) read 'how they neither *spin* nor *weave*'. 'It is quite like reflective tradition to complete the metaphor in *spin not*' (Bartlet), or to go on from *spin* to *weave*. In Matt. vi 28 (Luke xii 27), '... how they *grow*; they *toil* not, neither do they *spin*', *grow* and *toil* (I suppose) go together: the flowers have neither to work for a living nor to make clothing artificially. Thus far the fragment is presumably in substance from the canonical Gospels, with arbitrary variations in expression and application.

Next, in answer to the question, When shall we see Thee? comes the saying, *When ye shall be unclothed and not ashamed*, a new version of a known saying to Salome quoted by Clem. Alex. from the Gospel according to the Egyptians. *Ox. Log.* p. 103f connected the then known form with Gen. ii 25, and the 'Gospel Fragment' now confirms the suggestion. It is a question whether the Oxyrhynchus form of the response is prior (Bartlet) to Clement's. It may, on the contrary, be a mystical saying literalized to suit a matter of fact context: in the coming day of Paradise Regained clothes will not be wanted at all, cf. in Karl Pearson's essay on *The Kingdom of God in Münster*, whatever be its exact sense, '... then without clothes or treasure the saints shall march out of Münster'.

In *Lect.* p. 36 I ended with the brief statement, which wants a word of explanation, 'Why should this Fragment be imagined to be part of a Gospel?' Its contents 'properly belong to such a variety of contexts that I can only see in it another *selection* of Sayings of Jesus'. The first editors having written of the Fragment, that it 'seems to belong to a Gospel which was *closely similar in form to the Synoptists*', I meant to express the opinion that it apparently did not belong to any such writing: it was not part of a sort of Matthew with a Sermon on the Mount containing the Fragment itself, but merely a third batch of sayings brought together from a variety of contexts. Whether it belonged to some collection of sayings called a Gospel, like Dr Bartlet's *Ev. sec. Hebraeos*, was not under consideration.

#### 4. *Conclusions.*

In the first discussions of the *Logia* more stress was laid upon the possibility of their being of very early date than upon the doubtfulness of it. They are not 'primitive' but composite, and where they embody canonical matter they work it up mostly into later forms. Some of



them at least may be excerpts from apocryphal Gospels of which we do not know the dates. From a short fragment a lost work may be assumed to have been of earlier date than an event or writing to which the complete work actually alluded. The *New Sayings*, which probably belonged to the same collection, seem to allude to the Fourth Gospel, and they combine evangelic matter with scraps of philosophy in the manner of Clement of Alexandria. All things considered, 150 A.D. or later is perhaps a reasonable date for them.

Dr Bartlet regards the Sayings collectively as 'in form a Gospel harmony or fresh synthesis of the Sayings in our Gospels which seemed of most abiding and universal application outside Palestine, taken along with and in the light of others evolved from the canonical and other writings', cf. *Lect.* p. 34. Thus we agree on the main point, viz. that the Oxyrhynchus Sayings presuppose the Gospels, but Dr Bartlet argues hypothetically for an earlier date than I am at present prepared to suggest for them. On the *Logia* he quotes with approval the conclusion that the compiler was a 'Graeco-Egyptian Jew under Palestinian influence . . . who has heartily embraced Christianity, his date being about 120 A.D.' (Sanday, 1897). These and the *New Sayings* being supposed to be remnants of Clement's *Ev. sec. Hebraeos*, the *Gospel Fragment* might be thought to belong to the same. A saying in the *Fragment* may be an older form of a known response to Salome from the Gospel according to the Egyptians, itself quoted by 2 Clem. R. (? 120-140), and thus 'our Hellenistic Gospel', the Sayings of Jesus, may have been compiled 'c. 110 A.D., but certainly not later than 120 A.D.'

I make no objection to this early date for 2 Clem. R., which, as I have given reason to think, may have been quoted as Clement's by Irenaeus (*Journ. of Phil.* xxviii 201f); but I doubt whether the Oxyrhynchus 'Gospel Fragment' is to be classed with the other two fragments, with which it is not homogeneous. In substance, at any rate at the beginning, it is of a lower type, and it has not the repeated formula 'Saith Jesus', on which Dr Bartlet makes the good suggestion that it may have been in regular use in catechesis. Lastly, if the clearly composite N.S. 1 embodies Clement's two-clause form of the Saying, both the New Sayings and the *Logia* probably belonged to a compilation which in its entirety was of later date than the *Ev. sec. Hebraeos*.

In his *Fragments d'un Ancien Recueil de Paroles de Jésus*, sc. *les trois d'Oxyrhynque et celui de Fayoum* (Paris, 1905), Bruston reads in N.S. 3 'to enquire of the elders', and in N.S. 5 'as hypocrites'. At the end he writes, 'Tout ce qu'on peut conclure légitimement, c'est qu'à l'époque où fut faite cette compilation les quatre évangiles canoniques existaient depuis longtemps, puisqu'ils avaient servi de base d'autres écrits du même genre, qui les avaient imités et leur avaient emprunté bon nombre

paroles caractéristiques de Jésus, pour les développer, les expliquer et les combiner avec d'autres'.

## II. QUAE SUPERAVERUNT FRAGMENTA.

For the Agrapha literature from Cotelier's day until the eve of the rhynchus discoveries see Resch (pp. 3 ff) and Ropes (pp. 1 ff). Philo : 'unwritten' in its classical sense for Heb. 'by (word of) mouth'. : modern use of the term was brought in by J. G. Körner's '*De monibus Christi* 'Αγράφους' (1776), a good critical dissertation of 17 pages with the conclusion that Acts xx 35 contained the one genuine *agraphon* extant. The Agrapha being written and some of them quoted as *graphai*, it may be doubted what is the best definition of them (Resch, pp. 1-3); but in practical agreement with modern usage we may say simply that they are reputed or supposed sayings of Christ (with or without more or less of narrative context) which are included in the true text of the canonical Gospels. Mr C. G. F. Finliffe's *The Unwritten Sayings of Christ* (1903) will serve as a good preliminary account of them.

1 Westcott's *Introduction to the Study of the Gospels*, first published in 1860, App. C 'On the Apocryphal Traditions of the Lord's Words and Works' enumerates twenty-one sayings as comparatively well attested and eleven others, the fourth being, 'The Son of Man says, *Let us resist all iniquity and hold it in hatred*' (Barn. iv 9). Starting from this edition, although elsewhere he cites a later, Ropes (3, 62) does not notice that No. 4 was withdrawn by Westcott—only by another of the writers quoted—after the publication of the *Logia*, which showed that the preamble is really, 'As becometh sons of God' (Lat. *decet filiis* for *dicit filius*). In a note on the last of all Westcott reads it conjecturally, 'They (for I) often desired to hear one of these words and had not one to tell it'.

1 In discussing Agrapha we must bear in mind that an express 'Saith Jesus' may be merely explanatory (*Ox. Log.* p. 76 f), and that homilists of the like are apt to mix up their own counsel with their texts<sup>1</sup>. In 2. xv 1, 6 we read, 'Further, it hath been written concerning the Sabbath also in the Ten Words, . . . And keep ye the Sabbath of the Lord holy *with pure hands and a pure heart* . . . Yea, and He saith moreover, Thou shalt keep it holy *with pure hands and a pure heart*'. Rendall, with the remark, 'the writer actually builds an argument on words which are an arbitrary addition of his own to the Mosaic commandment'.

1 gain, 'The prophets having grace from Him prophesied concerning the Spirit of Christ in them testified (1 Pet. i 11).

<sup>1</sup> Papias refers to this tendency (H.).

Words of prophets and apostles may thus be vainly imagined to be words of Jesus. His reputed sayings and the evidence for them must accordingly be considered severally on their merits. In what follows I merely put down what has occurred to me from time to time on some of Resch's *Logia* and *Apocrypha*. In one or two cases I had come to the conclusions of Ropes's *Die Sprüche* before seeing it.

Log. 1, Resch pp. 95 f, 135 f, 272 f] The negative (with variants) of what Gibbon called the Golden Rule. Ropes dismisses it summarily as a mere parallel to Matt. vii 12 and Luke vi 31 of little worth.

Resch gives many citations of the *agraphon*, not quite all negative, but something more is wanted to explain what he gives. *Sayings of the Jewish Fathers*, Addit. Note 11, p. 142 f (ed. 2, 1897), connects the rule with Lev. xix 18, *but thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself*, cf. Rom. xiii 8-10. In Deut. vi 5, xi 1 'love' is followed by Heb. *et* and an accusative. In Lev. l.c. it is followed by a dative prefix (Heb. *le*), so that we may render literally, 'Thou shalt love to or for thy neighbour as thyself'. Targ. pseudo-Jon. as quoted gives the sense, 'Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself and what thou hatest for thee shalt not do to him'. Philo, as cited at the end of the same note, paraphrases 'for thee' and writes, 'That what one hates to suffer he should not do'; and the like may be seen in forms cited by Resch. Famous Jewish commentators make Lev. l.c. mean, that a man should love what is good for his neighbour as for himself. Compare Justin *Trypho* 93 (p. 321 B), 'And he who loves his neighbour as himself, whatever good things he desires (*βούλεται*) for himself he will desire for him also...'; Clem. *Hom.* xii 32, 'For he who loves his neighbour as himself... In one word, what he wishes (*θέλει*) for himself he wishes for his neighbour also. This is the law of God and (the) Prophets'.

Near the end of *Jewish Fathers* l.c. I wrote, 'The saying may have been known to Ben Sira. The principle of it is in Eccclus. viii 5-7... Remember that we all... For some of us also &c., xxxi 15 R.V. Consider thy neighbour's liking by thine own'. Afterwards, when the two British Museum folios of the Hebrew of Eccclus. had been edited by the Rev. G. Margoliouth, for the latter verse was found what Prof. Israel Lévi in his *L'Ecclesiastique* renders,

Sache que ton voisin est comme toi,  
Et considère ce que tu détestes toi-même;

with a note to the effect that it is the saying, What thou hatest do to no one (Tob. iv 15), or do not to thine associate (Hillel in *Shab.* 31 a). It may be that Ben Sira was himself paraphrasing words of Torah, or that the saying had been already formulated.

Philo l.c. supplies an illustration of Luke xix 21. To those in



Wetstein and Kuinoel add also from Plato (*Laws* p. 913 c), '... finest and simplest of laws and an enactment of no mean man, who said, *Take not up things thou layedst not down*'.

Log. 5, Resch pp. 98, 142] Origen gives as a reputed and Didymus as an actual saying of the Saviour, *He that is near me is near the fire: he that is far from me is far from the kingdom*. It is a fine saying but not, as some think, hard to account for. According to Old Testament imagery, which would quite naturally be transferred to our Lord, the Deity is or is environed by fire. 'The Lord thy God is a consuming fire', or He descends 'in fire'; cf. 'he is like a refiner's fire', 'Is not my word like a fire?' and see under 'fire' in any Bible Concordance. Justin affirms that the Son, 'our Christ', who is from the Father in the manner of fire from fire, spoke in the form of fire from the bush to Moses (*Apol.* i; *Dial.*).

Log. 6, Resch pp. 98, 143] *Let their temple, O Father, be desolated*. This is a mere ascription of Ps. lxix 26 f (Matt. xxiii, Luke xiii, cf. Acts i) *mutatis mutandis* to the Lord Jesus. So also Ropes, p. 16. Hippolytus *ap.* Resch gives the reason for the imprecation from verse 27 LXX, because they persecuted 'me' (Gr. ἐν . . . μου).

Log. 12, Resch pp. 100 f, 150 f] Acts xx 35 *It is more blessed to give than to receive*. With reference to a remark of Resch (p. 147) on the *Shepherd of Hermas*, I would suggest that the 'Makarismus' may be alluded to at the end of *Sim.* ii, where it is said in effect, Blessed are they that have and give. On giving and receiving see also *Jewish Fathers* p. 90 f.

Log. 14, Resch pp. 101, 152 f] *Having received commandment from Him to preach . . . and to baptize into His death*. This suggests that an exclusive reference to the speaker in Matt. xxviii 19, as in Mr Conybeare's more or less hypothetical 'Eusebian' reading with *in my name* and without 'the triune name', should not at once be assumed to be certainly primitive. See in Mark xvi 15 *ap.* Ciasca, *preach my Gospel*; cf. Matt. xxviii 19, Mark xvi 17, Luke xxiv 47 in Syr. M, and Resch *Apocr.* 51, p. 426.

Log. 15, Resch pp. 102, 153 f, 280 f] *The weak shall be saved by the strong*. This is less remarkable than that they should help the strong. Plato (*Laws* p. 902 e) quotes the proverb from building, that large stones do not lie well without small ones; cf. Soph. *Aj.* 158 f, cited by commentators as Jacobson on Clem. *Cor.* xxxvii 4; Herm. *Sim.* ix 7. 5, on the use of small and large stones within and without for the tower. Philo in *Vit. Mos.* II (M. ii 91 f) writes, that 'the bush' is a very weak plant but not without prickles to wound any one who touches it, which is a lesson for men in afflictions not to be disheartened, 'Your weakness is strength'; cf. 2 Cor. xii 9.

Log. 16, Resch pp. 102 f, 154 f, 281 f] 1 Cor. ii 9, 'but as it is written, *Things which eye saw not, and ear heard not, And which entered not into the heart of man, Whatsoever things God prepared for them that love him*'. Resch gives parallels from Clem. Cor. and other writings. The saying may have come from the Old Testament through the medium of some lost apocryphal writing. In the Collect for All Saints' Day the things not seen, heard, or imagined are called briefly, 'those *unspeakable* joys which thou hast prepared for them that unfeignedly love thee'.

Philo in *De Execr.* (M. ii 433) writes on Deut. xxviii 61, that the proselyte (v. 43), raised to the height of felicity, is pronounced blessed in respect (1) of his conversion to God, and (2) of his receiving *the reward of a sure position (τάξιν) in heaven which it is not lawful to speak of*; whereas the 'nobilis indigena' who has depraved the coinage of his high birth shall be dragged down to Tartarus. Compare Matt. v 12, Luke vi 23; 1 Cor. xv 23 *each in his own τάγμα*; 2 Cor. xii 4; 1 Pet. i 8 *joy unspeakable*; 2 Pet. ii 4 *ταπρώσας*.

Log. 17, Resch pp. 103 f, 167 f, 282] *Keep my mysteries for me and the sons of my house*. A rabbinic play upon Is. xxiv 16, read with *razi*, 'my secret' (Σ. Θ. ap. Field), Vulg. *Secretum meum mihi, secretum meum mihi*, Syr. *secretum mihi, secretum mihi*. So Hilarius as 'in scripturis', *My mystery for me, my mystery for me*, where Resch misemends the second 'for me'. For Heb. *raz*, 'secret', we can now quote Ecclus. (J. Q. R. xv 463 f). In Holy Scripture, it was argued, there can be no vain repetition. If something is written twice over it must have two senses or applications. In Isaiah l. c. the Targumist sees a revelation of two secrets to the prophet, of reward to the righteous and of retribution to the wicked. The Logion makes the second 'for me' mean 'for my household'. It may be that Matt. xiii 11 (Luke viii 10) alludes to Isaiah l. c. so interpreted.

Log. 25, Resch pp. 107 f, 186 f] There is a 'confusio' which leads to death, and one which leads to life. A saying of well-known type with parallels in Homer, Hesiod, Ecclus. iv 21, &c. See also Herm. Mand. vi 1. 1, vii 4, with the notes in the S. P. C. K. edition.

Log. 30, Resch pp. 109, 195 f, 287] *When the two shall be one; and the outer as the inner; and the male with the female, neither male nor female*. So Resch from 2 Clem. R, as the earliest citation of the saying. But the homilist is not to be trusted for critical exactness, although his exegesis is 'harmlos und gut gemeint'. His second clause may have been made up from the clause in Clem. Alex., *When ye shall have trampled the clothing of shame*. In that day there will be no outward veiling the inward, cf. Log. 21 *ἐξωθεν καὶ ἐξωθεν* (Resch p. 173), but sincerity and naked truth (*Lect.* p. 21 f).

The saying about marriage in Gen. ii 24, LXX, *the two shall be one flesh*, is applied to the coming of the Kingdom, the occasion of the marriage of the Lamb (Rev. xix). Whatever it may be imagined to mean in the Logion, it expresses the future in terms of the past. As it was in the beginning so it shall be.

The Midrash, in connexion with Gen. i 26, quotes Ps. cxxxix 5 *Thou hast fashioned me behind and before* (P. B.), with the interpretation that God first made Adam an *androgynos* with *duo prosopa*, a man-woman facing both ways, and then sawed him into two, thus making woman from his *side* (not *rib*). See Gen. Rab. 8 1; Lev. Rab. 14 1; *Jewish Fathers* p. 168. The myth is Platonic. Aristophanes, in the *Symposium*, tells us that originally there was a third sex, man-woman, with two faces looking opposite ways, which Zeus cut into man and woman. These are now drawn to one another, each incomplete being seeking the other moiety of itself. The Talmud teaches that man without woman is not man. See the writer's lectures on the *Teaching of the Twelve Apostles* p. 86 n. The 'new man', writes Hippolytus, is male-female (Resch p. 287).

Log. 31, Resch pp. 109, 204 f, 288] *To the near and to the far off, whom the Lord knoweth to be His.* For the first part see Is. lvii 19 *Peace, peace, to him that is far off and to him that is near*, cf. *Jewish Fathers* p. 64. As parallel to the remainder Resch quotes 2 Tim. ii 19 *The Lord knoweth them that are his*, which commentators as Alford (cf. Ropes) shew to belong to Num. xvi 5, LXX.

Log. 35, Resch pp. 111, 212 f, 288 f, 464 f] *Let thine alms sweat &c.* There is no need to emend the Greek, ἰδρωάτω being a correct form from a verb in -αω not found elsewhere. See the *Journal of Philology* (xix 148-172) art. 'Traces of a Saying of the Didache', and the paper read in March, 1888, to which it refers.

Log. 39, Resch pp. 112 f, 227 f, 290 f] *In what things I may catch you I will judge you.* In effect a summary of Rev. xxii 11 f, 'He that is unjust, let him be unjust still . . . Behold, I come quickly'.

Log. 40, Resch pp. 114, 229 f] *As He hath said, that our dwelling is in heaven.* Ropes (p. 32), with reference to Resch's view of the Logion, thinks it not an exact citation, but more probably the content of John xiv 2, *In my Father's house are many mansions.* For the word 'dwelling' see Mark v 3; Herm. Vis. iii 8. 8, *he shall have his dwelling in the tower with the saints of God*; Sim. viii 7-9, on the difference of men's dwelling, where I suppose John l. c. to be alluded to. Sim. i speaks of men's 'houses' in their true city not of this world.

Log. 41, Resch pp. 114 f, 230 f] *Ask the great things, and the small shall be added unto you*; cf. James i 5 . . . *wisdom, let him ask.* This is a saying to be taken into account in connexion with 'daily bread' in



the Lord's Prayer and the diverse interpretations put upon it. See on Clem. Alex. and Jerome in *Jewish Fathers* p. 184 f, and on Ciasca's rendering from the Arabic see p. 181.

Log. 42, Resch pp. 115, 233] *To those who thought that God tempts, as the Scriptures say, Quoth He, The evil one is the Tempter.* See 1 Thess. iii 5 and James i 13, ed. Jos. B. Mayor, noting that Ecclus. xv 11 is rendered from the Hebrew in the Cambridge edition (cf. Wisd. xi 24),

Say not, My transgression was of God,  
For that which He hateth He made not.

In 2 Sam. xxiv 1 God in His anger but in 1 Chron. xxi 1 Satan moves David to number the people, the Chronicler altering the earlier statement in the sense of the Logion. This is one of the parallels to the last petition in the Lord's Prayer according to Matt. vi 13, a clause not in Luke xi 4 (W. H.) and perhaps like the word for 'daily' in the Prayer not quite primitive. In rendering it the Greek Fathers are sometimes said to be 'unanimous for the masculine', *But deliver us from the Evil One* (Plummer in *H. D. B.*), as if every one of them declared for it; whereas the earliest or some of them give no such testimony. To what I wrote on the Prayer in *Jewish Fathers* pp. 124 f, 176 f, a few words may now be added.

In ed. 1, 1877, I ended (ed. 2 p. 130) with Clem. *Cor.* lx 1-3 in the Greek of Bryennius, '... forgive us our iniquities ... And deliver us from them that hate us wrongfully', as words which *serve as a very ancient paraphrase* of words of the Prayer. A writer on one side inferred that Clement had it in mind; and against this it was contended that the passage was made up from the Old Testament. The reader will judge whether the obvious Old Testament parallels are of any effect as disproofs. Some, I suppose, will incline to the view that if Clement knew the Prayer he must have thought of it when so writing. If not, he has nothing to say about it, and cannot be quoted as one of the 'unanimous'.

*St Polycarp to the Philippians*] That Polycarp knew the Prayer appears from vi 2, vii 2, 'If then we entreat the Lord that He would forgive us, we also ought to forgive ... entreating the all-seeing God with supplications that He *bring us not into temptation*' (Harmer), although he refers also to Matt. xxvi 41. But has he anything to say about deliverance from the Evil One? In iv 3, v 3, xi 1, we read, 'far from ... all *evil*, ... In like manner the younger men also ... curbing themselves from all *evil* (*κακοῦ*) ... Withhold yourselves from all *evil* (*malo*)'. While he echoes words of his apostolic teacher (Lightfoot on vii 1), including perhaps 1 John ii 16, 'For all that is *in the world, the lust*' &c. (*Journ. of Phil.* xx 69), Polycarp, like the

*Didache*, makes no mention of the Evil One (1 John ii 14) in connexion with the Prayer, although he denounces the infidel as 'of the devil' and the 'firstborn of Satan' (vii 1). Upon Lightfoot's argument from the fact that '*the evil thing* is never found in St John's writings', I remarked, 'This suggests more than it was intended to prove' (*J. F.* p. 189), meaning that the Apostle's choice of the masculine in a doubtful case would merely illustrate his preference for it.

St James in i 12-15 personifies the evil Desire, a man's own lust, as the Tempter. Some think that he alludes elsewhere to the Lord's Prayer. In this place was he thinking of its ἀπὸ τοῦ πονηροῦ? or thinking of it as ending, 'Bring Thou not us into temptation', which would so well account for the allegation that it is God who tempts? For the masculine rendering of its last word in the longer form patristic evidence preponderates, but the Church Fathers do not always draw the line between actual and imaginary personality. Hermas in *Mand.* vi 1, with the approval of later writers, represents that there are two angels with a man, one of righteousness and one of wickedness. Like Justin, Clement (*Paed.* ii 10, P. 236), and others, he alludes to the story of the *Choice of Hercules*, on which Philo plays at length in *De Merc. Meretr.* (M. ii 265 f), telling us that two Women dwell with us, one tempting to all manner of evil and the other pleading against her.

The last clause of the Prayer as we have it, whether a Greek addition or a rendering from some Semitic original, is well paraphrased in the Litany,

From all evil and mischief; from sin, from the crafts and assaults  
of the devil; from thy wrath, and from everlasting damnation,

*Good Lord, deliver us.*

With the Prayer compare also Sir. xxiii 1, 4 *Father* (Syr. *my Father*); *Apocr.* 26 (Resch p. 398) for a Marcionic form of ἐλθέτω κτί; Sir. xxviii 1-4 (Mark xi 25) for the principle of the Forgiveness clause.

Log. 43, Resch pp. 116 f, 233 f] *Be trusty bankers*, Gk. *τραπέζιται*, lit. *tablers*: 'banker' is from *bank*, '7. A bench or table used in various trades' (Murray in *N. E. D.*). Of this saying, commonly thought to be one of the best attested Agrapha, Resch gives numerous citations, beginning with Clem. Alex. Körner objects to its attestation as not of early date, and rejects the saying. In substance it is pre-Christian. Philo, near the end of *De Judice*, writes that a judge should be like a good money-changer (Ropes p. 142).

In vol. xxvii of the *Journal of Philology*, art. 'Hermas and Cebes', I wrote, that of this Logion, 'which a succession of Church writers from Clem. Alex. take to mean, "Be as practised *exchangers* who detect and reject base coin", Philo, Cebes, Hermas, Matt. xxv 27 and 1 Tim

vi 20, 2 Tim. i 14 suggest a better interpretation' (p. 315). In *Cebetis Tabula* the Deity bids men not to wonder at the freaks of Fortune, and not to be like dishonest bankers who receive deposits and are unwilling to pay them back on demand. In other words, men are but stewards of the gifts of God.

Log. 59, Resch pp. 133, 261, 292 f] *Lo, I make the last things as the first things.* See *Lect.* p. 22.

Log. 71, Resch p. 301] See 1 Pet. i 12. Some, as Hort, illustrate this from Enoch ix 1, where the archangels look down from heaven, 'shewing an interest in the doings upon earth' (*Journ. of Phil.* xxix 196).

*Pericope Adulterae*] The substance of the remarks in the S. P. C. K. *Hermas* upon John vii 53-viii 11 is given below with some slight additions.

Westcott and Hort write of the pericope, that 'In the whole range of Greek patristic literature before cent. (10 or) 12 there is but one trace of any knowledge of its existence, the reference to it in the *Apostolic Constitutions* [ii 24], as an authority for the reception of penitents'; overlooking the fact that it was embodied in the *Didascalia*, an earlier Greek work now known only in a Syriac and partly in a Latin translation. Lagarde, in his edition of the *Constitutions* in Greek, gives a marginal reference to the parallel on the pericope in the *Didascalia* in Syriac, and Resch (pp. 36 f, 341) gives it from a Greek retranslation thus, 'And the elders set her that had sinned before Him, and left the judgement to Him and went off. Then the *heart-knowing* Lord enquired of her if the elders had condemned her; and when she said, No, He said to her, Go thy way, neither do I condemn thee'. *Hermas*, in *Mand.* iv, states the case of a wife found 'in some adultery', not improbably suggested by the pericope, and in this *Mandate* only he uses the rare compound *heart-knowing*. Resch (p. 36) regards the pericope as doubtless an uncanonical fragment of the 'Urevangelium', and Ropes (p. 144) writes that there is nothing of importance to allege against the historic worth of the narrative.

*Apocrypha*] Some of Resch's 'Apocrypha' are fragments of narrative only and not 'Agrapha' according to our definition. His A. 1-5 (p. 343 f) relate, the first to John's baptism in general, and the rest to his baptism of our Lord. With A. 2 cf. A. 14, 'My mother the Holy Spirit &c.'

A. 4] Coming up from the water He sees the Holy Spirit descending in the form of a dove and *entering into* Him (*εἰσελθ. εἰς*); and a voice from heaven proclaims Him the beloved Son, adding 'I this day have begotten thee' (Ps. ii 7)—as the Church says of persons baptized that they are made children of God (A. 4 h, i). Cerinthus (*ap. Iren.*) taught that the Christ in the form of a dove then descended



upon or into Jesus, but departed and flew back (Lat. *revolasse*) before the Passion.

A. 5] A burning and a shining light accompanied the Baptism: a *great light* shone around the place, or a *fire* (cf. Luke xii 49 f) was kindled in the Jordan, or (Ephr. Syr.) the Son Himself was manifested as the Light of the World. See Resch, pp. 357-372. On the eve of the consecration of Polycarp a glory of heavenly light, it is said, shone around all, and one of the brethren (cp. John i. 32 f) saw a vision of a white dove with a halo round it hovering about the head of Polycarp (*Vit. Pion.* § 21 ed. Lightfoot).

The apocryphal embellishments of the account of the Baptism may be traced to Holy Writ expounded *more rabbinico*. In connexion with some of the following remarks upon baptism and the Baptism see *Jewish Fathers* p. 57 f and Addit. Notes 24, 33. On Jewish *Baptism* see the *Jewish Encycl.* s. v.

a. Why should baptism effect or symbolize a birth? The Jewish proselyte was like a new-born child (Jebam. 48 b): he was *καὶνὴ κτίσις*, for he who made one was as if he had *created* him, see Gen. Rab. 39. 14 on Gen. xii 5, comparing the Christian parallels on regeneration through baptism. With reference to Gen. i 2, 3 Milton writes,

And chiefly thou, O Spirit, . . .  
 . . . thou from the first  
 Wast present, and, with mighty wings outspread,  
 Dove-like sat'st brooding on the vast abyss,  
 And mad'st it pregnant: what in me is dark  
 Illumine; . . .

The Midrash on Gen. i. c. likens the Spirit to a bird hovering and fluttering. The water there is not a symbol of the *πνεῦμα*, but the material element out of which it brings life. The baptismal rebirth of a man corresponds to the birth of the cosmos, 'Let there be light' applying to both; for (1) Philo in *De Poenit.* (M. ii 406) writes that converts to Jewish monotheism were to be welcomed as men who had recovered sight (cf. 2 Clem. R. *init.*) and from deep darkness had come to see most radiant light, and (2) Justin in *Apol.* i 61 states that Christian baptism was called *φωτισμός*, *illumination*<sup>1</sup>. With a word-play the Torah is said to be *or* (Prov. vi 23), and 'Aquila uses *φωτίζειν* several times for the hiphil of *נָתַן* in the sense *teach*' (*Cairo Genisah Palimpsests* p. 80).

b. A Christological sense having been read into the whole narrative of the Hexahemeron in the early Church, the Baptism of Jesus would

<sup>1</sup> 'Εν τῷ φωτισμῷ ἑμῶν the Lord says to each through the bishop, 'Thou art my son; this day have I begotten thee' (*Const. Ap.* ii 32).

have been associated with Gen. I.c. and *darkness was upon the face of the waters. And the spirit of God moved* (R. V. marg. *brooded*) *upon the face of the waters. And God said, Let there be light: and there was light.* According to a Syrian 'Taufliturgie' the Spirit remained (John i 32 f) over the head of the Son and *incubated over the waters* (Resch p. 363). Syr. M in John i 5 reads, 'And He, the light, in the darkness was shining'. Ephr. Syr. I.c. (Resch p. 358) gives poetically the sense of words of the Evangelists, to the effect that Jesus on being baptized, as soon as He emerged from the wilderness of the Temptation, was manifested as a *great light* (Matt. iv 16), the 'true light' which was in the beginning.

Resch's *Agrapha* as a collection was epoch-making, but he classes too many of his fragments as 'Logia'. Ropes ends (p. 160 f) with a short list of 'wahrscheinlich echten Agrapha', including John vii 53—viii 11, but passing over other passages of interest rejected by critical editors of the N.T. (p. 132 f). One of the chief questions raised by the discussion of 'aussercanonische Evangelienfragmente' is, whether in that Pericope the Textus Receptus has preserved a narrative of historic worth.

C. TAYLOR.

## NOTES ON APOCRYPHA.

### I.

NICETA of Remesiana *de Psalmodyae Bono* 3 (p. 70 ed. Burn) says, in a passage preserved only in the MSS A, V (the Bibles of La Cava and of Farfa), 'Neque enim illud volumen temerarie recipiendum est cuius inscriptio est INQUISITIO ABRAHAE (Abrae A) ubi cantasse ipsa animalia et fontes et elementa finguntur. Cum nullius sit fidei liber ipse nulla auctoritate subnixus.'

The name *Inquisitio Abrahæ* does not occur elsewhere: and in the apocryphal books which we possess under Abraham's name there is nothing nearer to Niceta's matter (as both Dom Morin and Dr Burn have seen) than a talking tree.

There is, however, a book in which are set out in detail the hours of the day and night at which animals, fountains, and elements adore their Maker. I mean, of course, the Testament of Adam. The following sentences from it are to the point here (see *Texts and Studies* II 2, *Apocrypha Anecdota* I p. 140).

|                          |                                                                                                                                                                                           |
|--------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| Third hour of the day    | Adoration of the birds,                                                                                                                                                                   |
| Fourth    "       "      | Adoration of the animals on earth.                                                                                                                                                        |
| Eighth    "       "      | Adoration of the light and of the waters.                                                                                                                                                 |
| Tenth     "       "      | The prayer of the waters.                                                                                                                                                                 |
| Second hour of the night | Adoration of the fish . . . .                                                                                                                                                             |
| Third       "       "    | Adoration of the lower depths . . . .                                                                                                                                                     |
| Fifth       "       "    | Adoration of the waters that are above the<br>heavens. At this hour . . . I and the angels<br>used to hear the sound of the great waves<br>lifting up their voices to give praise to God. |

These quotations make it easy to anticipate my conjecture. I can hardly doubt that Niceta had in his mind this section of the Testament of Adam, and that copyists have made him say *Inquisitio Abrae* (or *Abrahae*) whereas he really wrote *Dispositio Adae*. *Dispositio* is a legitimate equivalent of *διαθήκη*. Compare the last words of 3 Esdras in the two Old Latin versions. One reads *secundum dispositionem*, the other *secundum testamentum, domini dei Israel*.

## II.

In *Salomon and Saturn* (ed. Kemble p. 156), Salomon is speaking. He says :—

‘Tell me of the land where no man may step with feet.

*Saturnus* quoth : The sailor over the sea, the noble one was named Wandering Wolf (Weallende Wulf), well known unto the tribes of the Philistines, the friend of Nebrond (i.e. Nimrod). He slew upon the plain five and twenty dragons at daybreak, and himself fell down there dead ; therefore that land may not any man—that boundary place any one visit, nor bird fly over it, or any more the cattle of the field. Thence the poisonous race first of all widely arose, which now bubbling through breath of poison force their way. Yet shines his sword mightily sheathed, and over his burial-place glimmer the hilts.’

The above is Kemble’s rendering of the verses. I have not preserved his division of the lines.

The question of the sources of *Salomon and Saturn* is very obscure. Believing as I do with Kemble that the foundation of it is to be sought in the *Contradictio Salomonis* which is mentioned in the so-called Gelasian decree, I am inclined to accept as probable the idea that traces of other apocryphal books may be found in it : and in the passage I have quoted I suspect that there exists a reminiscence, distorted, and amalgamated with Northern myth, of another book mentioned in the same decree and thus described :—

‘Liber de Ogia (Ugya) nomine gigante qui cum dracone post diluvium (v. l. ante dil. cum Drac.) ab haereticis pugnasse perhibetur.’

Which, again, I have no doubt, had some connexion with ἡ τῶν γιγάντων



πραγματεία, a Manichaean book mentioned in a list given by Timotheus of Constantinople (see Fabric. *Cod. Apocr. N.T.* i 139).

What principally induces me to think that in *Salomon and Saturn* an old Biblical apocryphon is being alluded to is the coupling of the dragon-slayer's name with that of Nimrod. In the original tale, Og cannot have succumbed in his fight (as in the poem): he survived to be killed by Moses, according to the Jewish legend. I suggest no more than that a reminiscence of his adventure may be fairly suspected in the passage I have quoted. We may expect more light upon the matter from the commentary on *Salomon and Saturn* which is to be given to us by Dr Arthur Ritter von Vincenti. (*Münchener Beitr. z. Roman. u. Engl. Philol.*)

### III.

Ælfric, in his *Homily on the decollation of St John Baptist* (ed. Thorpe i 486, Ælfric Soc.), says:—

'Some heretics said that the head (of John) blew the King's wife Herodias, for whom he had been slain, so that she went with winds over all the world: but they erred in that saying, for she lived to the end of her life after the slaying of John.'

A picturesque legend which I have not elsewhere met with. Should it not be connected with the myth that Herodias led a nightly train of followers, who under her auspices celebrated witches' sabbaths?

Compare, among many other passages, John of Salisbury, *Polycrat.* ii 17 'Quale est quod Noctilucam quamdam vel Herodiadem vel praesidem noctis dominam (i. Dianam?) concilia et conuentus de nocte asserunt conuocare,' etc.

### IV.

Among the manuscripts recently bequeathed to the Fitzwilliam Museum by our generous benefactor, the late Mr Frank McClean, is an especially interesting copy of the *Aurora* of Petrus de Riga with the supplements of Egidius of Paris. The *Aurora* is a versified Bible: the poem, if such it may be called, was written late in the twelfth century, and was very popular. It has never been printed *in extenso*. Of all the copies of it which I have seen, the McClean MS is by far the most interesting, in virtue of its very copious marginal annotations. The manuscript is of the thirteenth century and so are the marginal notes, which are in several hands. The script seems to me French, perhaps Eastern French: but I will not commit myself to any definite statement as to its provenance.

In the earlier part of the book three authorities are very largely quoted, viz. the *Ecloga* of Theodulus (ascribed here to John Chrysostom), the

Revelation of the Pseudo-Methodius, and—most interesting of all—the Pseudo-Philo *de Antiquitatibus Biblicis*, the book which, thrice printed in the sixteenth century, eluded the notice of modern scholars until Dr Cohn drew attention to it in a long and interesting article in the *Jewish Quarterly Review* a few years ago. Of this legendary Biblical chronicle—that is, of the old Latin version in which alone we possess the extant portion—only three manuscripts are known to exist. The mediaeval Hebrew *Chronicle of Jerahmeel*, translated by Dr M. Gaster, has incorporated large portions of it, but is dependent on the Latin version. The work has left singularly few traces in mediaeval Western literature and seems to have been wholly unknown to the Eastern Church. There is one solitary quotation in the *Historia Scholastica* of Petrus Comestor of Troyes; but I do not know where else to look for any evidence of use. It was known at Trèves. The Phillipp MS of it—our oldest—came from that city, and two other Trèves MSS, one at Cheltenham and one in the town library of Trèves, contain short extracts from it. It is, therefore, particularly interesting to find some thirty passages from this ancient and curious book quoted (usually in an abridged form) by our thirteenth-century annotator of the *Aurora*. He calls his author Philo throughout, and on one occasion ‘Phylo Alexandrinus disertissimus Iudeorum.’

The quotations are scattered over the whole text of the Pseudo-Philo, and there is no indication that the annotator possessed a more complete form of the book than we do, nor that his copy differed materially from ours.

Another interesting series of notes, by a different hand, still of the thirteenth century, is found among the comments on the Gospel History.

f. 143<sup>b</sup>. ‘Dicitur quod cum herodes occidi iuberet innocentes [quod] mater Nathanahel abscondit eum sub foliis fici iuxta bethleem ne inueniretur ad occidendum, et sic euasit. Unde Ihesus dixit Nonne cum esses sub ficu uidi te?’

The same legend is in Solomon of Başrah’s *Book of the Bee*, ed. Budge, p. 86.

f. 158<sup>b</sup>. On the parable of Dives and Lazarus:—

‘Amonofis dicitur esse nomen diuitis. et nota historiam esse non parabolam.’

The names (hitherto known) given to the rich man are Phinees and Nineve. The Albi MS of the *Inventiones Nominum* printed by me in the JOURNAL<sup>1</sup> gives another name which I was quite unable to read.

<sup>1</sup> J. T. S. vol. iv no. 14 pp. 221 ff.





tolle clamabatur, Latin version of the Acts of the Council by Anastasius Bibliothecarius.

The reading  $\tau\eta\ \delta\pi\upsilon\beta\alpha\tau\eta$  is supported by three manuscripts of the Acts of the Council, one (Taurinensis B. ii 9) being the oldest, of cent. xiii–xiv.

I ventured a conjecture which Bonnet justly describes as ‘speciosa sed falsa’.

Hilgenfeld in *Zeitschr. für wissenschaftl. Theol.*, 1897, p. 470, says:—

‘Ich finde hier, wohl aus dem alten Hebräer-Evangelium, die  $\text{ערבית}$ , vespera sabbati, dies Veneris, die Παρασκευή, ὁ ἡμέρας προσάββατον (Mc. xv 42) in deren 6. Stunde τὸ σκότος ἐγένετο ἐφ’ ὅλην τὴν γῆν (Mc. xv 33).’

In a later publication of the text (*l.c.*, 1900, p. 14) he reads in the text  $\tau\eta\ \delta\pi\upsilon\beta\alpha\tau\eta$  and in the note ‘ $\text{ערבית}$  vel  $\text{ערבית}$ ’.

I am unable to say how far this conjecture met with acceptance: to myself, so long as it was not backed up by evidence of usage, it was unconvincing, and it had entirely disappeared from my mind. Recently, when reading the *Book of the Bee*, composed by Solomon of Baṣrah in the thirteenth century, and edited with translation by Dr E. A. Wallis Budge in *Anecdota Oxoniensia* (1886), I noticed in ch. xlv ‘Of the Passion of our Lord’ (p. 99) this passage:—

‘As regards the name of *arabhtā*, [i.e. the eve of the Jewish Sabbath], it was not known until this time [that is, the time of the Passion], but that day was called the sixth day. And when the sun became dark, and the divine care also set and abandoned the Israelitish people, then that day was called *arabhtā*.’

The word recalled to me the  $\delta\pi\upsilon\beta\alpha\tau\eta$  of the Acts of John, and on consulting Bonnet’s edition, I found the reference to Hilgenfeld’s conjecture.

The passage from Solomon, late as it is, is very valuable as supplying evidence of Christian<sup>1</sup> usage of the word *arabhtā* in the sense of Friday, and thus giving needed and to my mind strong confirmation of Hilgenfeld’s brilliant interpretation. The juxtaposition of the word both in the Acts of John and in Solomon with the darkness is accidental but noteworthy.

The passage in the Acts of John gains an excellent sense from this interpretation: ‘And when on the Friday He was hung (on the cross), at the sixth hour of the day darkness had come (or came) over all the earth.’

There is, I think, no other instance of an unusual Semitic word in

<sup>1</sup> Instances of Jewish usage of the word in this sense are, as Professor Burkitt informs me, readily producible.

the text of these Acts. Does the occurrence of one here point, as Hilgenfeld thought, to the use of the Hebrew Gospel, or to a common employment of this particular term in the sphere of influence of the writer, whom we call Leucius, and whom we suppose to have lived in Asia Minor?

M. R. JAMES.

### PROLEGOMENA TO THE COMMENTARY OF PELAGIUS ON THE EPISTLES OF ST PAUL.

THE purpose of this paper is twofold. I desire, in the first place, to enumerate all the manuscripts known to me of those works from which alone the commentary of Pelagius on the Pauline Epistles can be (partly or wholly) reconstructed. Secondly, I give a list of *initia* and *finis* of the Pseudo-Jerome's and Pseudo-Primasius's commentaries, in the hope that librarians and scholars willing to help may discover and make known to me other manuscripts of importance. The ultimate object of this work is an edition of Pelagius's commentaries, which has been undertaken for the Cambridge *Texts and Studies*<sup>1</sup>.

(1) Quotations in Augustine:—

*De Peccatorum Meritis* (III 1-6; 9; 21).

*De Gestis Pelagii* (39).

*De Peccato Originali* (23).

For manuscripts of the second and third see the edition by C. F. Urba and J. Zycha (*Corp. Script. Eccl. Lat.* vol. xxxii).

The following manuscripts of the *De Peccatorum Meritis* are known to me:—

Troyes 646 (saec. xii).

St Omer 108 (saec. xii).

St Omer 206 (saec. xii).

Douai 276 (saec. xii).

(2) Quotations in Marius Mercator:—*Commonitorium super nomine Caelestii* (II 1-9) Rome, Bibliotheca Vaticana Palatina, 234 (saec. ix-x).

(3) The Pseudo-Jerome Commentary on thirteen Pauline epistles:—

(a)

Paris, B. N. 1853 (saec. ix).

Épinal 6 (saec. ix-x).

Munich 13038 (saec. ix).

St Gall 330 (Col. Tit. (?) 1, 2 Tim. (?)

(saec. ix).

Rome (fragm.) (saec. vi).

<sup>1</sup> I am already indebted to Dr H. Zimmer's *Pelagius in Ireland*, and Dr S. Hellmann's *Sedulius Scottus*, as also to private communications from Dr Bonnet, Dr Holder, Dr Mercati, Prof. J. E. B. Mayor, Dom Morin, Monsieur H. Omont, and Mr C. H. Turner. The French Minister of Public Instruction kindly caused the MS of Épinal to be sent to Paris for my use.

- Munich 6235 (extracts) (saec. x) Oxford, Merton 26 (saec. xv).  
 (see below). Oxford, Balliol 157 (saec. xv).  
 Munich 14500 (fragm.) (saec. ix). Cambridge, Univ. Ff. IV 31 (saec.  
 Paris, S. Geneviève 1370 (fragm.) xv).  
 (saec. xii-xiii). (?) Cheltenham, Phillippus 1295  
 Florence, Laur. Plut. xv Dext. Cod. (saec. xv).  
 i (saec. xii). (?) Bern 344 (saec. x).  
 Troyes 486 (saec. xii). (?) Ghent 446 (saec. xii-xiii).  
 Arras 185 (saec. xii). (?) Jura 29 (extracts) (saec. xiii).  
 Salisbury 5 (saec. xii). see also (13\*).  
 Dublin, Trin. Coll. 254 (saec. xv).

## (δ)

The following, amongst many others, contain the prefaces:—

- St Gall 70 (saec. viii). Grenoble, 26 (saec. xii).  
 Oxford, Bodl. Laud. Lat. 108 (saec. ix). Oxford, Bodl. Laud. Lat. 109 (saec.  
 ix). xiii in.).  
 Munich 6229 (saec. viii-ix). Grenoble 28 (saec. xiii).  
 St Gall 83 (saec. ix). Grenoble 29 (saec. xiii).  
 Florence, Laur. Plut. x, Dext. Cod. Oxford, Bodl. Laud. Lat. 109  
 ii (saec. ix-x). (saec. xiii in.).  
 Berlin, Lat. 5 (Phill. 1659) (Metz) Bern A 73 (saec. xiii-xiv).  
 (saec. x). Oxford, Bodl. Laud. Misc. 266 (saec.  
 Munich 6235 (saec. x). xiv).  
 Munich 17043 (saec. x). Oxford, Bodl. Laud. Lat. 103 (saec.  
 Paris, Bibl. Nat. 9553 (saec. xi). xii in.).  
 Escorial I III 28 (saec. xi-xii). Brussels 1020 (saec. ?).  
 Cambridge, Trin. Coll. 148 (saec. (?) St Gall 63 (saec. ix).  
 xii). (?) Brussels 1024 (saec. xi).  
 Oxford, Bodl. Laud. Lat. 44 (saec. see also (7) (8) (10) (12).  
 xii).

(4) The Pseudo-Primasius Commentary on thirteen (fourteen) Pauline epistles:—

- Einsiedeln 16 (saec. x).  
 Grenoble 270 (saec. xii)<sup>1</sup>.  
 See also (13\*).

(5) The Haymo-Remigius Commentary (manuscripts later than the eleventh century are not mentioned):—

- Paris, Bibl. Nat. 2409 (saec. ix) Paris, Bibl. Nat. 13409 (saec.  
 (Rom. 1, 2 Cor. 1, 2 Thess.). ix).

<sup>1</sup> I have no doubt this is the MS from which the *editio princeps* was printed.



- London, B. M. Harl. 3102 (saec. ix) (Rom. 1 Cor.)<sup>1</sup>.  
 (Paris, Bibl. Nat. 2412 (saec. x) (Hebr.))  
 Paris, Bibl. Nat. 12303 (saec. x).  
 Paris, Bibl. Nat. 2452 (saec. x).  
 Paris, Bibl. Nat. 17290 (saec. x), (Romans wanting) anonymous, and partly arranged as a lectionary.
- Avranches 115 (saec. xi).  
 Douai 343 (saec. xi).  
 (Douai 344 (saec. xi) (Hebr.))  
 Munich 21536 sq. (saec. xi).  
 Le Mans 229 (saec. xi) (Rom. 1, 2 Cor., Hebr.).  
 Angers 67 (saec. xi).  
 Angers 1902 (saec. xi) (title and one leaf).

(6) The collection of Irish Canons:—

Thirteen manuscripts mentioned in Wasserschleben's edition (Leipzig 1885).

(7) The Würzburg MS th. f. 12 (saec. viii–ix).

The glosses are edited by Zimmer *Pelagius in Irland* pp. 39–137.

(8) The Book of Armagh (saec. ix).

See Zimmer *op. cit.* pp. 35–39.

(9) The *Collectaneum in epistulas Pauli* of Sedulius Scottus (see Traube's *O Roma Nobilis* p. 60, and Hellmann's *Sedulius Scottus* p. 190 ff):—

Zürich lxxii (saec. x).

Fulda (saec. xi–xii).

Bamberg B V 24 (saec. xii).

Munich 9545 (saec. x) (Rom. 1, 2 Cor.).

Munich 6238 (saec. x ex.) (lacks Rom., 1, 2 Thess.).

(10) Vienna, Hofbibliothek 1247 (saec. xi).

See Zimmer *op. cit.* pp. 26–39, 138–155.

(11) St Gall 73 (saec. ix).

Contains the purest form of the text yet known. Discovered, collated, and partly published by Zimmer (*op. cit.* pp. 280–448). Unless I am mistaken, however, Karlsruhe Augiensis cxix (saec. ix in.) (anon.) contains a still purer form. Paris, B. N. 653 (saec. ix) (anon.) is also of the highest importance.

(12) Berlin, Lat. 48 (Phill. 1650, originally of S. Vincentius in Metz) (saec. xi ex.)<sup>2</sup>.

(13) The 'Expositio Libri Comitis' of Zmaragdus (cf. Dümmler in *Neues Archiv* IV 251):—

<sup>1</sup> Of the three oldest Denifle, *Die abendländischen Schriftausleger bis Luther*, &c. (Mainz 1905) p. 18, mentions only the second.

<sup>2</sup> Riggenbach must share with me the credit of the discovery of this MS (*Unbeachtet gebliebene Fragmente des Pelagius-Kommentars*, Gütersloh 1905, p. 22).

|                                               |                                                                   |
|-----------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------|
| St Gall 424 (saec. ix).                       | Boulogne-sur-mer 25 (saec. x).                                    |
| St Gall 435 (saec. ix).                       | Munich 6210 (saec. ix).                                           |
| St Omer 257 (saec. x).                        | Munich 6214 (saec. x).                                            |
| London, Brit. Mus. 21914 (saec. x) (imperf.). | Oxford, Bodl. Barlow 4 (saec. ix-x).                              |
| Paris, Bibl. Nat. 2341 (saec. ix).            | Luxemburg 135 (29) (saec. x).                                     |
| Einsiedeln 39 (saec. ix).                     | Berlin, Lat. 695 theol. fol. 344 (Werden) (saec. x). <sup>1</sup> |

(13\*) The following anonymous commentaries may be identical or closely connected with (3) (4) or (11).

|                                        |                                    |
|----------------------------------------|------------------------------------|
| Monte Cassino no. 60 (saec. x).        | Vorau 284 (saec. xii-xiii).        |
| Antwerp, Musée Plantin 45 (saec. ix?). | St Gall 877 (saec. ix) (fragm.).   |
| Leipzig, Univ. (Feller p. 374).        | Paris, Bibl. Nat. 17290 (saec. x). |
| Leipzig, Univ. (Feller p. 378).        | Monte Cassino 522 (saec. ?).       |
| Einsiedeln 30 (saec. xii).             | Todi 46 (saec. ix-x).              |

(13\*\*) The following may contain Pelagian glosses, as do (7) (10) (12).

|                           |
|---------------------------|
| Orléans 79 (saec. x in.). |
| Brussels 1020 (saec. ?).  |
| Brussels 1024 (saec. xi). |

and any MSS of the Pauline Epistles earlier than the end of the eleventh or the twelfth century which contain glosses.

*Pelagius (Pseudo-Hieronymus) Prologues.*

- (General) *Inc.* Primum quaeritur quare post euangelia quae . . .  
*Expl.* iuxta Tertullianum aut Lucae iuxta quosdam uel certe Clementis discipuli apostolorum (or otherwise).  
 Rom. *Inc.* Romani (sunt) ex Iudaeis et gentibus qui crediderunt . . .  
*Expl.* uicissim eos humilians ad pacem et concordiam cohortatur. Finit prologus.  
 or *Inc.* Romani sunt in partibus Italiae. Hii praeuenti sunt . . .  
*Expl.* ad ueram euangelicam fidem scribens eis a Corintho. Finit amen.  
 i Cor. *Inc.* Corinthii sunt Achaii, (Hii) similiter ab apostolis (apostolo) audierunt . . .  
*Expl.* scribens eis ab Epheso.  
 or per Timotheum cohortans et corripiens ut salui fiant in Christo Iesu domino nostro.

<sup>1</sup> Riggenbach has enumerated a number of passages which Zmaragdus has quoted from Pelagius in *Unbeachtet gebliebene Fragmente* p. 23. My own researches confirm his conclusion that Zmaragdus knew Primasius as a commentator on the Apocalypse only.

- ii Cor. *Inc.* Post actam (ab eisdem Corinthiis) paenitentiam solatorias (-am) . . .  
*Expl.* conlaudans eos hortatur ad meliora per Tychicum.  
*or* contristatos quidem sed emendatos ostendit.
- Gal. *Inc.* Galatae sunt Graeci. Hi(i) uerbum ueritatis mum (-o) . . .  
*Expl.* ad fidem ueritatis scribens eis ab Epheso.
- Eph. *Inc.* Ephesii sunt (Graeci) Asiani . . .  
*Expl.* praecipit instituta moralia (mor. praec. inst.).
- Phil. *Inc.* Philippenses sunt Macedones. Hii accepto . . .  
*Expl.* de carcere per Epaphroditum.  
*or* libenter usque ad mortem certare pro Christo.
- i Thess. *Inc.* Thessalonicenses sunt Macedones, qui accepto uerbo  
*Expl.* per Tychicum diaconum et Onesimum acolitum.  
*or* ergo illos ad maiora prouocat apostolus.
- ii Thess. *Inc.* Thessalonicensibus (ad Thessalonicenses) secun-  
*Expl.* scripsit (scribit) epistolam (apostolus) . . .  
*or* per Tychicum diaconum et Onesimum acolitum, quem uellent pro Christo facere inducerent ad suadendum.
- Col. *Inc.* Colossenses et hii sicut Laodicenses sunt Asiani . . .  
*Expl.* per Tychicum diaconem et Onesimum acolitum.
- i Tim. *Inc.* Timotheum instruit et docet de ordinatione episcopi . . .  
*or* Timotheus episcopus fuit et discipulus Pauli apostoli . . .  
*Expl.* scribens (autem) ei a Macedonia (Nicomoli) per Tychicum (diaconum).
- ii Tim. *Inc.* Item Timotheo scribit (scripsit) de exhortatione man-  
*Expl.* tyrii . . .  
*Expl.* scripsit (scribens) ei ab urbe Roma (de carcere),
- Tit. *Inc.* Titum discipulum suum epistula commonet et instruit  
*Expl.* (with some variations) . . .  
*Expl.* scribit ei ab Athenis.  
*or* scripsit ei ab Athenis, scripta a Roma alibi de Nicopolis.
- Philem. *Inc.* Philemoni familiares litteras facit pro Onesimo . . .  
*Expl.* de carcere per (eundem) Onesimum acolitum.

*Pseudo-Hieronymus.*

- Praef. *Inc.* Litteris tuis cursim mihi adlatis . . .  
*Expl.* ab omnibus sapientibus et interpretantur et praedicantur.
- Rom. *Inc.* Paulus. Quaerimus quare Paulus scribat, cum Saulus . . .  
*Expl.* spiritum sanctum significat. Item infert: Cogniti soli sapienti deo . . . in saecula saeculorum. amen.
- i Cor. *Inc.* Paulus. Paulus quod nomen praeponit in epistulis . . .



- pl.* quo modo, inquit, dicit amen super tuam benedictionem?
- nc.* Paulus apostolus etc. Quaeritur cur in omnibus epistulis . . .
- pl.* quod omnes in his donis uelit esse perfectos.
- nc.* Paulus apostolus, etc. Sicut sacrarum scripturarum testatur . . .
- pl.* spiritaliter conuersamini, ut spiritaliter circumcisi.
- nc.* Paulus apostolus, etc. Non meis meritis . . .
- pl.* per saecularia Christi dilectio non uiolatur.
- nc.* Paulus et Timotheus etc., Ambo serui non ambo apostoli . . .
- pl.* Qui sunt nuper de Caesaris domo conuersi, Gratia domini . . . amen.
- nc.* Paulus apostolus Iesu Christi per uoluntatem dei . . .
- pl.* imitamini tolerantiam passionum. Gratia domini nostri . . . amen.
- nc.* Paulus et Siluanus etc. Quia per ipsos filios uerbum . . .
- pl.* gratia cum omnibus perseueret.
- nc.* Paulus et Siluanus etc. Qui sibi talem ecclesiam conquisiuit . . .
- pl.* ut post eam nec sibi nec angelo crederetur.
- nc.* Paulus apostolus Iesu Christi. Auctoritas et nominis et officii . . .
- pl.* permaneat in aeternum.
- nc.* Paulus apostolus etc. Non meis meritis . . .
- pl.* spiritaliter uiuis. Gratia uobiscum. amen.
- nc.* Paulus seruus dei. Non peccati . . .
- pl.* quod excipit apostolus quos salutat.
- nc.* Paulus uinctus etc. In carcere uel in catenis . . .
- pl.* Non alicuius criminis causa, sed fidei societate.

*Pseudo-Primasius*<sup>1</sup>.

- Inc.* Primo intellegere nos oportet . . .
- Expl.* rapinam bonorum uestrorum cum gaudio suscepistis.
- Inc.* 'Paulus,' id est, pusillus et ultimus; ex Saulo Paulus . . .
- Expl.* per Iesum Christum non a nobis ipsis.
- Inc.* Corinthii sunt Achaici: et hi similiter . . .
- Expl.* ideo quod ipsis scribit, omni Achaiae scribit.
- Inc.* Paulus auctoritatis est nomen . . .

mentary in its printed form is considerably contaminated from Aug., *Div. Quaest. ad Simpl., Acad., Comm. ep. Rom., C. duas epist. Pelag., Comm. ep. Gal.*

- Expl.* Quo modo dicit amen super tuam benedictionem.
- ii Cor. Arg. *Inc.* Post actam paenitentiam, consolatoriam . . .
- Expl.* conlaudans eos hortatur ad meliora.
- (Comm.) *Inc.* 'Paulus apostolus Iesu Christi'. Quaeritur cur in omnibus epistulis . . .
- Expl.* aliquantis iustioribus uobis, ita sit cum omnibus uobis.
- Gal. Arg. *Inc.* Galatae sunt Graeci: hi uerbum ueritatis . . .
- Expl.* et ceteros in ordinem apostolatus elegit.
- (Comm.) *Inc.* 'Paulus apostolus'. Ut saepe dictum est, pusillus . . .
- Expl.* spiritaliter circumcisi estis, et spiritaliter conuersamini.
- Eph. Arg. *Inc.* Ephesii sunt Asiani. Hi accepto uerbo . . .
- Expl.* usque ad finem moralia praecipit statuta.
- (Comm.) *Inc.* 'Paulus apostolus Christi Iesu'. Sicut in omnibus epistulis auctoritas . . .
- Expl.* saeculi amore Christi dilectio uiolatur. Scripta ab urbe.
- Phil. Arg. *Inc.* Quid sanctus Hieronymus de diuo Paulo dixerit . . .
- Expl.* libenter usque ad mortem certare pro Christo.
- (Comm.) *Inc.* 'Paulus et Timotheus serui Iesu Christi'. Omnis apostolus seruus; non omnis seruus apostolus . . .
- Expl.* etiam de officio Caesaris multos fuisse conuersos.
- i Thess. Arg. *Inc.* Thessalonicenses sunt Macedones. Hi in Christo Iesu . . .
- Expl.* per Tychicum diaconem et Onesimum acolythum.
- (Comm.) *Inc.* 'Paulus et Siluanus et Timotheus ecclesiae Thessalonicensium'. Per Siluanum et Timotheum non solum his . . .
- Expl.* 'sanctos' possumus baptizatos accipere.
- ii Thess. *Inc.* 'Paulus et Siluanus et Timotheus . . . pax a deo patre nostro et domino Iesu Christo'. Sancti sunt, id est, ecclesia et omnes . . .
- Expl.* nec ad semet ipsam, nisi manu propria perscripta reciperent.
- Col. Arg. *Inc.* Colossenses et hi, sicut Laodicenses, sunt Asiani, et ipsi praeuenti . . .
- Expl.* ne per filosofiam uel legis caerimonias seducantur.
- (Comm.) *Inc.* 'Paulus apostolus . . . et Timotheus frater'. Non meis meritis, sed dei uoluntate . . .
- Expl.* qui cum ea permanserint, et eam se gratis accepisse fatentur.
- i Tim. Arg. *Inc.* Timotheum instruit et docet de ordinatione episcopatus . . .

- Expl.* esse uitandos et cauendos omnibus modis.  
 (Comm.) *Inc.* 'Paulus apostolus Christi'. Praeponit et nominis . . .  
*Expl.* 'Gratia tecum. amen'. permaneat in aeternum.  
 ii Tim. Arg. *Inc.* Timotheo scribit iterum de exhortatione . . .  
*Expl.* quam dei praedicant ueritatem.  
 (Comm.) *Inc.* 'Paulus apostolus . . . per uoluntatem dei'. Con-  
 sueta ueritate et humilitate . . .  
*Expl.* qui carne mortuus est spiritaliter uiuens. Scriptae  
 ab urbe.  
 Tit. Arg. *Inc.* Titum commonefacit et instruit . . .  
*Expl.* qui in scripturis Iudaicis credunt.  
 (Comm.) *Inc.* 'Paulus seruus dei'. Seruus erat dei, non peccati . . .  
*Expl.* Vere, siue fideliter. Scripta de Nicopoli.  
 Philem, Arg. *Inc.* Philemoni familiares litteras . . .  
*Expl.* a Roma de carcere.  
 (Comm.) *Inc.* 'Paulus uinctus Iesu Christi . . . Appiae sorori karis-  
 simae'. In euangelio erat adiutor . . .  
*Expl.* 'cum spiritu uestro, amen'. Scripta ab urbe Roma<sup>1</sup>.

A. SOUTER.

## ON THE TEXT OF THE *DE SACERDOTIO* OF ST CHRYSOSTOM.

### I. THE MSS OF THE *de Sacerdotio*.

THE treatise on the Priesthood, perhaps the most famous of all Chrysostom's works, is contained in a large number of MSS in the various libraries of Europe. In view of my forthcoming edition of this treatise (in the series of Cambridge Patristic Texts under the editorship of Dr Mason), I felt it to be desirable to examine the numerous MSS contained in the Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris: by the kindness of the managers of the Hort Fund, who made a grant for this purpose, my project was facilitated, and was carried into effect in December 1904 and January 1905.

The MSS to which reference is made in this article are all in the Bibliothèque Nationale, with the exception of those designated by the letters *a*, *b*, *x*, *y*, *z*. A brief description of each is necessary.

*a* = Codex Augustanus: once at Augsburg (Augusta Vindelicorum), now in the Hof-und-Staats Bibliothek at Munich, where it is Cod. Graec. Monac. No. 384, Saec. xi, parch. Contains the *de sac.* in

<sup>1</sup> I omit all reference to the Epistle to the Hebrews, because Pelagius did not write a commentary on that epistle.



fol. 140-207. See Ign. Hardt *Catalogus Codd. MSS Graecorum Bibliothecae Regiae Bavaricae* vol. iv pp. 22-27. Used by Hoeschel for his edition of 1599.

*b* = Cod. Palatinus. Present whereabouts unknown. Used by Hoeschel for his edition of 1599, and our knowledge of its readings is derived entirely from him. In 1599 it was at Heidelberg.

*c* = Cod. Reg. 492. Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris<sup>1</sup>. Saec. x ('copié en 910'), parch. 316 foll. The *de sac.* is contained in fol. 240-316. Also designated as Fontabl. Reg. 2290. A full collation of its readings is given at the end of vol. i of the reprint of Montfaucon's edition (Paris, 1839).

*d* = Cod. Reg. 581. Bibl. Nat. Saec. xi, parch. 256 foll. Contains only a fragment (part of the fifth and the whole of the sixth book) of the *de sac.* Also designated as Colbert 418.

*e* = Cod. Reg. 765 A. Bibl. Nat. Saec. xii, parch. This MS appears twice in Omont's Index; once, correctly, as 765 A, the other time incorrectly as 565 A, a number to which there is no corresponding entry in the text of Omont's work. Contains the *de sac.* in fol. 1-75.

*f* = Cod. Reg. 799. Bibl. Nat. Saec. xii, parch. peint. 395 foll. Contains the *de sac.* in fol. 1-87 r. A full collation is given at the end of vol. i of the reprint of Montfaucon.

*g* = Cod. Reg. 800. Bibl. Nat. Saec. xi, parch. 310 foll. The *de sac.* occupies fol. 1-64. It is complete: in Omont 'libri iv' should be 'libri vi'.

*h* = Cod. Reg. 801. Bibl. Nat. Saec. xi, parch. 427 foll. Contains *de sac.* in fol. 3-73. Also designated Colbert 974. It was used by Montfaucon.

*i* = Cod. Reg. 802. Bibl. Nat. Saec. xi, parch. 309 foll. Contains the *de sac.* in fol. 2-68 r. Also designated Colbert 247. Used by Montfaucon.

*k* = Cod. Reg. 803. Bibl. Nat. Saec. xi, parch. 298 foll. Contains the *de sac.* in fol. 2-72. Also styled Colbert 248. Used by Montfaucon.

*l* = Cod. Reg. 804. Bibl. Nat. Saec. xi, parch. 698 foll. Contains books iii-vi of the *de sac.* in fol. 1-104. Brought from Constantinople.

*m* = Cod. Reg. 805. Bibl. Nat. Saec. xi (written in 1064), parch. 236 foll. Also styled Reg. 2351. The *de sac.* occupies fol. 1-66 r. Brought from Chios.

*n* = Cod. Reg. 806. Bibl. Nat. Saec. xii, parch. 321 foll. peint. Also styled Hurault. Reg. 1819. The *de sac.* occupies fol. 1-48. Used by Montfaucon.

<sup>1</sup> On this and the other MSS in the Bibl. Nat., see H. Omont *Inventaire sommaire des manuscrits grecs de la Bibl. Nationale* (Paris, 1898).

- o = Cod. Reg. 807. Bibl. Nat. Saec. xi, parch. 279 foll. Also styled Fontabl. Reg. 2354. It contains a fragment from the end of bk. vi of the *de sac.* (in foll. 1-5 r).
- p = Cod. Reg. 812. Bibl. Nat. Saec. xi, parch. 249 foll. Also styled Colbert 3055. The *de sac.* occupies foll. 196 v-249. Used by Montfaucon.
- q = Cod. Reg. 813. Bibl. Nat. Saec. xi, parch. 244 foll. Also styled Mazarin Reg. 1973. It contains in foll. 223-244 the first three books of the *de sac.* The end of book ii and the beginning of book iii are mutilated. Of book vi only a fragment remains. Used by Montfaucon.
- r = Cod. Reg. 1024. Bibl. Nat. Saec. xii, parch. 304 foll. Also styled Colbert 3061. It contains the *de sac.* in foll. 2-108 r. Used by Montfaucon.
- s = Cod. Reg. 1181. Bibl. Nat. Saec. xii-xiii, parch. 228 foll. Also styled Trichet-Dufresne-Reg. 2350. Contains the *de sac.* in foll. 50-160.
- t = Cod. Coislinianus 61. Bibl. Nat. Saec. xi, parch. 319 foll. Contains the *de sac.* in foll. 1-131 r.
- u = Cod. Coislinianus 245. Bibl. Nat. Saec. xi, parch. 218 foll. Contains in foll. 1-56 the *de sac.*, with the beginning of each book mutilated.
- w = Cod. Coislinianus 246. Bibl. Nat. Saec. x, parch. 275 foll. Contains the *de sac.* in foll. 1-79.
- x = Cod. Passioneus. The MS breaks off at Montf. 379 A 11 (ii 7): a full collation of the part that is preserved may be found at the end of vol. i of the reprint of Montfaucon.
- y = Cod. Collegii Corporis Christi Oxon.: in C. C. C., Oxford. Saec. xiii, parch. 140 foll. See Coxe *Catalogus codd. MSS in Collegiis Aulique Oxon.* pars 2, p. 5, n. 21. This MS was used by Savile. I owe my collation of it to my friend Mr Vincent Benson, Scholar of New College, Oxford.
- z = Cod. Collegii Novi, Oxon.: in New College, Oxford. Saec. xii, parch. 360 foll. Coxe, *ubi supra*, pars i, p. 23, no. 79. Used by Savile. Collated in full for me by Mr Benson.
- Berl. = Cod. Berolinensis: in the Königliche Bibliothek, Berlin, where it is Cod. 354 Ham. See p. 232, no. 403, of the *Catalogus-Verzeichniss* (Berlin, 1897). Saec. xii, parch. 274 foll. A quaternion is missing after fol. 8. The *de sac.* occupies foll. 11-118 v.
- Franc. = Codex Franciscanus, so called from Francis I, king of France, to whom it once belonged. Used by Fronto Ducaeus for his edition of Chrysostom, and styled by him Fr. Present whereabouts unknown.
- Henr. = Codex Henricianus. It belonged to Henry II, king of France: and was used by Fronto, who styles it H. Present whereabouts unknown.

Marg. = Codex Margunii. This belonged to Maximus Margunius, bishop of Cythera, who corresponded with Savile. One or two of its readings are known to us from the early editions.

Oliv. = Codex Olivarii. Used by Fronto, who styles it O, and refers to it as 'membranae nobilissimi viri Fr. Olivarii'.

Sin. = Codex Sinaiticus: in the library of the monastery on Mt. Sinai. See Gardthausen *Catalogus codd. graecorum Sinaiticorum* (Oxford, 1886), where it is no. 375. Saec. ix (it is dated 893), parch. I owe my knowledge of its readings to the kindness of Archbishop Porphyrios.

These MSS fall into four groups, viz.

Group 1, containing *a, f, p*.

" 2, " *b, d, e, h, k, l, o, q, s, t, z, henr.*

" 3, " *g, i, r, w, y.*

" 4, " *c, m, n, u, x, berl., franc., marg., oliv., sin.*

*p* contains elements common to 1 and 2; *h* elements common to 2 and 4; and *c, x, berl., sin.*, elements common to 3 and 4.

I now propose to shew:—

(a) that the combination of groups 1, 2, 3 is better than group 4.

(β) " " " " " 1, 2, 4 " " " 3.

(γ) " " " " " 1, 3, 4 " " " 2.

(δ) " " " " " 2, 3 " " " 1, 4<sup>1</sup>.

From these results, if proved, we infer that 1 is the best group; and that 2, 3 is the best combination of two groups. Also, as a larger number of examples can be cited in support of (a) than of (β), and a larger number in support of (β) than of (γ), we infer that 2 is better than 3, and 3 than 4: so that the order of the groups as given above corresponds to their relative excellence.

(a) 1, 2, 3, are better than 4.

(a) i 1 (Montf. 362 B 6) καὶ ἕτερα δὲ πρὸς τούτοις ἡμῖν ἐφυλάττετο ἀρραγῇ (τε) καὶ βέβαια. With the exception of *h*, which contains elements common to 4, all MSS of groups 1, 2, 3 have practically this reading (the only *vv. ll.* are ἐφυλάττομεν or -τεν for ἐφυλάττετο). Group 4, however, has τὴν ὁμόνοιαν ταύτην ἐφύλαττεν instead of ἐφυλάττετο. The sense of the reading of 1, 2, 3, viz. 'other things besides this (i.e. association in study) we preserved unbroken and steadfast', is somewhat difficult to catch: by ἕτερα is meant 'social relations', as the context shews (see my note). But τὴν ὁμόνοιαν ταύτην ἐφύλαττεν is clearly an attempt to explain the more difficult reading, and is therefore to be rejected.

<sup>1</sup> (δ) seems to me somewhat less certain than (a) (β) or (γ) as the number of instances on which it is based is relatively small.



(δ) i 2 (Montf. 364 B 8) καὶ μὴν οὐδὲ ἐκείνῳ γ' ἂν ἔχοις αἰτιάσασθαι ὅτι κτλ. 1, 2, 3. In 4 the words εἰπεῖν καὶ are added between ἔχοις and αἰτιάσασθαι. These additional words are not supported by later citations of this passage, in *Anonymus Scriptor Vit. S. Chrysostomi* and in *Symeon Metaphrastes*. They are most probably a gloss inserted to make the construction of ἐκείνο easier: ἐκείνο εἰπεῖν giving a common, ἐκείνο αἰτιάσασθαι a less common, use of the accusative.

(ε) i 4 (Montf. 366 A 11) ὅταν γὰρ ἴδωσι φανέντα πον τῆς ἡμέρας μέρος (v. l. μέρει) τῆς πόλεως 1, 2, 3. For this, 4 reads ὅταν γὰρ ἴδωσι φανέντα πον τῆς πόλεως. The explanation of the peculiar reading of 1, 2, 3 is uncertain. In my note I have suggested that ἡμέρας should be written Ἡμέρας, meaning some quarter of Antioch which may have been so named: 'for when they see that we appear somewhere in Hemera.' In that case μέρος τῆς πόλεως would be a marginal gloss on Ἡμέρας and μέρει τῆς πόλεως an attempt to give a construction to that gloss after it had found its way into the text. In any case the reading of 1, 2, 3 bears on it obvious marks of genuineness. That of 4, as obviously, is due to an attempt at simplification.

(δ) i 4 (Montf. 366 E 1) τοὺς νόμους . . . καθ' οὓς δεῖ ταύτην αἰτοῦς διέπειν τὴν ἀρχήν 1, 2, 3.

For διέπειν 4 reads διοικεῖν, manifestly a gloss.

(ε) i 5 (Montf. 368 C 9) ἀλλὰ φρούδα (v. l. φρούδην) τὰ αὐτοῦ θέμενον ἐτι τῶν ἡμετέρων φροντίζειν 1, 2, 3.

For φρούδα (φρούδην) group 4 has παρ' οὐδέν, which gives a much commoner phrase. Once more the *difficilior lectio* is *potior*. The form φρούδην is remarkable, and possibly correct: cp. σύδην, φύρδην, ἀρδην.

(f) ii 4 (Montf. 374 D 5) εἰ—μὴ δῶς βαθεῖαν τὴν τομὴν τῷ τοιαύτης χρεῖαν ἔχοντι 1, 2, 3.

For τομὴν group 4 has πληγὴν, a much less suitable word in the context, which deals with the *surgical* effect of words of admonition (see ii 3 *ad fin.*).

(g) iii 3 (Montf. 382 A 9) ἀλλὰ κἀνταῦθα ἡμῶν εἰς τούναντίον ὁ λόγος περετέτραπται 1, 2, 3.

For ὁ λόγος 4 has τὸ πρᾶγμα, again substituting a more obvious expression.

(h) vi 12 (Montf. 433 E 10) καταλεγέτω—καὶ βραχίονα καὶ τροχόν 1, 2, 3.

For τροχόν 4 has τράχηλον. This gives a fallacious coherence with βραχίονα. A reference to the passage will shew that the point lies in the promiscuous chaos of a battlefield after the conflict (cp. φύρδην just before the words in question): a man's arm (βραχίονα) lies next to the wheel (τροχόν) of a chariot.

These instances could easily be multiplied. They show that the combination 1, 2, 3 is decidedly better than group 4.

(β) 1, 2, 4 are better, in combination, than 3.

(α) i 5 (Montf. 370 c 7) ἔσται τοῦ δοθέντος (v. l. τὰ δοθέντα) μετὰ πολλῆς τῆς προθυμίας 1, 2, 4.

Here 3 has σπουδάζει τοῦ δοθέντος μετὰ πολλῆς τ. προθ. λαβεῖν. This infinitive σπουδάζει is difficult. The original form of the reading and 3 seems to be that found in c (which contains elements common to 3 and 4), viz. ἐσπούδασε . . . λαβεῖν. The corruption seems to be due to the somewhat uncommon use of σπᾶν = 'to drink', with partitive genitive.

(δ) iii 9 (Montf. 386 c 6) ὁ τῆς κενοδοξίας σκόπελος, χαλεπότερος ὡς ὅπερ (v. l. ὡν) οἱ μυθοποιοὶ (v. l. μῦθοι) τεραπεύονται 1, 2, 4.

For ὅπερ 3 has ὥς, which leaves the thought incomplete, with the result that the gloss τῶν Σειρήνων is introduced in 3 after τεραπεύονται to fill up the deficiency: 'more grievous . . . than (the rock of) the Sirens.' Thus one corruption leads to another.

(ε) iv 2 (Montf. 407 D 8) καὶ πᾶσαν ψυχῆς (v. l. πάσῃ ψυχῇ) πρόσφορος ἐπιστάμενοι θεραπείαν 1, 2, 4.

The reading of 3 is καὶ πᾶσαν ψυχῆς ἰδέαν πρόσφορον ἐπιστάμενοι θεραπεύειν, where the very harsh use of πρόσφορον as an adverb, 'suitably', is a signal that all is not well. The cause of the interpolation of ἰδέαν and the alteration of θεραπείαν to θεραπεύειν is, no doubt, the difficulty (only, however, apparent) of πᾶσαν ψυχῆς: ψυχῆς goes with θεραπείαν, 'every suitable method of healing the soul'.

(δ) v 3 (Montf. 416 c 11) χρηὴ καθάπερ ἡνίοχον . . . εἰς ἀκρίβειαν τούτων . . . ἐληλακέναι 1, 2, 4.

For ἐληλακέναι, which is clearly the more appropriate word (cp. ἡνίοχον), 3 has ἤκειν (v. l. εἰκεν).

(ε) vi 8 (Montf. 428 B 8) πολλὰ γὰρ ἐστὶν ἐν τῷ μέσῳ τὰ δυνάμει . . . τὸν ἐπ' εὐθείας διακόψαι δρόμον 1, 2, 4.

For the last five words ('to check the onward course') 3 has τὸν ἐπιθυμίας διακόψαι δρόμον. It cannot be doubted that this is a corruption: with ἐπ' εὐθείας cp. ἐξ εὐθείας i 5.

(f) vi 10 (Montf. 429 D 4) νῦν δέ, φησιν, οὐ δεῖ σοι πόνων, οὐδὲ φροντίδας ἔχεις 1, 2, 4.

For οὐ δεῖ σοι πόνων 3 has οὐδὲ σὺ πόνον, a manifestly inferior reading, due to the retrogressive action of ἔχεις upon πόνων which it converts into an accusative, and the ever facile corruption of σοί to σὺ.

Thus the combination 1, 2, 4 has been shewn to be superior to group 3.

(γ) 1, 3, 4 are, in combination, better than group 2.

(α) iii 4 (Montf. 382 D 11) ποιοῦσι δὲ τοῦτο πάντες διὰ τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν τότε 1, 3, 4.

For τότε 2 substitutes the words τῆς πίστεως. But Chrysostom (as Harnack has shewn) agrees with Gregory of Nyssa in the assumption of an essentially corporeal effect of participation in the sacred elements. Hence the introduction of the words 'of faith' is inappropriate, especially as the actual hands of the communicant are referred to just before (ὁ μετὰ τοῦ πατρὸς ἄνω καθήμενος . . . ταῖς ἀπάντων κατέχεται χερσὶ: see context). Moreover, the *vetus interpretatio*, which is based on a MS of good authority, has simply 'fitque hoc totum sub oculis humanis'.

(δ) iv 2 (Montf. 405 C 3) τίνες ἡμᾶς παραιτήσονται τότε; 1, 3, 4.

2 has τίνες ἡμῖν παραστήσονται τότε; clearly a corruption of the other reading. A MS of group 4 shews us the gradual course of the corruption by preserving ἡμᾶς, but changing παραιτήσονται to παραστήσονται.

(ε) v 4 (Montf. 417 B 9) τὸν χαίροντα . . . ἐν ταῖς τούτων (τῶν ἐπαίων) ἀποτυχίαις ἀνιάσθαι καὶ ἀλύειν (v. l. ἀλγύν) ἀνάγκη.

After ἀποτυχίαις 2 has the following: λυπεῖσθαι καὶ ἐκκλίνειν καὶ ἐνιάσθαι καὶ ἀλύειν ἀνάγκη. In this accumulation of verbs it is very probable that λυπεῖσθαι is a gloss on ἀνιάσθαι and ἐκκλίνειν on ἀλύειν. Editors recognize this, and take the shorter reading with two infinitives.

(δ) vi 12 (Montf. 432 D 10) σὺ δὲ ἐκ τῆς εἰκότος τὴν ἀθυμίαν σύλλεγε μόνην (v. l. μόνον) 1, 3, 4.

Instead of this 2 has σοὶ δὲ ἐκ τῆς εἰκότος ἔνεστι τὴν ἀθυμίαν συλλέγειν μόνην. The explanation of the variants here is probably that suggested by Bengel. The original reading is σὺ δὲ . . . συλλέγειν (infinitive for imperative). This appears in 1, 3, 4 slightly corrupted by the change of the infinitive to the imperative. In 2, on the other hand, the passage is more violently handled, and ἔνεστι is interpolated to explain συλλέγειν, of course mistakenly.

Thus 1, 3, 4 in combination are better than 2.

(δ) The combination 2, 3 is better than 1, 4.

The best instance where these two combinations of groups are in opposition is vi 12 (Montf. 434 B 5), ἄρα οἶε πρὸς τὴν διοίκησιν ἐκείνην ἀρκέσειν τὸν μειρακίσκον ἐκεῖνον, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἀπὸ πρώτης ὄψεως εὐθέως ἀφήσει τὴν ψυχὴν;

Πρὸς τὴν διοίκησιν ἐκείνην 2, 3; πρὸς τὴν διήγησιν μόνην 1, 4.

The situation is briefly this: Chrysostom imagines the effect upon the mind of a young shepherd who is suddenly called away from feeding his flocks and shewn all the horrors of war by land and sea. After viewing two armies in battle array he is then told of all the dreadful concomitants of war (such as slavery): and is commanded to take the post of general of one of the armies. Then follows ἄρα οἶε κτλ. as above.

With the reading of 2, 3 we translate 'do you think that he will be equal to that office (of general)?' With that of 1, 4 we must translate



'do you think that he will bear up against the mere description?'<sup>1</sup> ('*ut solam horum narrationem ferre posse*,' Montf.). But (1) we should have expected, in this sense, the Greek to run καὶ πρὸς τὴν διήγησιν, and (2) διήγησιν may easily be due to the fact that the summing up of the description in question immediately precedes this passage<sup>2</sup>. On these grounds the reading of 2, 3 is preferable to that 1, 4.

In group 1, *a* seems to be better than *f* or *p*. Thus at i 4 (Montf. 366 A 11) while *a* has μέρος τῆς πόλεως, *f* and *p* have μέρει τῆς πόλεως. We have seen that μέρει is probably an attempt to improve upon a pre-existent μέρος. Again at iv 2 (Montf. 407 D 8) while *a* has πᾶσαν ψυχῆς πρόσφορον κτλ, *f* and *p* have πάση ψυχῇ, which is due to the apparent harshness of πᾶσαν ψυχῆς (see above (B) c).

In group 2, *b* and *henr* often agree in their readings (as Bengel saw). Another smaller group within this group is formed by *h*, *t*, *s*: for instance, these give at ii 2 (Montf. 373 B 5) the peculiar gloss (after φροντίζει) ἀλλὰ πῶς τοὺς πιστεύοντας διασώσῃ ἀπὸ τῶν αἰεὶ ἐφεδρευόντων δαιμόνων; then proceeding ὅτι δὲ πρὸς τοὺς καὶ μετὰ τούτων ἡ μάχη, ἄκουε κτλ.

In group 3 the MSS are more homogeneous than those in the other groups, and no distinction in respect of value can be made between them.

In group 4, *u* contains some excellent readings: for instance at iii 10 (Montf. 387 D 5) it has ἡ γὰρ κεφαλὴ, ἣν ἰσχυροτάτην εἶναι ἐχρῆν . . . ὅταν καὶ καθ' αὐτὴν ἀσθενὴς οὖσα τύχῃ, . . . τὸ λοιπὸν προσπαθόντων σῶμα, where the first four words are variously corrupted in most other MSS: e.g. into εἰ γὰρ κεφαλὴ ἦν, with ἐχρῆν for main verb, and a consequent change of ὅταν καὶ to ὅταν δέ. Still more noteworthy is the fact that *u* alone of all the MSS I have seen has the true reading at iii 15 (Montf. 392 C 4) εἰ μὲν γὰρ ὁ θεὸς τοῦτο ἀνέειπεν, ἐπίδειξον τὸν χρησμόν. The variants are remarkable: *an* εἶπεν *c* franc, ἐψηφίσατο *a* *f*, ἀνήγγειλεν all the rest<sup>3</sup>. The word ἀνέειπεν, which I found in *u* after having conjecturally restored it, is clearly correct: as χρησμόν shews the reference is to scripture as the oracular utterance of God (cp. the use of λόγια: and for the verb ἀνέειπεν ἡ Πυθία).

<sup>1</sup> καὶ πάσας ἀκριβῶς διδάξας τὰς τοῦ πολέμου τραγωδίας, προστιθέτω καὶ τὰ τῶν αἰχμαλωσίας δεινὰ κτλ. It may be noted that there seems to be some confusion in Chrysostom's mind in regard to the order of events here. He first tells us that the youth listens to a long disquisition on war, and then asks whether he would not most probably faint (or expire) at the first glimpse of the armies (ἀπὸ πρώτης ὀψεως), i.e. before any verbal description has been given him.

<sup>2</sup> On the influence of a neighbouring word or passage as a cause of corruption in the *de Sac.* see Bengel's note on iv 2 (p. 137 of Bengel-Leo).

<sup>3</sup> For other cases where the true reading is preserved in only one or two MSS see (e.g.) critical notes in my edition on ἐπονούμεθα and τὴν ἐμμανοῦ (i 1).

II. CITATIONS FROM THE *de Sacerdotio*.

owing writers quote passages from the *de Sac.* phers.

Anonymous Scriptor vitae S Chrysostomi (later than 950). Savile's Edition viii p. 299. The passage quoted is from isa's appeal to her son. It begins καθίσασα πλησίον (i 2), and at εὐδοκίμησας ἐξ Ἰσῆς ἐμοί.

Georgius Alexandrinus (seventh century): Savile viii p. 167. passage quoted begins καθίσασα πλησίον (i 2) as above, and at οὗτος ὁ δεσμός κατεχέτω σε πρὸς ἡμᾶς (so, for παρ' ἡμῖν). citation is of little value for critical purposes, being more of nature of a paraphrase.

Theon Metaphrastes (tenth century): Savile viii p. 376. The text quoted begins ἐπεὶ γὰρ ἦσθετο (of Anthusa) i 2, and ends μήσεως ἐξ Ἰσῆς ἐμοί. This citation seems to be the most reliable of the three: see below.

(s. v. Ἰωάννης, Ἀντιοχεύς).

The biographer quotes from the *de Sac.* two passages which he forms into one long quotation: viz. (1) iii 16 ἐννοήσον οὖν ὑποῖόν and (2) vi 4 ποικίλον αὐτὸν εἶναι δεῖ κτλ.

It will be of interest to give in parallel columns the text of part of isa's appeal as printed in my edition, and as exhibited in the editions of the biographers.

| anon.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                   | Anon.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                      | Georg.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                       | Sym.                                                                                                             |
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| υἱάων,<br>πατρός<br>βείθην<br>πολύ,<br>κοῦν<br>ἀς ἐπὶ<br>θάνα-<br>τον ὁρ-<br>γρεῖαν<br>ν καὶ<br>μνά, δ<br>αι δύ-<br>παλῶς,<br>ἰς ἀν<br>μῶνος<br>κλύ-<br>ταται<br>τῆς<br>α, καὶ<br>ος οὐ-<br><br>βαλ-<br>καζο-<br>αὶ τῆς<br>ύσεως<br>αν. | Verbally identical<br><br>down to εἰδέναι καλῶς,<br><br>for which Savile<br><br>reads εἰδέναι σαφῶς<br><br>(with v. l. καλῶς).<br><br>Anon. then proceeds:<br><br>λόγος γὰρ οὐδεὶς ἀν<br>ἐφίκοιτο τοῦ χειμῶνος<br>ἐκείνου καὶ τοῦ κλύ-<br>δατος, ὃν ὑφίσταται<br>κὀρη θαλαμνομένη τε<br>καὶ πραγμάτων ἀπειρος,<br>ἀρτι μὲν τῆς οἰκίας τῆς<br>πατρῆας προελθοῦσα,<br>αἰφνιδίῳ δὲ ἄωρῳ<br>χηρεῖα περιπεσοῦσα,<br>ἐνθεν μὲν ἀσχήτω<br>πίνθει τὴν ψυχὴν βαλ-<br>λομένη, ἐκείθεν δὲ<br>φροντίσι συνεχομένη<br>μείζουσιν ἢ κατὰ ἡλικίαν<br>καὶ γυναικείαν φύσιν. | Τοῦ σοῦ μὲν πατρός<br>τῆς ἀρετῆς οὐκ ἀπή-<br>λυσσα ἐπὶ πολὺ, τοῦ<br>θεοῦ οὕτω κειλεύσας, τοῖς<br>σοὶ μὲν ὁρφανίαν, ἐμοὶ<br>δὲ χηρείαν προξενή-<br>σαντος τοῦ θανάτου<br>αὐτοῦ.<br><br>Several sentences<br>are then omitted,<br>including the re-<br>mainder of the part<br>selected for com-<br>parison. Georg. pro-<br>ceeds: ὁμοίως οὐδὲν τῶν<br>συμβάντων μοι κακῶν<br>ἐπεισέ με δευτέροις<br>προσομλήσαι γάμοις<br>κτλ. | The only variant<br>is—Ἐξαίφνης τε πίνθει<br>ἀσχήτω βαλλομένη for<br>ἐξαίφνης δὲ πίνθει τε<br>ἀσχήτω βαλλ. . . . |

- (δ) Suidas cites, as already stated, two passages which run on consecutively, although taken from different parts of the treatise. It will be convenient, for purposes of comparison, to place side by side his citation with the text of my edition.

My edition.

Suidas (Gaisford's text) vol. i

p. 1787.

(1) vi 4

(1) vi 4 ὡς καὶ αὐτὸς λέγει (αὐτὸς οὗτος, ὁ Χρυσόστομος λ. Cedrenus).

Ποικίλον αὐτὸν εἶναι δεῖ,  
ποικίλον δὲ λέγω, οὐχ ἵππουλον  
οὐδὲ κόλακα καὶ ὑποκριτὴν, ἀλλὰ  
πολλῆς μὲν ἐλευθερίας καὶ παρρησίας  
ἀνάμεστον, εἰδὸτα δὲ καὶ συγκατιέναι  
χρησίμως, ὅταν ἡ τῶν πραγμάτων  
ὑπόθεσις τοῦτο ἀπαιτῇ, καὶ χρηστὸν  
εἶναι ὁμοῦ καὶ αὐστηρόν. οὐ γὰρ  
ἔστιν ἐνὶ τρόπῳ χρῆσθαι τοῖς ἀρ-  
χομένοις ἅπασιν, ἐπειδὴ μὴδὲ ἱατρῶν  
παισὶν ἐνὶ νόμῳ τοῖς κάμνουσι πᾶσι  
προσφέρεσθαι καλόν, μὴδὲ κυβερνήτῃ  
μίαν ὁδὸν εἰδέναι τῆς πρὸς τὰ πνεύ-  
ματα μάχης.

Διὰ τοῦτο ποικίλον εἶναι δεῖ τὸν  
ποιμένα καὶ διδάσκαλον. ποικίλον  
δὲ λέγω οὐχ ἵππουλον, οὐδὲ κόλακα  
καὶ ὑβριστὴν, ἀλλὰ πολλῆς ἐλευθε-  
ρίας καὶ παρρησίας ἀνάμεστον, εἰδὸτα  
καὶ συγκατιέναι χρησίμως, ὅταν ἀπαιτῇ  
τοῦτο ἡ τῶν πραγμάτων ὑπόθεσις, καὶ  
χρηστὸν εἶναι ὁμοῦ καὶ αὐστηρόν. οὐ  
γὰρ ἐνὶ τρόπῳ χρῆσθαι τοῖς ἀρχομένοις  
ἅπασιν δέον· ἐπεὶ μὴδὲ ἱατρῶν παισὶν  
ἐνὶ μόνῳ φαρμάκῳ πᾶσι τοῖς κάμνουσι  
προσφέρεσθαι καλόν, μὴδὲ κυβερνήτῃ  
μίαν ὁδὸν εἰδέναι τῆς πρὸς τὰ πνεύ-  
ματα μάχης.

(2) iii 16

(2) iii 16 (in Suidas joined on to  
the preceding without a break).

Ἐννόησον οὖν ὁποῖόν τινα εἶναι χρὴ  
τὸν πρὸς τοσοῦτον μέλλοντα ἀνθέξειν  
χειμῶνα, καὶ τοσαῦτα κωλύματα τῶν  
κοινῇ συμφερόντων διαθήσειν καλῶς.  
καὶ γὰρ καὶ σεμνὸν καὶ αἴτιον, καὶ  
φοβερὸν καὶ προσηγῆ, καὶ ἀρχικὸν  
καὶ κοινωνικόν, καὶ ἀδέκαστον καὶ  
θεραπευτικόν, καὶ ταπεινὸν καὶ ἀδού-  
λωτον, καὶ σφοδρὸν καὶ ἡμερον εἶναι  
δεῖ, ἵνα πρὸς ἅπαντα ταῦτα εὐκόλως  
μάχεσθαι δύνῃται, καὶ τὸν ἐπιτήδειον  
μετὰ πολλῆς τῆς ἐξουσίας, κἂν ἅπαντες  
ἀντιπύπτωσι, παράγειν, καὶ τὸν οὐ  
τοιούτον μετὰ τῆς αὐτῆς ἐξουσίας, κἂν  
ἅπαντες συμπνέωσι, μὴ προσίσθαι,

Ἐννόησον οὖν ὁποῖόν τινα εἶναι χρὴ  
τὸν μέλλοντα πρὸς χειμῶνα ἀνθέξειν  
τοσοῦτον, καὶ τοιαύτην ζάλην, καὶ  
τοσαῦτα κύματα, πρὸς τὸ γενέσθαι  
τοῖς πᾶσι πάντα, ἵνα πάντας κερδήσῃ.  
καὶ γὰρ σεμνὸν εἶναι δεῖ τὸν τοιοῦτον  
καὶ αἴτιον, καὶ φοβερὸν καὶ προσηγῆ,  
καὶ ἀρχοντικόν καὶ κοινωνικόν, καὶ ἀδέ-  
καστον καὶ θεραπευτικόν, καὶ ταπεινὸν  
καὶ ἀδούλωτον, καὶ φαιδρὸν καὶ ἡμερον,  
ἵνα ταῦτα εὐκόλως δύνῃται μάχεσθαι.  
οὐκοῦν δεῖ τὸν ἐναργέστατον<sup>1</sup> καὶ ἐχέ-  
φρονα φεύγειν τὸ κολακεῖν καὶ κολα-  
κεύεσθαι, μῆτε ἀλαζονικὸν<sup>2</sup> εἶναι μῆτε  
κόλακα, ἀλλ' ἀμφοτέρων τῶν κακῶν

<sup>1</sup> v. l. ἵέναι.

<sup>2</sup> v. l. ἐνάρετον.

<sup>3</sup> Verba μῆτε ἀλαζονικὸν . . . καταπίπτοντα 'constituunt Ep. 379 l. 3 Isidori ad Theodorum Scholasticum'. Reines.



ἀλλ' εἰς ἐν μόνον ὁρᾶν, τῆς ἐκκλησίας  
τὴν οἰκοδομήν, καὶ μηδὲν πρὸς ἀπέ-  
χθειαν ἢ χάριν ποιεῖν.

τούτων κολάζειν τὴν ἀμετρίαν καὶ  
ἐλεύθερον εἶναι, μήτε εἰς αὐθάδειαν  
ἀποκλίνοντα, μήτε εἰς δουλοπρέπειαν  
καταπίπτοντα.

The passage continues to deal with the subject of the different temperaments which have to be studied by the priest. The remainder of the citation, though it is apparently from the same source as the foregoing, bears no resemblance to any passage of the *de Sacerdotio*.

This quotation presents several points of difficulty. Does it, for example, point to the existence of another edition of the *de Sacerdotio* besides that which we possess: or can the nature and extent of the differences between Suidas and our text be otherwise explained?

The passage in which the quotation is embedded seems to be taken by Suidas from Cedrenus, who has written an account of Chrysostom under the thirteenth year of Arcadius. Now Cedrenus, though he expressly attributes to Chrysostom a part of the second extract (iii 16, as far as δύνηται μάχεσθαι) which differs only slightly from our text, quotes the following words, οὐκοῦν δέ . . . καταπίπτοντα as either from Chrysostom or from Isidore of Pelusium. It has been pointed out (see footnote 3 to the second extract) that the concluding words, at all events, of that extract occur in one of Isidore's Epistles. I have not been able to trace them in any other passage of Chrysostom's works: and Isidore—if this proves anything—uses the words in question as if they were his own.

Furthermore, in the part of the second extract which I have omitted there is introduced a quotation from Eccles. iii 1 LXX (καιρὸς τῷ παντὶ πράγματι, φησὶ Σολομῶν). This quotation is not in Montfaucon's Index to Chrysostom's Scriptural references: so it may be assumed that it is not from any other of his works, but must either be from a second edition of the *de Sac.* or not his at all. The latter conclusion seems to be pointed to by the words with which Cedrenus (unlike Suidas) introduces the quotation: they are (see Gaisford) ὅπερ οὖν καὶ ὁ μέγας Βασίλειος δηλῶν ἔφη τὸ τοῦ σοφωτάτου Σολομῶντος, Καιρὸς τῷ παντὶ πράγματι, εἶδέναι χρὴ ὅτι καὶ ταπεινότητος . . . (then follows the end of the second extract). This part then of the extract seems to be from a commentary by Basil the Great on Ecclesiastes, or from a sermon, perhaps, on the text Eccl. iii 1. I have not succeeded in tracing it.

Thus in view of the possibility, not to say probability, that the quotation in Suidas, although headed by a reference to Chrysostom (ὡς καὶ αὐτὸς λέγει), is really a *cento* from various writers, including, besides Chrysostom, Isidore of Pelusium and Basil of Caesarea, it cannot be held that that citation demonstrates the existence of another edition of the *de Sac.* in ancient times. And the second extract bears signs that it did not originally follow immediately after the first, but has been dislodged from its own proper context: for if we examine the end of iii 15 we find a metaphorical description at some length of the storms and tempests to which the peace of the Church is exposed: ὥσπερ γὰρ ἀγρίων ἀνέμων ἐξ ἐναντίας προσπесόντων τὸ τέως ἡσύχαζον πέλαγος μαίνεται ἐξαίφνης καὶ κορυφούται, καὶ τοὺς ἐμπλέοντας ἀπόλλυσιν· οὕτω καὶ ἡ τῆς ἐκκλησίας γαλήνη, δεξαμένη φθορέας ἀνθρώπων, ζάλης καὶ ναυαγίων πληροῦται πολλῶν. Now the second extract, which begins with references to 'so great a storm' (τοσοῦτον χειμῶνα), follows much more naturally after an elaborate description such as that just given than after a mere incidental allusion to the dangers of the sea such as that at the end of the first extract (μήτε κυβερνήτῃ [καλὸν] μίαν ὁδὸν εἶδέναι τῆς πρὸς τὰ πνεύματα μάχης). If then the second extract did not originally follow after the first, but came from another context, this proves a dislocation due not to Chrysostom, but to a later writer making selections from his writings: and the inference is natural that such an anthologist would add passages from other authors also, so that gradually a *cento* would be formed. Cedrenus perceived that part of the second extract (not quoted) was from Basil. But Suidas apparently assumed that the whole was by Chrysostom.

Some investigation of this question seemed desirable in view of the fact that neither Gaisford nor Bernhardt, two of the most recent editors of Suidas, seems to be aware that the two extracts given above are from the *de Sac.*, or to doubt that the whole citation is by one author, viz. Chrysostom.

### III. ANCIENT TRANSLATIONS OF THE *de Sac.* INTO OTHER LANGUAGES.

#### (a) Syriac.

The following Syriac MSS in the British Museum contain versions of portions of the *de Sac.* I have quoted the references according to the numeration of Montfaucon.

1. Add. 14,612 = Catal. 753. i. e. Saec. vi or vii. Contains the first book, which begins on fol. 53 v. of the MS (Montf. 362 A 1 to 371 B 2).
2. Add. 14,612 = Catal. 753. i. k. Saec. vi or vii. Contains discontinuous extracts from book iii, beginning on fol. 73 v. (Montf. 382 C 13 to 394 E 1).

3. Add. 17,173 = Catal. 762. 18. Saec. vii ('ut videtur'). Contains an extract from book iii, beginning on fol. 145 v. (Montf. 390 A 2 to 390 C 1).
4. Add. 17,191 = Catal. 864. 30. b. Saec. ix-x. A palimpsest: contains on fol. 43 v. sqq. an extract from book iv (Montf. 403 D 5 to 404 A 1).
5. Add. 17,193 = Catal. 861. 13, 14. Saec. ix (it is dated 874). Contains on fol. 5 v. sqq. an extract from book vi (Montf. 430 B 8 to 430 C 4).
6. Add. 18,187 = Catal. 801. 3. b. Saec. ix. Contains on fol. 71 r. sqq. an extract from book vi (Montf. 434 C 11 to 434 D 4).
7. Add. 14,611 = Catal. 813. 16 (2). Saec. x. Contains on fol. 1 r, sqq. an extract from book vi (Montf. 428 B 7 sqq.).
8. Add. 12,164. Saec. vi. On fol. 131 r. there is a quotation from the *de sac.* in a treatise by Philoxenos of Hierapolis (Montf. 394 B 4 sqq.). Also, on fol. 139 v. (from the same treatise) we have Montf. 376 A 9 sqq.
9. Add. 14,612 = One of the citations under 8 (Montf. 394 B 4), with one verbal difference.

I derive all my knowledge of these Syriac MSS from information kindly placed at my disposal by Mr E. W. Brooks. I learn from him that the Syriac version is a very loose translation, so that to make a complete collation would have amounted to writing out the whole. The variants which his translation suggests are in no case important. Occasionally words are omitted in the Syriac version which are supported by all other MS evidence<sup>1</sup>.

(b) Latin.

The only version in Latin which is of importance to the textual critic of the *de Sac.* is the *vetus interpretatio*. This ancient version, which seems to be derived from a Greek MS of fairly good quality<sup>2</sup>, was known to Bengel in an edition published soon after the discovery of printing; neither the date nor the place of printing was mentioned on the title-page. In 1504 another edition of this version was published at Basle, but with various alterations: and a third in 1524 at Paris *apud Petrum Gromorsum*.

The translator (*vetus interpres*) has not been identified with certainty. Some hold that he was Anianus the Deacon, of Celeda, who defended Pelagianism. See Jerome *Epp.* cxliii 2.

<sup>1</sup> I have said nothing of Arabic, Armenian, Coptic, Ethiopic, or Slavonic versions. The Arabic versions would probably come—I am informed—from the Syriac or the Coptic, and thus be comparatively late. Ethiopic versions also (if any exist) would almost certainly be as late as the fifteenth or sixteenth century. For versions in the other languages see Bardenhewer *Patrologia* 3 pp. 328-9.

<sup>2</sup> Probably akin to the MSS of group 3.



In conclusion, it seems advisable to mention that, of the many editions<sup>1</sup> which have been published of the *de Sacerdotio* alone, those of Hoeschel (1599), Hughes (1710: 2nd edition by Thirlby, 1712), Bengel (1725: new edition by Leo, 1834), and Dübner (1861) are of importance on the critical side. The best critical edition of the whole of Chrysostom is still Savile's: and although that great scholar did not add as much to our knowledge of the text of the *de Sac.* as he did in the case of other treatises, nevertheless his knowledge of patristic Greek and his sound judgement give his text a value which is beyond that to be attached to any other edition of the complete works of Chrysostom. Montfaucon's edition, although in many respects useful and convenient, is deficient from the point of view of textual criticism. This fact is widely recognized in regard to the other works of Chrysostom, especially the Homilies on St Matthew and on the Pauline Epistles, since the labours of Dr Field<sup>2</sup>, whose text, based on a thorough examination of the MS evidence, has supplanted that of Montfaucon in the Chrysostom of Migne's *Patrologie grecque*. So far as concerns the *de Sacerdotio* Montfaucon's critical notes are obviously open to the same charges of vagueness and lack of scientific method which Field brought against his critical notes on the Homilies just mentioned: the MSS referred to are not specified by name or designation, but are simply quoted as 'two', 'three', 'others', 'many', so that they are simply counted and not weighed: and while relatively insignificant readings are mentioned (e.g. on points of spelling), those of real importance are often omitted. To these allegations must, I fear, be added that of inaccuracy. Of the ten MSS which Montfaucon mentions as consulted by him for his text of the *de Sac.* I have consulted seven on all the passages of importance to the textual critic, with the result that I found even the vague 'two', 'three', 'many' cannot be trusted as representing the facts.

The following examples (out of a much larger number) will substantiate what has been said. I give first Montfaucon's critical notes (all bearing on the *de Sac.*), and then append my own remarks.

Montf. 363 A 13 (i 1) 'πορεύας abest a tribus MSS'. Seven of his ten MSS omit the word.

Montf. 365 A 3 (i 3 *init.*) 'maxima pars MSS τὸ τῆς ἐπισκοπῆς, quatuor MSS τὸ τῆς ἱερωσύνης'. Seven of his ten MSS read τὸ τῆς ἱερωσύνης, not to mention a large number of other MSS in the

<sup>1</sup> For a list of these see my forthcoming edition (Introduction § 6): or Lomler *Ioh. Chrysostomi opera praestantissima* (Rudolstadt, 1837), Introduction.

<sup>2</sup> See Field's edition of the *Hom. in Matt.* (Cambridge, 1839), *Praefatio* pp. xiii sqq.: 'codices non modo non contulit bonus monachus, sed interdum, . . . ne inspexit quidem . . . ne unum quidem (codicem) nominatim appellat, sed "unum", "duo", "alios", hoc vel illud legere monens umbris ac simulacris lectorem ludit', &c.

Bibl. Nationale. I have not found τὸ τῆς ἐπισκοπῆς in any single MS.

- Montf. 365 B 6 (i 3) 'non pauci MSS εἰ νέον οὕτως ἀγαθὸν . . . ἐπιγέδαιον, quae lectio corrupta est'. All MSS consulted by me, including seven of Montfaucon's, read εἰ νέον κτλ. (as above).
- Montf. 366 C 8 (i 4) 'quatuor MSS τῶν δὲ λοιπῶν, quae lectio non spernenda'. I find no trace of another reading in any MS.
- Montf. 369 A 11 (i 5) 'ἦττον deest in tribus MSS'. The fact is that ἦττον has no authority at all except as a marginal reading in one MS of the worst class.
- Montf. 370 C 7 (i 5) 'quatuor MSS ἔσπασε τοῦ δοθέντος'. Seven of Montfaucon's ten MSS have this reading. Nothing is said of the remarkable variant σπουδάσαι τοῦ δοθέντος . . . λαβεῖν, although that is in at least two MSS of his list.
- Montf. 386 D 2 (iii 9) 'alii ἐπιβουλαί, εὐχαὶ κατὰ'. Every MS consulted by me gives this reading. For Montfaucon's reading, which was ὀργαί or εὐχαί, I can find no MS authority.
- Montf. 392 C 4 (iii 14) 'aliqui εἰ . . . θεὸς τοῦτο ἀνήγγελε'. A very large number of MSS (fifteen out of twenty) gives this reading. I can find no authority for Montfaucon's ἐγνώρισε, which he prints in the text.

His omissions are also noteworthy: e.g. 363 A 6 (i 1) where he says nothing of ψυχῇ, 364 B 8 (i 2) where he is silent with regard to εἰπεῖν omitted by nearly all MSS. Matters of personal judgement I have reserved to the end: but it is not unreasonable to say that in his treatment both of the passages already given, where he prefers an inferior reading, and also of others, for instance Montf. 378 A 4 (ii 5) where he fails to see that τῆς λήθης is imperatively required by the context, and that τῆς ἀληθείας (his reading) is due to the preceding τὸ ἀληθές—in all these instances he shews himself deficient in critical instinct and insight.

The reprint of Montfaucon's edition (Paris, Gaume Frères, 1839) gives a somewhat better text, due to the editor Theobald Fix, who, as he has told us in a noteworthy passage, saw with increasing clearness, as the reprint proceeded, the value of Savile's edition, and used it more and more freely to correct the text of Montfaucon<sup>1</sup>. Thus so far

<sup>1</sup> See vol. xiii of the reprint, *Epilogus Novae Editionis* p. iii 'is (usus editionis Savilii) per universa volumina duodecim Montfauconiano operi incredibiliter profuit. Sed quominus ab ipso statim initio et ubique penitus omnia ex Saviliana transumerentur quibus emendari potuit, obstitit primo disertum testimonium Benedictinorum de melioribus et copiosioribus subsidiis ex quibus se . . . orationem Chrysostomicam constituisse profitentur . . . Maiorem ei (i.e. Savile) procedente opere auctoritatem, evidentibus documentis tandem cedentes, debebamus tribuere. The *de sac.*, which has gained less than other parts of Chrysostom from this revision, is in vol. i, and thus was reprinted before the superiority of Savile had been recognized by the editor.

as the text of Chrysostom is concerned we have the authority of one of Montfaucon's own countrymen, himself a scholar of no mean repute, for regarding the best complete edition to be that of an Englishman, Sir Henry Savile.

J. ARBUTHNOT NAIRN.

## ADVERSARIA PATRISTICA.

### I. 'WHO IS MY NEIGHBOUR?'

IN all three Synoptic Gospels (Matt. xix 19, xxii 39: Marc. xii 31: Luc. x 27) and in St Paul's Epistle to the Romans (xiii 9) the precept 'Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself' is repeated from the Old Testament (Lev. xix 18). In St Paul and in the first passage in St Matthew's Gospel, it is only introduced as a summary of those commandments of the Decalogue which deal with different aspects of man's duty to his neighbour. In the other three gospel passages it is the antithesis and the complement of the commandment 'Thou shalt love the Lord thy God'.

'And who is my neighbour?' was the further question put by the lawyer in the story as recorded by St Luke: and our Lord's answer to this further question was given in the form of the parable of the Good Samaritan. It did not need to be wedded to any theory of allegorical exegesis, to see in Christ Himself the Good Samaritan who healed the wounds of bruised and battered humanity: no Christian expositor could fail to find on these lines the primary application of the parable. But if so, it followed, when the language of the gospel was pressed, that Christ, ὁ ποιήσας τὸ ἔλεος, was the 'neighbour' to him that fell among the thieves, and therefore 'neighbour' also to all who, with the lawyer, ask the question what they must do to inherit eternal life and hear the answer that eternal life follows on the love of God and one's 'neighbour', —that is, on this interpretation, of God and Christ; as it is said elsewhere, 'This is eternal life, that they may know Thee the only God and Jesus Christ whom Thou hast sent'.

Such we may suppose to have been the genesis of the curious and at first sight purely trivial exegesis of ὁ πλῆσιον which the examples that I proceed to cite will shew to have been normal among Latin writers down to the end of the fourth century.

1. Cyprian *Ad Fortunatum* §2 'Quod Deus solus colendus sit' (Hartel i 322, 323). Under this head St Cyprian quotes Matt. iv 10 (= Luc. iv 8), Exod. xx 3, Deut. xxxii 39, Apoc. xiv 6, 7, and then continues 'sic et Dominus in euangelio commemorationem facit primi



et secundi praecepti dicens AVDI ISRAHEL. DOMINVS DEVS TVVS DOMINVS VNVS EST, ET DILIGES DOMINVM DEVM TVVM DE TOTO CORDE TVO ET DE TOTA ANIMA TVA ET DE TOTA VIRTUTE TVA. HOC PRIMVM, ET SECVNDVM SIMILE HVIC : DILIGES PROXIMVM TIBI TAMQVAM TE. IN HIS DVOBVS PRAECEPTIS TOTA LEX PENDET ET PROPHETAET. et iterum HAEC EST AVTEM VITA AETERNA, VT COGNOScant TE SOLVM ET VERVM DEVM ET QVEM MISISTI IESVM CHRISTVM.' Here, since the subject of the whole chapter is that God only is to be worshipped, there would be no point in reciting the 'second commandment' as well as the first, unless both fell under the title of the chapter, i.e. unless the reader was intended to interpret the two commands as enjoining respectively the love of God and of Christ. And that interpretation is further emphasized by the (on this hypothesis) exactly parallel sentence next quoted from St John's Gospel.

2. Pseudo-Cyprian *de Rebaptismate* §13 (Hartel iii 85). 'Nihil proficit qui non habet dilectionem Dei et Christi, qui per legem et prophetas et in euangelio in hoc modo praedicatur: DILIGES DOMINVM DEVM TVVM IN TOTO CORDE TVO ET IN TOTA ANIMA TVA ET IN TOTA COGITATIONE TVA, ET DILIGES PROXIMVM TIBI TAMQVAM TE. IN HIS ENIM DVOBVS PRAECEPTIS TOTA LEX PENDET ET PROPHETAET.'

3. Hilary of Poitiers *Comm. in Mattheum*.

*in Matt. xix 19* (ed. Verona, A.D. 1730, I 762, 763). 'ADOLESCENS tamquam populus insolens et glorians in lege confidit, cui tamen obsecutus ex nullo est. iussus enim fuerat NON OCCIDERE: prophetas interfecerat. NON MOECHARI: hic corruptelam fidei et legi adulterium intulerat et deos alienos adorauerat. NON FURARI: hic antequam libertatem credendi in fide Christus redderet, furto legis praecepta dissoluit. NON FALSVM TESTEM FIERI: hic Christum negavit ex mortuis. PATREM ET MATREM iussus est HONORARE: hic ipse se a Dei patris atque ab ecclesiae matris familia abdicavit. PROXIMVM TAMQVAM SE AMARE praeceptus est: hic Christum, qui omnium nostrum corpus adsumpsit et unicuique nostrum adsumpti corporis conditione factus est proximus, usque in poenam crucis persecutus est.'

*in Matt. xxii 39* (ib. 782). 'MANDATVM sequens et SIMILE significat idem esse et officii et meriti in utroque. neque enim aut Dei sine Christo aut Christi sine Deo potest utilis esse dilectio. alterum igitur sine altero nullum ad salutem nostram adfert profectum. et ideo IN HIS DVOBVS MANDATIS TOTA LEX PENDET ET PROPHETAET; quia lex et prophetia omnis Christi deputabatur aduentui, et aduentus eius per supplementum eorum cognoscendi Dei intelligentiam praestabat. nam de proximis frequenter admonuimus non alium intellegendum esse quam Christum: cum enim patrem matrem filios caritati Dei praeponere inhibeamur, quomodo dilectio proximi diligendi Deum SIMILE

MANDATVM est, aut relinquetur aliquid quod amoris Dei possit aequari, nisi quia similitudo praecepti parem caritatem diligendi Patrem et Filium exigebat ?'

4. Anonymus *Tractatus in Symbolum Nicaenum* (A.D. 365-380).

'Deum uerum de Deo uero': hoc et Saluator in euangelio Iohannis HAEC EST AETERNA VITA AETERNA UT COGNOSCANT TE SOLVM ET VERVM DEVM, ET QVEM MISISTI IESVM CHRISTVM. monstrauit se sic debere intellegi uerum Deum quemadmodum patrem; quomodo et saepe, repetens quod in lege praedicarat, DILIGES DOMINVM DEVM TVVM EX TOTO CORDE TVO ET TOTA ANIMA TVA, similiter et PROXIMVM TVVM qui non intelligentibus qui esset PROXIMVS et nescientibus patefecit, QUID VOS VIDETVR DE CHRISTO? . . . et in Luca cum Pharisaeus PROXIMVM non intellexeret, hominis uulnerati fecit comparisonem, qui Ipsius pietate curatus est.'

5. Ambrose *Expositio euangelii Lucae*, vii 69: on Luc. x 27 (ed. Schenkl [vol. xxxii, part 3, of the *Vienna Corpus script. eccl. lat.*] 1902, p. 311).

'Et ex ipso primo legis capitulo docet esse legis ignaros, probans quod in principio statim lex et Patrem et Filium praedicauerit, incarnationis quoque dominicae adnuntiauerit sacramentum, dicens DILIGES DOMINVM DEVM TVVM ET DILIGES PROXIMVM TVVM SICVT TE IPSVM unde Dominus ait ad legis peritum HOC FAC ET VIVES. at ille, qui nesciret proximum suum quia non credebat in Christum, respondit QVIS EST MEVS PROXIMVS? itaque qui Christum nescit nescit et legem.'

6. Pseudo-Chrysostom *Opus Imperfectum in Mattheum*.

*Hom.* xxxiii (Chrysostomi Opera, ed. Bened. VI cxxxviii): on Matt. xix 19. 'ET DILIGES PROXIMVM TVVM SICVT SEIPSV. Sed non dilexerunt Christum factum sibi PROXIMVM secundum carnis cognitionem.'

*Hom.* xlii (ib. VI clxxxi, clxxxii): on Matt. xxii 39. 'Quis est PROXIMVS noster? Christus, qui suscipiens carnem nostram factus est proximus noster; sicut in parabola illa Christus ostendit, cum interrogat Pharisaeus ET QVIS EST MEVS PROXIMVS? introducit hominem uulneratum a latronibus et a sacerdotibus despectum, a Samaritano autem receptum, qui est ipse Christus . . . ut autem simpliciter intellegamus, PROXIMVM nostrum omnem hominem esse fidelem, qui hominem amat fidelem simile est sicut qui amat Deum, quia imago Dei est homo.'

The 'simple understanding' of the passage is not indeed unexampled among Latin writers. It is found not only in Chrysostom and Basil (see the quotations in the *Catena Aurea*), but in Jerome: not only in Irenaeus (IV xii 2 'Deum diligere ex toto corde et ceteros quemadmodum se', IV xiii 4 'super omnia diligere eum, et proximum sicut seipsum, homo autem hominis proximus'), but in Tertullian (*de cultu*

~~ferre~~ *zinarum* ii 2 'expingamus nos, ut alteri pereant? ubi ergo est DILIGES PROXIMUM TVVM SICVT SEIPSVM?'). Both explanations are found in Origen: the 'simple' alone in the commentary on St Matthew (at xix 19 and also at xxii 39), the simple and the allegorical in the commentary on Romans (xiii 9: ed. de la Rue iv 657), a quotation from which will bring this note to a fitting close. 'Puto tamen quod et in hoc uoluit nos apostolus aliquid compendiosius discere. nam si diligentius requiras quis sit proximus noster, discas in euangelio illum esse proximum nostrum qui uenit et iacentes nos uulneratos a latronibus et nudatos a daemonibus iumento corporis sui superposuit et ad stabulum ecclesiae detulit et stabulario pro cura nostra et diligentia (uel ipsi Paulo uel omni qui ecclesiae praeest) duos denarios noui ac ueteris Testamenti ad nostrae curae concessit expensas. hunc ergo proximum si diligamus, omnem legem et uniuersa mandata in ipsius amore complemus.'

## II. 'LET THINE ALMS SWEAT IN THY HANDS.'<sup>1</sup>

It is well known that in the *Didache*, as Bryennios published it, there is interpolated after the heading of the Doctrine of the Two Ways of Life and Death a cento of passages from the Sermon on the Mount (ch. §§ 3-6). This section is absent from the Two Ways as they reappear in the Epistle of Barnabas, in the 'Apostolic Church Order', in the fragment of a Latin version published by Gebhardt (after Pez) in Harnack's edition of the *Didache* p. 277, in the Athanasian or pseudo-Athanasian *Σύνταγμα Διδασκαλίας*, and in the pseudo-Athanasian *Fides Nicaena*: the seventh book of the *Apostolic Constitutions* is in fact the only authority so far known which offers any parallel to this part of the *Didache*.

At the end of the Christian interpolation occur the words, 'Ἀλλὰ καὶ περὶ τούτου εἰρηται· Ἰδρωσάτω ἡ ἐλεημοσύνη σου εἰς τὰς χεῖράς σου μέχρις ἂν γνῶς τίνι δῶς. Scriptural authority is clearly claimed for this clause, and it was accordingly included by Resch in his collection of Agrapha as Logion 35 (*Texte und Untersuchungen* v [A.D. 1889] pp. 111, 212). Resch was at first unable to produce any real parallel: but in a supplementary note on p. 288 he drew attention to a passage detected by Loofs in Cassiodorus's Exposition of Psalm xl, and again on p. 464 to further passages in Petrus Comestor and Piers Plowman, all of which were undeniably relevant. Harnack, whose encyclopaedic knowledge had put Resch in possession of this new material, made some further additions in his own *Altchristliche Litteratur* i (A.D. 1893) p. 88: 'Augustin Sermon in Ps. 102 c. 12; 146 c. 17; Gregor. Magn. Moral. III 30; Bernhard, ep. 95 (T. CLXXXII p. 228 Migne)': but there seems to be an error in the reference to St Gregory, which should

<sup>1</sup> The merit of what is new in this note belongs primarily to Dom H. L. Ramsay of Downside Abbey, who kindly communicated his material to me.



apparently be not *Moralia* III 30 but *Reg. Past.* III 20. These references I am able, by Dom Ramsay's help, to supplement with one more from St Augustine (*Enarr. in Ps.* ciii *Serm.* 3 § 10), one more from Cassiodorus (*in Ps.* ciii 14), and one from Abelard (*Sermo de Eleemosyna*).

To save the time of those who may wish to pursue the subject further, I subjoin in full the citations hitherto discovered of the Agraphon in question:—

1. *Didache* i 6. ἀλλὰ καὶ περὶ τούτου δὲ εἴρηται· Ἰδρωσάτω ἡ ἀλεγομένη σου εἰς τὰς χεῖράς σου, μέχρις ἂν γνῶς τίνι δῶς.

2. Augustine *Enarr. in Ps.* cii § 12 (ed. Antwerp IV 841). 'Mendicus te quaerit, iustum tu quaere. de alio enim dictum est *Omni petenti te da*, et de alio dictum est *Desudet eleemosyna in manu tua donec inuenias iustum cui eam tradas*. et si diu non inuenitur, diu quaere, inuenies.'

3. Id. *Enarr. in Ps.* ciii *Serm.* 3 § 10 (ed. Antwerp IV 868). 'Sicut enim de illo qui te quaerit dictum est *Omni petenti te da*, sic de illo quem tu debes quaerere dictum est *Sudet eleemosyna in manu tua donec inuenias iustum cui eam tradas*.'

4. Id. *Enarr. in Ps.* cxlvi § 17 (ed. Antwerp IV 1228). 'Alius te quaerit indigens, alium tu debes quaerere indigentem. utrumque dictum est, fratres mei, et *Omni petenti te da* (modo lectum est), et alio loco scriptura dicit *Sudet eleemosyna in manu tua quousque inuenias iustum cui eam tradas*. alius est qui te quaerit, alium tu debes quaerere. nec eum qui te quaerit relinquo inanem, *Omni enim petenti te da*: sed alius est quem tu debes quaerere *Sudet eleemosyna in manu tua quousque inuenias iustum cui des*.'

5. Cassiodorus *in Ps.* xl (Migne *P. L.* lxx 295). 'Sed licet multi patres de hac re plura conscripserint, oritur tamen inter eos de hoc articulo nonnulla dissensio. legitur enim *Omni petenti te tribue*: scriptum est etiam *Desudet eleemosyna in manu tua donec inuenias iustum cui eam tradas*. sed si omnes iustos credimus, imperatam constringimus largitatem.'

6. Id. *in Ps.* ciii 14 (Migne *P. L.* lxx 733). 'PRODVCAT FOENVM IVMENTIS: id est eleemosynas faciat his qui passim petunt, de quibus dictum est *Omni petenti te tribue*. . . HERBAM VERO SERVITVTI HOMINVM, hoc est ut illi necessaria tribuantur de quo scriptum est *Desudet eleemosyna in manu tua donec inuenias iustum cui eam tradas*.'

7. Gregory *Regula Pastoralis* iii 20 (ed. Bened. II 64). 'Ne sub obtentu largitatis ea quae possident inutiliter spargant, audiant quod scriptum est *Sudet eleemosyna in manu tua*.'

8. Abelard *de Eleemosyna Sermo* (Opera, ed. Cousin, i 552). 'Sudet sicut scriptum est *eleemosyna in manu tua donec inuenias qui dignus sit*.'

9. Bernard *Ep.* xcv (to Thurstan, archbishop of York: Migne *P. L.*

ch. xii 228). 'Ideo ait *Desudet eleemosyna in manu tua donec inuenias* [al. *videas*] *instum cui des.*'

10. Petrus Comestor *Historia scholastica: hist. Deuteronomii* cv. 'Dictum est *Desudet elemosina in manu tua donec inuenias cui des.*'

### III. 'FIGURA CORPORIS MEI' IN TERTULLIAN.

What is the true meaning of *figura* in Tertullian? The question is not quite so easy to answer as it might seem to be on superficial examination: and even one who is not acquainted at first hand with the history of philosophical terms may venture to contribute some material which ought to be taken into account before a conclusion is finally reached. It is well known that in a passage of his book against Marcion Tertullian paraphrases or explains the 'Hoc est corpus meum' of the Gospel in the words 'id est figura corporis mei': and there have not been wanting those who have claimed him, on the strength of this language, as an exception to the type of thought prevalent in the Early Church in respect to the holy Eucharist. Nor is it to be denied that instances can be quoted from his works in which our own word 'figure' is the obvious or even the only possible representation of 'figura': and since this is not denied, it will be enough to adduce a single example, *de monog.* 6 'aliud sunt figurae, aliud formae'. But while this is true, there are two other considerations which are equally true and which are more likely to be overlooked: the first, that our English word has gained, through the use of the adjective 'figurative' and the like, associations of unreality which make it, in many passages of Tertullian, a quite unsuitable rendering of 'figura': the second, that there are traces, in both classical and Christian writers, of the employment of 'figura' in a sense incompatible with any shade of meaning ever attached to the word 'figure' in our own tongue.

#### 1. 'Figura' in other writers.

Seneca *Ep.* 65 § 7: 'Deus . . . plenus his figuris est, quas Plato *lôéas* appellat, immortales, immutabiles, infatigabiles.' Here 'figurae' can only be represented by 'forms'.

Original Old Latin version of Phil. ii 6 (as quoted in Cyprian *Testimonia* ii 23, iii 39, and in an anonymous commentary on the Nicene Creed<sup>1</sup>, c. A. D. 365-380): 'in figura Dei constitutus [= *Gr. ἐν μορφῇ θεοῦ ὑπάρχων*] non rapinam arbitratus est esse se aequalem Deo sed se [ipsum] exinaniuit formam serui accipiens.'

Epistle of Damasus and the council which met at Rome to consider the case of Auxentius to the Eastern bishops (see Lucas Holsten *Collectio Romana* i 165): 'ut Patrem Filium Spiritumque sanctum unius deitatis, unius uirtutis, unius figurae, unius credere oporteret substantiae.'

<sup>1</sup> The same (hitherto unpublished) commentary from which the quotation on p. 592 *supra* has been drawn.

Here, as in the last case, it is obvious that 'figure' will in no sense represent the Latin 'figura'.

Nicene Creed according to the Gallic version (see my *Ecc. Ovid. Monumenta Iuris Antiqua* i 174): 'Qui propter nos homines et propter nostram salutem descendit et corpus atque figuram hominis suscepit.' This represents in Greek τὸν δι' ἡμᾶς τοὺς ἀνθρώπους καὶ διὰ τὴν ἡμετέραν σωτηρίαν κατελθόντα καὶ σαρκωθέντα, ἐνανθρωπήσαντα: and, though it is not possible to speak with the same certainty here, it is difficult to believe that the sense of ἐνανθρωπήσαντα, 'made man', is satisfied by anything like the meaning 'figure'.

2. Some uses of 'figura' in Tertullian.

*adv. Marcionem* iv 40: 'Acceptum panem et distributum discipulis corpus suum illum fecit, HOC EST CORPVS MEVM dicendo, id est figura corporis mei. figura autem non fuisset, nisi ueritatis esset corpus. ceterum uacua res, quod est phantasma, figuram capere non posset: aut si propterea panem corpus sibi finxit quia corporis carebat ueritate, ergo panem debuit tradere pro nobis.' To this passage and to what follows presumably refer the words of *adv. Marc.* v 8: 'Proinde panis et calicis sacramento iam in euangelio probauimus corporis et sanguinis dominici ueritatem aduersus phantasma Marcionis.'

*Apol.* 21: 'Iste igitur Dei radius . . . delapsus in uirginem quandam et in utero eius caro figuratus nascitur homo deo mixtus.' I do not know how we can translate the word here otherwise than by 'given the form of flesh'.

*adv. Marc.* ii 21: 'Longum esset figuras argumentorum omnium creatoris expandere.' Perhaps this should be translated 'outlines'.

*Scorpiace* 12: 'Cui potius figuram uocis suae declarasset quam cui effigiem glorie suae reuelauit, Petro Iohanni Iacobo et postea Paulo?'

Enough has perhaps been said to shew the inadequacy of 'figure' as a constant rendering. In the passage of Tertullian from which we started it is clear that, so far from conveying the faintest suggestion of unreality, it corresponds in some very definite way to the reality of Christ's human nature. I imagine that the Greek word which would best express Tertullian's underlying thought here would be not σχῆμα but χαρακτήρ.

In conclusion, the idea may be thrown out that the motive for introducing 'figura' into the passage at all was that the phrase '[id est] figura corporis mei' occurred in the liturgy with which he was familiar. In (pseudo?) Ambrose *de Sacramentis* iv 5 the words of the consecration prayer are thus given: 'Dicit sacerdos: Fac nobis, inquit, hanc oblationem adscriptam ratam rationabilem, quod figura est corporis et sanguinis domini nostri Iesu Christi qui pridie quam pateretur', &c.<sup>1</sup> And similar phraseology at the same point may be found in the Greek

<sup>1</sup> I owe the reference to Dr Swete's article, *J. T. S.* iii 173 n.



rite of bishop Serapion of Thmuis (*J. T. S.* i 105): Σοὶ προσηγάκαμεν τὸν ἄρον τοῦτον, τὸ ὁμοίωμα τοῦ σώματος τοῦ μονογενοῦς. ὁ ἄρον οὗτος τοῦ ἁγίου σώματος ἐστὶν ὁμοίωμα, ὅτι ὁ κύριος Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς ἐν ᾗ νυκτὶ παρεδόδο κ.τ.λ. It is possible, then, that Tertullian, conscious that 'figura' stood in the canon of his own rite, and anticipating the use that his Marcionite opponent might make of it in the Docetic interest, adopts the word himself and gives it its Catholic interpretation. But whether that is so or not, it remains true that Tertullian is here using Eucharistic doctrine as a weapon against Marcion's Docetism, and that no interpretation of 'figura' can be admitted which does not square with that cardinal fact.

#### IV. THE PSEUDO-CYPRIANIC *De Montibus Sina et Sion* WRITTEN IN ROME.

Among the many interesting and early documents heaped together by the editors of St Cyprian in the appendix to his genuine works, few are more interesting, and none certainly is earlier, than the *de montibus Sina et Sion*. Dr Harnack, who was perhaps the first to concentrate attention on these pseudo-Cyprianic writings, has only dealt briefly with the *de montibus* (*Texte und Untersuchungen*, N.F. v 3, pp. 135-147), and of its place of origin he confines himself to saying that 'sie ist höchst wahrscheinlich afrikanischen Ursprungs, wie der Bibeltext beweist'. And it is no doubt true that in the case of any book later than the date (say) of St Cyprian, the use of the 'African' biblical text would point to Africa. But Harnack himself puts the *de montibus* in the first half of the third century, and it would be a quite unwarrantable assumption that at that early time the 'African' text was not in use outside Africa. The truth is, that the term 'African text', like the larger term 'Western text' itself, is only a tentative definition of a type of biblical version by the name of the locality where its use was first clearly established. We now know in fact that the Western text was used before the end of the second century not only in the West but by Clement of Alexandria and by the Syriac translators: and if for convenience sake we still speak of the 'Western text', we do not in the least mean to prejudge thereby any question as to its ultimate origin. In much the same way we mean, by the phrase 'African text', the earliest form of the Latin bible, for which the evidence first becomes overwhelming in connexion with St Cyprian; and we do not (or ought not to) prejudge the question where the Cyprianic bible first saw the light. In my own opinion, if I may express it here, the probabilities point to Rome as being the source not only of the African creed and the African liturgy, but of the African bible also. No doubt by about the middle of the third century the Roman version of the Latin bible had begun to diverge considerably from the African: but there is

nothing in that to cause surprise, or to constitute even a presumption that the *de montibus*, if written anywhere near the beginning of the third century, could not have been written in Rome.

However that may be, it is the purpose of this note to bring forward, from the contents of the *de montibus*, a piece of positive and tangible evidence which seems to point indubitably to Rome as the residence of the writer and of those whom he addressed: evidence indeed (as I think) so clear that I cannot help wondering that it has not, to my knowledge, hitherto been adduced. The tract concludes with a sort of parable, in which our Lord is represented as the servant in charge of a vineyard, the intrinsic interest of which will be a sufficient excuse for quoting it at length (*Cypriani Opera*, ed. Hartel, iii 117. 11—118. 17):—

‘Christus custos uineae suae, dicente Salomone POSVERUNT ME CVSTODEM IN VINEAM. inuenimus uero in conuersu huius mundi in similitudinem spiritalem figuraliter esse uineam habentem dominum et possessorem suum. uero tempore maturo prope dies uindemiarum ponunt in mediam uineam custodem puerum in alto ligno media uinea confixo, et in eo ligno faciunt speculum quadratum de harundinibus quassatis, et per singula latera quadraturae speculi faciunt cauerna terna, quae fiunt cauerna duodecim: per quam quadraturam cauernorum custos puer omnem uineam perspiciebat custodiat cantans, ne uiator ingrediens uineam dominicam sibi adsignatam uexet uel furans uiam uineae uestiget<sup>1</sup>. quod si inportunus fur egens in uineam uoluerit introire et uiam demere, illic puer, sollicitus de uinea sua, deintus de speculo dat uocem maledicens et comminans, ne in uineam uiator fur audeat accedere, dicens “Rectum ambula”: fur autem timens uocem pueri sibi comminantem refugit de uinea, speculum uidet, uocem audit, puerum intus in speculo sibi comminantem non uidet, timens post uiam suam uadit.

hic conuersus saecularis similatus gratiae spiritali. ita est enim et in populo deifico sicut in uinea terrena. uinea dominica et spiritalis plebs est christianorum, quae custoditur iusso Dei patris a puero Christo in ligni speculum exaltatum. quod si uiator diabolus perambulans uiam saecularem, si ausus fuerit de uinea spiritale hominem de plebe dominica separare et uexare, statim a puero caeleste correptus et flagris spiritalibus emendatus exul[ul]ans<sup>2</sup> ad centesimum effugit in locis aridis et desertis. hic custos est puer filius dominicus qui uineam suam sibi a patre commendatam saluandam et reseruandam [custodiat]<sup>3</sup> . . .’

The feature to which I wish to draw attention occurs in the explanation of the parable. The thief convicted of stealing grapes from the

<sup>1</sup> *Furans . . . uestiget* is the reading of  $\mu^*$ : *fures . . . uestigent* of  $\mu^3 T$ , followed by Hartel.

<sup>2</sup> *Exulans*  $\mu^3$  Hartel: *exululans*  $\mu^*$  T.

<sup>3</sup> *Saluandam et reseruandam custodiat*  $\mu$ : *saluandam et reseruandam* T: *saluandam tenet et reseruandam* Hartel.

vineyard is scourged and then banished 'ad centesimum', to the hundredth milestone. Hundredth from where? Why, of course, from Rome. The hundredth milestone was the well-known limit of the jurisdiction of the Praefectus Urbi: and though I believe that at a later period traces may be found of a similar jurisdiction in relation to other Western cities, such as Milan and Carthage, the reference would have been meaningless, at the date of the *de montibus*, for any other place than the capital<sup>1</sup>. The limit of jurisdiction itself, according to Mommsen<sup>2</sup>, must have been derived from the customary habit of the City Prefect of inflicting sentences of banishment beyond the hundredth milestone, so that sentences of this sort—though the exact scope is never mentioned before imperial times—must be 'relatively old'<sup>3</sup>.

For an example of this penalty in the fourth century, it may be worth while to cite the following passages from the rescript of Gratian to Aquilinus, Vicar of Rome, in the matter of the controversy between Pope Damasus and his rival:—

'serenitas nostra mitibus persuasit edictis ut omnes qui impios coetus profanata religione temptarent uel ad centesimum Vrbis milliare pellerentur. . . :

post haec nisi omnes, ut nominatim iussionis nostrae summa complectitur uel quos turbas istiusmodi molientes sanctorum episcoporum concilia consensu ostenderint, ultra centesimum milliarium ab Vrbe depuleris, atque earum ciuitatum finibus extorres esse praeceperis

<sup>1</sup> A law of Arcadius and Honorius in A. D. 400 banishes any deposed bishop who attempts to regain his see to a distance of 100 miles from it: 'Quicumque residentibus sacerdotibus fuerit episcopali loco detrusus et nomine, si aliquid uel contra custodiam uel contra quietem publicam moliri fuerit deprehensus rursusque sacerdotium petere a quo uidetur expulsus, procul ab ea urbe quam infecit secundum legem diuinae memoriae Gratiani centum milibus uitam agat'. As a matter of fact the law of Gratian (if, as appears probable, the reference is to the passage quoted immediately below) was concerned, in so far as it mentions the hundredth milestone, only with Rome. With regard to Milan, all that can be said is that Symmachus, when in 391 he asked as consul for the restoration of the Altar of Victory, was hurried from the imperial presence at Milan, and set down at the hundredth milestone: [Prosper] *liber de promissionibus et praedictionibus Dei* iii 38 'quem statim a suis aspectibus pulsum in centesimo lapide rhedae non stratae impositum ea die manere praecepit'. See Dill *Roman Society in the Last Century of the Western Empire* p. 26.

<sup>2</sup> *Römisches Strafrecht*, 1899, p. 970. Instances of banishment to a distance of 400, 500, and 200 miles, are all found in republican or very early imperial times; oddly enough no specific mention of the 100 miles' limit seems to be found before Ulpian (or the *de montibus*).

<sup>3</sup> Dio Cassius in the imaginary conversation which he makes Augustus hold with Agrippa and Maecenas includes among the latter's suggestions to the emperor the creation of an urban prefecture with jurisdiction up to 750 stadia [the same Greek equivalent for 100 miles is found in Dio iv 26]: *πολιάρχος δὲ δὴ τις . . . ἀποδευκένυσθαι . . . ἵνα δὲ τῆς πόλεως προστατῇ . . . καὶ τοῖς ἐξ αὐτῆς μέχρι πενήκοντα καὶ ἑπτακοσίαν σταδίων κέρη.*



quarum plebem uel ecclesias uel per se uel per simile sui uulgi exercent, praeter aestimationis iniuriam cuius apud bonos non levis iactura est, piaculum neglectae sanctionis incurres.'

That such penalties as scourging and expulsion from Rome should have been inflicted for the mere theft of a few grapes from the vineyard may well astonish the reader who recalls the liberal permission of the Mosaic law to the wayfarer to pluck ears from the standing corn. But the crime, if such we may call it, is still visited with Draconian severity among the Swiss cantons at the present day, and the Roman law of the Twelve Tables appears to have singled out the stealing of crops by night for special penalties: 'frugem aratro quaesitam furtim noctu pauisse ac secuisse puberi xii tabulis capitale erat, suspensumque Cereri necari iubebant grauius quam in homicidio conuictum; impubem praetoris arbitratu uerberari noxiamue duplionemue decerni' (Pliny *H.N.* xviii 3. 12, cited by Mommsen, p. 772 n. 4). In the third century A.D., as we learn from a quotation of Ulpian in the *Digest* of Justinian<sup>1</sup>, civil process in the case of theft had been generally superseded by criminal process. From the same writer's book *de officio proconsulis* (*Dig.* xlvii 11. 7) it appears that certain categories of thieves 'fustibus castigantur' or 'ad tempus relegantur'. And 'abigei' (thieves who made a practice of stealing cattle and sheep) might be condemned, according to a rescript of Hadrian's (see again Ulpian in *Dig.* xlvii 14), to the mines, or even in extreme cases to death. We may conclude, therefore, that the penalties indicated in the *de montibus* would hardly have been considered excessive, 'particularly if the *furtum* was *manifestum*' [as the simile in the *de montibus* obviously implies] 'or the thief was a *persona humilis* or slave'.

#### V. FRAGMENT OF AN EARLY MS OF ST ATHANASIUS.

Seeing that the papers by Bishop Wallis and Professor Lake, in previous numbers of the *JOURNAL* (iii 97 [Oct. 1901], 245 [Jan. 1902]: v 108 [Oct. 1903]), constitute the fullest account to be found anywhere, so far as I know<sup>2</sup>, of the manuscript authority for the writings of St Athanasius, there seems to be a special advantage in calling attention here to the investigations of an Italian scholar, Dr. G. Bertolotto, published in the *Atti della Società Ligure di storia patria*, 1892, pp. 1-63. Bertolotto reproduces the correspondence which passed in the year 1602 between Rome and Genoa, when Clement VIII vainly asked after a MS of St Athanasius which Cardinal Sirleto (died 1581) had borrowed,

<sup>1</sup> *Dig.* xlvii 2. 93. For this and the following references I am indebted to the kindness of Prof. Goudy.

<sup>2</sup> When these lines were written I had not yet come across the full account of the MSS in von der Goltz's recent defence of the genuineness of the work *de uirginitate* ascribed to Athanasius.

as it appears, from the collection which Francesco Sauli, bishop of Brugnato, had bequeathed at his death in 1528 to the Hospital for Incurables at Genoa. The said MS is thus described: 'Tra i libri dell' Hospitaletto di Genova era un libro greco scritto a mano, molto antico, il quale haveva nel principio due versi greci in lode di esso Santo, et 66 o 67 tra epistole, apologie, et diversi trattati dell' istesso autore: il qual libro fu portato a Roma vivente il cardinale Sirletto bo. mem.; et se hoggi non si ritrova nell' Hospitaletto, sarà tra' libri che furno di mons. Giustiniano vescovo di Ginevra, in mano del quale fu rimandato. Oltre di questo, nel detto Hospitaletto vi sono delle opere di S. Athanasio sparse in altri volumi di diverse cose, cioè nel libro di no. 31, 92, 96, 123, et di più v' è un libro di Serapione contro i Manichei, dove è insieme Tito Bostrense contro i medesimi et molte altre cose di Padri, et di Concilii, il quale servirebbe a questo et anco per i Concilii.'

In answer to the papal request the Genoese authorities sent to Rome a list of the Greek books and manuscripts still to be found in the Hospital. In this list, which Bertolotto publishes, barely forty MSS are enumerated, and time after time the description is limited to the phrase 'alcuni libri senza principio scritti a mano'. It is hardly to be wondered at that the pope was dissatisfied, and requested the Genoese to employ some person who was 'practical and experienced in this sort of business'. But he had no better success this time than before: no MS of St Athanasius was to be found.

In 1744 what remained of the collection was catalogued by a competent scholar, Father Pietro Maria Ferrari, and, possibly through his intervention, the MSS passed shortly afterwards from the possession of the Hospital to the library of the 'Missioni Urbane' in the same city, where they still remain. Bertolotto prints, as an appendix to his paper, a brief account of the present numeration, condition, and contents of each of the thirty-nine MSS, from which it appears that more than half are attributed to the tenth or eleventh century—among them a MS of Epiphanius (no. 3)—that the Serapion *adversus Manicheos* (no. 26: saec. xi) and the canonical collection (no. 31: A. D. 1322) are both of them still extant, and, finally, that a fragment of a MS of Athanasius (no. 4) also survives, which being mutilated at the commencement no doubt escaped the notice of the ignorant investigator employed by the Genoese republic in 1602.

The fragment is ascribed by its discoverer to the eleventh century, and it would certainly appear not to be older than that date. It consists of the 13th, 14th, 15th, and 16th gatherings<sup>1</sup>, together with the first leaf of the 17th, of a MS which must have lost some ninety leaves or more at the commencement, as well as an unknown quantity at the end. On the first page are the final words of the *de Incarnatione*, followed by

<sup>1</sup> Of these the 13th, 15th, and 16th are quaternions, the 14th a ternion.



the *Disputatio adversus Arium*, τοῦ αὐτοῦ διάλεκτος ἐν τῇ κατὰ Νικαίαν συνόδῳ—πρὸς Ἀρείον: the *Disputatio* ends on fol. 31a, ἐπληρώθη ἐν θεῷ ἡ τοῦ ἁγίου Ἀθανασίου κατ' Ἀρείον ἀριστεία, and on fol. 31b (the last leaf of the MS) is the title and commencement of the *Epistola ad episcopos Aegypti et Libyae*, τοῦ αὐτοῦ πρὸς τοὺς ἐπισκόπους Αἰγύπτου καὶ Λιβύης ἐπιστολὴ ἐγκύκλιος κατ' Ἀρειανῶν.

What conclusions can we draw from these premisses?

(1) It cannot be by accident that the first extant leaf contains the commencement, and the last extant leaf the close, each of a single treatise. For some purpose which it is impossible to define, the *Disputatio adversus Arium* was taken out of a larger MS, and has alone survived.

(2) But we need be at no loss in establishing the contents of the portion lost from the commencement of the codex Saulianus. Comparison with the lists of the British Museum MS L (see *J. T. S.* iii 106) and the Basle MS B (ib. 246) shews that the order *de Incarnatione*, *Disp. contra Arium*, *Ep. ad episc. Aegypti et Libyae*, is common to both those MSS with our fragment: and in both MSS the three treatises occupy the second, third, and fourth places, being preceded by the *contra Gentes* and by it only. Now in B the *Disputatio* occupies fifteen leaves, the *contra Gentes* and *de Incarnatione* together forty-seven leaves. In our fragment the *Disputatio* occupies thirty leaves, and therefore the *contra Gentes* and *de Incarnatione* would have taken up about ninety-four leaves—exactly the number which the missing twelve quaternions at the beginning of our MS might have reached. There can therefore be no doubt that our MS when complete contained (1) *contra Gentes*, (2) *de Incarnatione*, (3) *Disputatio contra Arium*, (4) *Ep. ad episcopos Aegypti et Libyae*. How much has been lost after this, we have of course no means of deciding with certainty: but it is reasonable to conjecture that the rest of the contents, as far as they went, were also in agreement with the contents of L.

Bertolotto has no hesitation in identifying our MS as part of that which had been sent to Cardinal Sirleto. At best it can have been but a small part of it, seeing that it contains only a single treatise, whereas Sirleto's MS contained sixty-six or sixty-seven 'letters, apologiae, and miscellaneous treatises of the same author'—figures which I see not the least reason for not accepting. In any case therefore the greater part by far of Sirleto's MS still remains undiscovered. The mention of Bishop Giustiniano of Geneva suggests the suspicion that the Sirleto MS may have found its way not back to Genoa but to Geneva, where we know several MSS of Athanasius found a home. But the Felckmann MSS at Geneva (see *J. T. S.* iii 107) appears to be all of the sixteenth century, and the Sirleto MS was 'molto antico'.

<sup>1</sup> It might be worth considering whether one or other of these MSS may not be a sixteenth-century transcript of the Sirleto codex.



One further possibility is suggested by a comparison of Bertolotto's account of the Genoa fragment with Prof. Lake's account of the Athos MSS: for it appears that in one Athos representative of the L B group, Vatopedi 5, 6, saec. xiv (Prof. Lake calls it K), the order of the early treatises in the MS is disturbed exactly by the absence at the proper point of the *Disputatio contra Arium*, which instead of occurring as no. 3 only comes as no. 27. It is conceivable therefore that K was copied from a MS of the L B group which had lost the *Disputatio*, and that the Genoa fragment is the missing portion of the archetype of K. If this were so, of course the dislocation of the MS took place at a date long anterior to Cardinal Sirleto, and Bertolotto's identification would necessarily fall to the ground.

#### VI. PRISCILLIAN AND THE ACTS OF JUDAS THOMAS.

Among the extant letters of pope Leo the Great, few are of more interest and importance than that which in July A. D. 447 he addressed to Turribius, bishop of Asturica or Astorga, a town in further Spain, situated on the southern slopes of the Gallician mountains<sup>1</sup>. Turribius was appealing to the pope's assistance in view of a recrudescence of Spanish Priscillianism—it was just sixty years since Priscillian, the founder of the sect, had been put to death at Trèves—and laid before him a summary statement ranged under sixteen heads of Priscillianist opinion: the letter itself is unfortunately lost, but the papal answer obviously embodies a good deal of the material contained in it and deals one by one with the sixteen charges brought by Turribius. That Leo had no first-hand acquaintance with Priscillianism is pretty clear: he depends on the information of his correspondent, and his personal contribution to the subject is a comparison of the Spanish Priscillianists with the Roman Manicheans, into whose doctrine and practices he had himself conducted an official investigation<sup>2</sup>. Whether the infor-

<sup>1</sup> I have not yet had an opportunity of examining the arguments by which Künstle *Antipriscilliana* seeks to impugn the genuineness of this letter. But I do not for one moment suppose that they have any validity.

<sup>2</sup> See in this epistle (no. xv in the Ballerini arrangement) § 4 Priscillianists fast on Sunday, 'cognatis suis Manichaeis per omnia consentientes, qui, sicut in nostro examine detecti atque convicti sunt, dominicum diem, quem nobis Saluatoris resurrectio consecrauit, exigunt in moerore ieiunii': § 5 the soul of man is of the divine substance, 'impietatem ex philosophorum quorundam et Manichaeorum opinione manantem': § 7 they condemn marriage and procreation of children, 'in quo, sicut paene in omnibus, cum Manichaeorum profanitate concordant': § 8 the body is the devil's work and will have no resurrection, 'uirus de Manichaeae impietatis specialiter fonte procedens': § 16 outward conformity, 'faciunt hoc Priscillianistae, faciunt Manichaei, quorum cum istis tam foederata sunt corda ut solis nominibus discreti sacrilegiis autem suis inueniantur uniti'... [Leo admits one point of difference in that the Priscillianists accept, the Manicheans reject, the Old Testament. He sends Turribius the 'gesta' of the commission of enquiry, held

mation thus extracted about the Manicheans was reliable or not, may perhaps be questioned: but at any rate the imputation to Priscillianists of the crimes of Manicheans—on the sole ground apparently that both sects, to avoid the rigours of persecuting edicts, were in the habit of conforming outwardly to the Church—seems to have rested on nothing more than a *a priori* conjecture.

The fifteenth of Turribius's heads dwelt with the Priscillianist scriptures: their *codices* of the canonical writings were 'most corrupt', and they circulated also many apocryphal writings under apostolic names. What these writings were, or what names they bore, the papal letter does not say: we only learn that there were in them 'some things which might seem to have a show of religion', and that they also contained attractive stories, '*fabularum illecebras*'.

The pope wound up his letter by informing Turribius that he had instructed the bishops of the four Spanish provinces, Tarraconensis, Carthaginiensis, Lusitania, and Gallicia, to meet in common council on the subject. Should that course prove impracticable, at least the Gallician episcopate must meet under the guidance of Idacius Ceponius and Turribius himself.

Turribius, either before or after his letter to Leo, addressed to these same bishops, Idacius and Ceponius, an extant epistle in which he enters into much fuller detail than Leo about the apocryphal writings current in Priscillianist circles, and the canonical authority attributed to them. Among these writings he names in the first place the Acts of Thomas, which he singles out for special reprobation as containing a command to baptize not with water but with oil; but he mentions further, as of Manichean origin, the Acts of Andrew, the Leucian Acts of John, and the '*blasphemissimus liber*' called Memoria Apostolorum. That Turribius had actually seen and read all the three last books I should not like to affirm categorically; but that he had read some of the Priscillianist apocrypha follows from his language '*in illis quos legere potui apocryphis codicibus*', and I do not think it is open to doubt that among those he had read he means to assign a foremost place to the Acts of Thomas. Of the use of oil for baptism, with which he reproaches the Acts, mention is made in the extant text, both Greek and Syriac, on at least half a dozen occasions<sup>1</sup>, and it is exactly the

in open court, into the practices of the Manicheans] . . . '*quod autem de Manichaeorum foedissimo scelere, hoc etiam de Priscillianistarum incestissima consuetudine olim compertum multumque uulgatum est; qui enim per omnia sunt impietate sensuum pares, non possunt in sacris suis esse dissimiles.*'

For further details about the Manichean enquiry see Ep. vii '*Leo uniuersis episcopis per Italiae prouincias constitutis*', and Ep. viii, a Constitution of the Emperors Theodosius II and Valentinian III, addressed to the prefect Albinus.

<sup>1</sup> Act ii, baptism of King Gundaphorus (Syriac, Wright's translation, p. 166; Greek, M. Bonnet's text, p. 142); Act v, baptism of the woman in whom the

sort of feature, in that strange and weirdly fascinating story, which would arrest the attention of an orthodox reader in the fifth century.

If Turribius found the Acts of Thomas circulating among the Priscillianists, the book must presumably have been translated into Latin: for neither Greek nor Syriac would have been a familiar tongue to these isolated heretics in a remote corner of Spain.

But when and how did the Acts of Thomas get to Spain? Prof. Burkitt calls my attention to the fact that the so-called Silvia during her pilgrimage to the East, read at Edessa 'aliquanta ipsius sancti Thomae': and 'Silvia' is now generally identified with the Spanish lady Egeria or Etheria, so that she 'may have had some share in bringing the ancient Edessene romance westwards'. But it seems to me more than probable that Priscillian himself had these Acts in his hands: for at the opening of his third tractate (ed. Schepss, p. 44), where he is defending by scriptural example the use of apocryphal literature, he not only identifies the apostles Jude and Thomas but interprets the name Thomas or Didymus as meaning Twin with the Lord, 'didymus Domini'; and I do not see from what other source this double conclusion can be derived than from the Acts of Judas Thomas.

'Ait Iuda apostolus clamans, ille didymus Domini, ille qui deum Christum post passionis insignia cum putatur temptasse plus credidit, ille qui uinculorum pressa uestigia et diuinae crucis laudes et uidit et tetigit: PROPHETAVIT DE HIS INQUIT SEPTIMVS AB ADAM ENOC Dicens ECCE VENIT DOMINVS IN SANCTIS MILLIBVS FACERE IVDICIVM ET ARGVERE OMNEM ET DE OMNIBVS DVRS QVAE LOCVTI SVNT CONTRA EVM PECCATORES. quis est hic Enoc quem in testimonium profetiae apostolus Iudas adsumpsit?'

The passage is in some of its details difficult and perhaps corrupt: but the epistle of Jude is clearly quoted as the work of Jude the apostle, and he in turn is further defined as the apostle who saw and touched the marks of the nails, who was called Thomas or Didymus because he was Twin with the Lord Himself. Priscillian lived at a time when the Catholic Church was making a sustained effort to sift finally the canonical from the apocryphal literature, but the movement was not yet strong enough to affect remote districts or half-instructed theologians: and it is hardly surprising either that he defends the use of the extra-canonical writings, or that in defending them he betrays acquaintance with, and recognizes the authority of, so striking a specimen of that class as the Acts of Judas Thomas.

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demon dwelt (Syriac, p. 188; Greek, p. 164); Act vii, prayer over the flock of Xanthippus (Syriac, p. 205; Greek, p. 184); Act x, baptism of Mygdonia (Syriac, p. 258; Greek, p. 230); *ib.* baptism of Siphor (Syriac, p. 267; Greek, pp. 239-240); Act xiii, baptism of Vizanes (Syriac, pp. 285, 289; Greek, pp. 261, 265-266). On most of these occasions a baptism by water follows in both Greek and Syriac; but it may be doubted whether it formed part of the original text.



# A CONTRIBUTION TOWARDS SETTling THE DATES OF THE TRANSLATION OF THE VARIOUS BOOKS OF THE SEPTUAGINT.

In a paper published in the *American Journal of Theology*, I attempted to deduce a theory as to the use of the Divine Names in the Pentateuch from the variations between the Massoretic text and the Septuagint renderings.

In the present paper I have carried my researches still further into the rest of the translated books of the Septuagint with some reference also to the Hebrew of Ecclesiasticus.

In what follows it is taken for granted that the normal use is:—*Θεός* is equivalent to Elohim, *Κύριος* to Yahweh; and a certain number of points have to be presupposed and remembered:—

- (1) Joshua evidently goes with the Pentateuch.
- (2) The B or Vatican text of Judges is late, probably fourth century A. D.
- (3) The Greek of Judges and Ruth runs with the Greek of 2, 3, 4 Kingdoms.
- (4) The Greek of 1 Kingdoms is different and apparently earlier.
- (5) The Greek of 1 Esdras is earlier than that of 2 Esdras.
- (6) The Greek of Isaiah is older than the Greek of the rest of the prophets.

[For the statements 3-6 I am indebted to Mr Thackeray.]

(7) Mr Thackeray's articles in the *J. T. S.* on the division of the translation of some of the prophetic books between various translators must also be taken into account.

We have also to take account of the fact that to the Jew the Torah was certainly placed on a much higher plane than the other books of the Old Testament. More especial value was attached to it, more care was taken of the text, and it was more constantly referred to. This is reflected, I think, in the Greek translation, and in the state of the Hebrew text. But we still find points to remind us, in Hebrew and Greek alike, of the dread, almost or quite superstitious, inspired by the name Yahweh. Why, on the other hand, Pharaoh-necoh should have changed Eliakim's name to Jehoiakim is not obvious: some say it was to gratify the young king, others at the suggestion of the priests. We have also that extraordinary variation in the termination of certain names between יה— and יהו—. The latter of these forms occurs in odd verses of a narrative in which the former is the prevalent form (e.g. 2 Ch. xiii,

Abiah), and both forms occur even in the same verse, not only for two different persons (e.g. 2 Ch. xxi 2, Azariah), but also for the same individual (e.g. 1 (3) K. xiv 4, Ahijah). Such a verse as 2 Ch. xxiii 1 with the termination יהו—three (if not four) times—shews that the form was a persistent one. If so, the books of Chronicles and Kings, at any rate, give indications of what I have contended for in the case of the Pentateuch—a conflation of two texts of the Hebrew anterior to the present authorized consonantal text. The Greek terminations—[ε]ω[s] and [ε]ωv—shew that the variation existed in the Hebrew when the translation was made; and sometimes the alternative form to that of the present M.T. is suggested by the Greek, e.g. in Obadiah: but no English reader of the Bible either in the Authorized Version or in the Revised Version, would have any idea that this variation occurs in some of the most familiar proper names.

If, as I have ventured to suggest elsewhere, the name יה was prior to the tetragrammaton, and the latter only an evolution from it, then it is quite within reason to suppose that names which began or ended with יה, as placing the individuals bearing them under the special protection of Yahweh the God of Israel, were in later times, when the superstitious dread of pronouncing the tetragrammaton became practically a law of disuser of the Name, docked of either the ו or the ה of יה and in this way we can account for the forms in יה— or —יו such as Azariah for Azariahu, or Joiakim for Jehoiakim. No name with the termination יהו is attributed to any one whose birth can be assigned to exilic or post-exilic times, and the (chronologically) earliest occurrence of this form is in the case of a grandson of Eliezer the son of Moses. The forms of name commencing with יהו are of greater persistency, and extend from Joshua, the successor of Moses, down to post-exilic times. It will be remembered with regard to the particular name יהושע that its invention is ascribed to Moses, and that in post-exilic times it was contracted into ישוע.

It may be that the termination יהו was dropped when the Captivity came, as a national and political protest against using a form of name which belonged to the conquering people who had deported them. I cannot find that the form יהו was ever used in Babylonia as a prefix, though it occurs as a suffix. There would, therefore, not be the same objection to its persistence in Hebrew.

We may now proceed to our more immediate subject.

(1) The books of the Old Testament in which the occurrences of θεός for Yahweh are most noticeable are: Josh.<sup>1</sup> ten (eleven) times;

<sup>1</sup> v 6; vi 11 (BA, not F); ix 27; x 14; xiv 7 (B not A); xv 13; xvii 4, 14; xix 50; xxii 19 (B! A), 22?



1 K.<sup>1</sup> twelve times; 1 Ch.<sup>2</sup> ten times; 2 Ch.<sup>3</sup> five times; 1 Esdras<sup>4</sup> six times; Pss.<sup>5</sup> eleven times; Prov.<sup>6</sup> twenty-one times; Is.<sup>7</sup> sixty-seven times; Jer.<sup>8</sup> seven (eight) times. It may be noted with regard to these that, putting 1, 2 Ch. on one side, the rest of the historical books are those of which the translation on other grounds has been held to be earlier than that of the others; so also with regard to Isaiah, of which the Greek is earlier than that of the other prophets; the Greek of 1 Esdras is looked upon as earlier than that of 2 Esdras. Joshua naturally approaches the Pentateuch in its style. The following further points are to be noticed:—Proverbs, of which the Greek version is midrashic in character, naturally presents a large number of examples, though it is to be noticed that they stop at the break at the end of xxiv. Isaiah offers by far the largest number of instances, more than half as many as the whole of the Pentateuch. In the historic portion in the middle of the book, there are a considerable number of cases in which Θεός occurs, whereas Κύριος occurs in 4 Kings. Does this point, once again, to the two versions of the Hebrew text of the history, such as I have imagined in the case of the Pentateuch? or, is it an indication of this being a later version? I incline to think the former is the more reasonable idea. Lastly, Mr Thackeray's theory as to the translation of

<sup>1</sup> ii 1, 24; iii 7; iv 3; v 3; xiv 3 (B, A missing); xvi 7, 8 (B not A); xix 9 (B not A); xx 13 (B not A); xxii 10; xxvi 19.

<sup>2</sup> x 13 (BN, not A); xiii 14; xv 3 (A not BN), 15; xvi 6 (BA not N), 7 (N not BA), 26 (not Ps. xcv 5); xxv 6 (B not A); xxvi 27; xxix 21.

<sup>3</sup> vii 12; xix 10 (A not B); xxiv 6, 24; xxxii 26 (B not A).

<sup>4</sup> v 43 (Ezra, Nehemiah omits), 52 *ter*; ix 31 (B not A), 47 (B not A); 1 Esdras has, of course, been compared with the MT of Ezra and Nehemiah.

<sup>5</sup> xxix 9; xxxiv 27 (N\*); xlv 9 (N<sup>a</sup>\* AT); lxviii 32; lxx 1 (B not NR); lxxxiii 3 (N\*); lxxxviii 7 (N\*R); xc 2 (B\*N\*R); xcvi 4 (B\*R T); cxiv 1 (N\*, B wanting); cxli 2 (ART). For this use by N\* comp. Jb. i 6; xlii 11; Si. xl 26: it also occurs in Prov. Is.

<sup>6</sup> i 7 (BN, not AC nor Ps. cx 10); iii 5, 7, 19, 33; v 21; vi 16 (B not NA); xv 29; xvi 1 (9) (BNA, not C), 1 (xv 33) (BNC, not A), 5, 20 (BN not AC); xvii 3 (A not BN), 15; xviii 22 (BN\*, not N<sup>a</sup>\* A), 23 (xix 3); xix 11 (14) (BN), 14 (17); xxi 1, 3; xxiv 21.

<sup>7</sup> ii 2 (a conflated text); iv 2; v 12 (N\*); vi 12; vii 17; viii 17, 18; ix 11 (10); x 20 26; xi 2, 3; xiv 2 (NAQT, om. B) 3 (N\*ATQ\*), 5 (NAQT\*), 27; xxiii 16 (17); xxiv 21; xxv 10 (BNQ); xxvi 4 (5) (?); xxvii 1 (not N\*), 12 (B); xxx 9 (not Q<sup>ms</sup>), 18, 30 (NAQ, not Q<sup>ms</sup>); xxxi 1 (not B); xxxiii 5 (not Q<sup>ms</sup>), 6 (N\*); xxxvi 15 (?Q<sup>ms</sup>, not 4 K. xviii 30), 18 (not 4 K.), 20 (not Q<sup>ms</sup> 4 K., T omits); xxxvii 20 (not 4 K.), 22 (not 4 K.); xxxviii 7 (not 4 K.), 20 (B), 20 (not T), 22 (B); xxxix 6 (not N\* 4 K.); xl 27, 28, 31; xli 4, 14; xlii 10 (N\*), 12, 19, 24; xliii 11; xliv 5 *bis*, 6 (B<sup>ab</sup> NAQ), 6, 23 *bis*; xlv 21 (not Q<sup>ms</sup>), 23 (24) (BN<sup>a</sup>\* AQ), 25 (1, certainly not NQ); xlix 13; li 13; liv 13; lv 6 (N<sup>a</sup>\* AQ\*); lviii 8, 9, 11, 13; lxi 9; lxx 23.

<sup>8</sup> i 2 (not Q); iii 21 (?); iv 4; ix 20 (not A); xiv 10; xxvi 23 (N); xxvii 15; xxviii 7 (N).



Jeremiah being divided between two translators is curiously confirmed by the fact that the instances of Θεός for Yahweh in that book stop at the point in the book where he, for other reasons, divided it between the two. It would seem too that Isaiah was certainly one book at the time the translation was made.

Of the other books of the Bible little need be said under this head. The following are the instances recorded:—Judges<sup>1</sup> one; 2 K.<sup>2</sup> one; 3 K.<sup>3</sup> three; 4 K.<sup>4</sup> one; 2 Esdr. (= Heb. Ezra) none; Neh. none (there are many cases in these books in which Yahweh is left out, and only the interpretative Θεός is given); Jb.<sup>5</sup> three very doubtful cases, all in the prologue or epilogue; Eccl. of course none; Minor Prophets<sup>6</sup> two; Jer. latter half none; Dan. LXX, Th. none.

I am inclined to think that, if the main basis of my theory is correct, we may here find a criterion for the dating of the Greek versions of the various books. That is to say, those in which Θεός stands frequently for Yahweh would come before, and those in which the present text of the Hebrew is almost invariably followed would come after the settlement of the authorized Hebrew consonantal text.

The Hexaplaric fragments do not help us much under this head. Aq. has one instance in Is. (viii 17) in agreement with the LXX. Sm. three instances, one in Jb. (xlii 9), where the LXX omits the Divine Name altogether; one in Ps. (lv 11), where Sm. stands alone; and one in Is. (lxi 10), where Sm. agrees with Th. against LXX and Aq. Theod., besides this last passage, has Θεός in one other passage (2 K. xxiv 1) which is rather inexplicable, and the passage as compared with 1 Ch. xxi 1 is difficult of explanation in that regard also. To an anonymous translator the same use of Θεός is assigned in Prov. i 7, but this is perhaps only a reference to a text followed by LXX (BN). It will be seen that, with one exception, all these passages come from the books, of which I have suggested that the translations into Greek were the earlier.

(2) As supplemental to the above we may note the cases in which Θεός corresponds to יהוה. They are:—Minor Prophets<sup>7</sup> ten times; Is.<sup>8</sup> twice, but not certainly; Jer.<sup>9</sup> four times (two doubtful); Ezek.<sup>10</sup> thirty-

<sup>1</sup> vi 34 (only in A which in this book is older than B).

<sup>2</sup> xii 20 (the constant expression *θεος του θεου*).

<sup>3</sup> v 7 (21); xx (xxi) 3; xxii 19 (only B).

<sup>4</sup> ii 2.

<sup>5</sup> i 6 (N\*), 8 (A); xlii 11 (N\*).

<sup>6</sup> Hos. iii 1, Ma. ii 17.

<sup>7</sup> Am. iii 7, 8, 11; iv 5; vii 1 (only B certainly), 4 (only A certainly once and Q<sup>ms</sup> once); viii 9 (AQ); ix 8; Ob. i 1; Zeph. i 7.

<sup>8</sup> x 24 (N\*); xxv 8 (only BN certainly).

<sup>9</sup> ii 19, 22 (A); xxvi 10; xxvii 25 (only B certainly).

<sup>10</sup> iv 14 (BQ); xx 5 (AQ), 36 (A), 47 (A); xxi 7 (A), 28 (A); xxv 6 (A); xxviii 2 (A), 24 (A); xxix 3 (A), 8 (A), 16 (A); xxxii 31 (A); xxxvi 15 (A),

two times. It will be noticed from an examination of the citations from Ezekiel that there is a greater consensus of authority for this rendering in the third of the three sections of translation into which Mr Thackeray divides this book; and that in the other two the rendering seems to be due to the scribe of A or of some MS preceding A. The third section is, however, attributed by him to the same translator as the first.

It is difficult to see, with the traditional oral rendering of the expression יהוה אדני what other translation could have been given except a reduplication of Κύριος, which is indeed a constant variant of Κύριος (ὁ) Θεός. I am inclined to think that the three chief variant readings of the Greek point to the following stages in the Hebrew text of Ezekiel:—(1) יהוה alone represented by Κύριος standing alone. To this יהוה אדני was inserted in the margin just as we have in the Hebrew Ecclesiasticus אדני עמנו standing in the margin for אלהים. (2) יהוה אדני taken from the margin and incorporated in the text יהוה אדני: this would correspond to the Greek Κύριος Κύριος. (3) יהוה אדני read אלהים אדני with a corresponding Greek Κύριος (ὁ) Θεός.

The Hexaplaric fragments do not carry the matter much farther. The three translators all follow the use corresponding to (3) of the above in Ps. lxviii 7, Is. lii 4. In Is. ii 4 Aq., Sm. by rendering Θεός Θεός seem to point to a reading יהוה אלהים instead of יהוה אדני. Sm. also follows (3) in Is. xxv 8, where Aq., Th. do not exist as does Theod. in Jer. xxxii 25. In Hb. iii 19 the unusual יהוה אדני is translated by the LXX and perhaps also by another translator Κύριος ὁ Θεός (μον).

(3) The third list of cases is where Κύριος ὁ Θεός stands for Yahweh. In Josh.<sup>1</sup> the expression occurs ten times; in 1 K.<sup>2</sup> three times; 2 Ch.<sup>3</sup> twice; 1 Esdr.<sup>4</sup> twice; Pss.<sup>5</sup> twice, both cases doubtful; Is.<sup>6</sup> twenty-three times; Jer.<sup>7</sup> ten times. These figures are in very fair accord with those under the first heading: and correspond with the results of the investigation of the Pentateuch. In addition there is an abnormal number of instances (nine) in 3 K.<sup>8</sup>

32 (A), 33 (A); xliii 18 (BA), 19 (BA); xlv 6 (BA), 9, 12, 15, 27; xlv 9 (BA);<sup>9</sup> 15, 18; xlv 1, 16 (BQ); xlvii 13, 23; xlviii 29.

<sup>1</sup> i 15; ii 10, 12; v 1; x 12 (A); xxii 23, 34 (A, unless  $\theta\varsigma$  is a dittograph); xxiii 1 (A), 15 (B); xxiv 19 (A).

<sup>2</sup> i 3, 20 (probably a reminiscence of v. 3); xv 25.

<sup>3</sup> xxx 8; xxxv 1.

<sup>4</sup> ix 39 (A), 52 (A but  $\delta$  κ. θ.).

<sup>5</sup> xlv 12 (NR\*); lxxxiii 13 (N<sup>a</sup> RT).

<sup>6</sup> xxvi 12 (not Q); xxviii 13 (NA QΓ); xxxviii 22 (N<sup>a</sup> B AQ; not 4 K. xx xli 17, 21; xlii 6, 8, 13, 21; xliii 1, 10, 14 (not Γ), 15; xlv 2; xlv 1 (not Q), 5 (not Q), 6 (not Q), 7 (not Q), 8 (N\* Γ), 11 (not Q); lx 20 (N\*); lxvi (N\*). Note the special variants in N\* as noted before.

<sup>7</sup> v 18; xi 21 (A); xv 2 (A); xxiii 30 (NA Q, B omits), 37, 38 (BNA); xxvi 2 (AQ); xxvii 5 (BNA); xxxiv 18 (N); xxxix 28 (BA Q).

<sup>8</sup> v 5; viii 59, 60 (B); xi 10; xvii 1 (κ. θ. τῶν δυνάμεων); xviii 18, 24; xxi 25 (κ. θ. Ἰσραήλ); xxii 19 (A τὸν κ. θ. Ἰσρα.).

The following are the remaining instances:—Judges<sup>1</sup> one; Ruth<sup>2</sup> one; 2 K.<sup>3</sup> one; 4 K.<sup>4</sup> one; 2 Esdr.<sup>5</sup> one; Jb.<sup>6</sup> one; Minor Prophets<sup>7</sup> thirteen or fourteen (in several cases connected with the use of *παντοκράτωρ*); Ezek.<sup>8</sup> three; Dan.<sup>9</sup> LXX, Th. one.

The Hexaplaric fragments only furnish us with two instances:—Jer. v 22 and Dan. ix 14 (only as a v. l.).

The tendency of all these instances is to shew that the *ὁ Θεός* of the expression was an addition in imitation of the very frequent occurrence side by side with *יהוה* of the interpretative *אלהים*.

(4) The instances of *Κύριος ὁ Θεός* for *יהוה* after *אמרני* are limited to two books. One instance occurs in Am.<sup>10</sup>; twenty-seven in Ezek.<sup>11</sup>; but all these latter only occur in one MS, and I need not repeat the explanation I have already given of the variations in usage which probably occurred both in Hebrew and Greek. It may just be noted that none of these instances occur in the third division of the Greek version according to Mr Thackeray.

(5) I come now to the cases in which *Κύριος* stands for *אלהים*, and it will be seen that these bulk much more largely than they did in the Pentateuch. Let me give the statistics first. *Κύριος* then stands for *אלהים* (in Josh. there are none); 1 K.<sup>12</sup> eleven (ten) times; 1 Ch.<sup>13</sup> fifteen times; 2 Ch.<sup>14</sup> thirty-one times; 1 Esdr.<sup>15</sup> sixty times; Pss.<sup>16</sup>

<sup>1</sup> iii 28.

<sup>2</sup> iii 10 (B).

<sup>3</sup> xv 31.

<sup>4</sup> xix 20 (α. δ. θ. *τῶν δυνάμεων*: cf. 3 K. xvii 1).

<sup>5</sup> viii 28 (A).

<sup>6</sup> xxxix 31.

<sup>7</sup> Ho. vi 1; xiv 3; Am. iv 3 (A Q); v 8 (A Q + δ *παντοκράτωρ*); ix 6 (A Q + δ *παντ.*), 12 (A); Mi. iv 10; Jl. ii 12; Jn. ii 3 (not N\*); Na. iii 5; Zach. x 3, 12; Ma. ii 16 (A f); iii 6.

<sup>8</sup> xx 38 (A), 47 (A); xxxv 15 (not Q).

<sup>9</sup> Da LXX, Th. ix 14 (A Q only in Th.).

<sup>10</sup> ix 5.

<sup>11</sup> xiv 6 (A); xx 30 (A); xxi 24 (A), 26 (A); xxii 3 (A), 19 (A); xxiii 22 (A), 28 (A), 32 (A), 34 (A); xxiv 21 (A); xxvi 21 (A); xxviii 6 (A), 25 (A); xxxii 8 (A), 32 (A); xxxiv 11 (A), 20 (A); xxxvi 3 (A), 37 (A); xxxvii 21 (A); xxxviii 10 (A), 14 (A), 17 (A), 18 (A); xxxix 8 (A), 25 (A).

<sup>12</sup> ii 25; iv 21 (A), 22 (B) (the passage is in confusion); v 2; vi 5; x 26; xi 6 (A omits); xiv 15; xxiii 14, 16; xxvi 8.

<sup>13</sup> xv 2 (A); xvi 1 (A), 6 (N); xvii 3, 25 (A); xxiv 5; xxvi 20, 32 (B); xxviii 2, 12, 21 (B); xxix 1, 7, 13, 17.

<sup>14</sup> iv 19; v 1; vi 40; xiii 12, 15, 16; xv 1; xix 3; xx 7 (B), 29; xxiv 5, 13, 20; xxv 8 *bis*, 20, 24; xxvi 5 *ter*, 7; xxviii 24; xxx 12; xxxi 13, 21; xxxii 29, 31; xxxiii 7 (A); xxxiv 9 (A), 32; xxxvi 19.

<sup>15</sup> i 25 *bis*, 26, 46, 49, 51, 52; ii 3, 5 *bis*, 6, 7; v 56 (B); vi 2 *bis*, 5, 12, 14, 18, 19, 21, 23, 25, 26, 27, 28, 32 *bis*; vii 7, 15; viii 6, 9, 12, 13 *bis*, 15 (B), 45, 46 (A, B omits), 49 (B), 52, 53, 55, 57, 59, 60, 61, 64, 69 (B), 71, 75 (B) 76 (B), 76, 78 (A), 79, 83, 89 (B), 90 *bis*; ix 13, 48 (B).

<sup>16</sup> lii 5 (N\* R), 7 (B N\* R\*) [by assimilation with Ps. 14]; lv 2 (B), 5 (N\*), 12 (N\*); lxii 12 (N\* R); lxv 16 (B N\* R); lxvii 31 (N\*), 33 (N\*); lxxii 28 (B); lxxvi 1; lxxvii 59 (N\* R). Only one of these is absolutely certain



twelve times (but most of them very uncertain); Prov.<sup>1</sup> once [there is one very doubtful case in A of Eccl.<sup>2</sup>]; Is.<sup>3</sup> three (five) times; Jer. none. Josh. naturally accords with the Pentateuch where there are so few instances; in it there are none. In the other historical books, especially 1, 2 Chronicles and 1 Esdras the use of Κύριος for יהוה may be taken to point to (1) a more Yahwistic edition of these books, which would fall in with my theory; or (2) Κύριος is midrashic and points to the God of Israel under this special designation. It is noticeable as rather confirmatory of the first view that in some passages (e.g. Ezra vi 22, as compared with the previous verse) the words 'the house of God, the God of Israel' would read much more naturally 'the house of Yahweh, the God of Israel'.

At any rate, we find the same use prevailing in Ecclesiasticus. Κύριος represents יהוה in eighteen (seventeen) passages in that book<sup>4</sup>, but to this I shall recur later.

In the other books of the Bible the figures stand as follows:—Judges<sup>5</sup> four times; 2 K.<sup>6</sup> seven; 3 K.<sup>7</sup> five; 2 Esdr.<sup>8</sup> (including Neh.) two doubtful cases; Jb.<sup>9</sup> nine; Minor Prophets<sup>10</sup> once; Dan. LXX [it will be remembered that this is a midrashic version]<sup>11</sup> four times.

In the Hexapla, Aq. gives us two instances in the Pss.<sup>12</sup>; Th. one in 2 K.<sup>13</sup> and one in the Pss.<sup>14</sup> The fact of there being in two passages out of three, as in so many other cases, different occurrences from those in the LXX, rather strengthens my theory of two recensions, at least, of the Hebrew Bible.

(6) As in the Pentateuch, so in the whole of the rest of the LXX the use of Κύριος (δ) Θεός for יהוה is very limited. The cases are:—Josh.<sup>15</sup> two; Judges<sup>16</sup> two; 1 K.<sup>17</sup> one; 3 K.<sup>18</sup> three; 2 Ch.<sup>19</sup> six; 2 Esdr.<sup>20</sup> three; Pss.<sup>21</sup> our (only one certain); Minor Prophets<sup>22</sup> seven; Is.<sup>23</sup> four; Jer.<sup>24</sup>

<sup>1</sup> iii 4.

<sup>2</sup> vii 30.

<sup>3</sup> vii 13; xl 1 (N\* as so often); lxi 10 (but not Aq. Sm. Th.); lxii 3 (N\*), 5.

<sup>4</sup> iii 20; ix 16; x 4, 5, 13, 14, 16, 20, 22, 24; xxxii 12; xxxiii 5; xxxvi 22; xl 26, 27; xlii 15; xlii 14; li 1 (f).

<sup>5</sup> vi 20 (A); vii 14 (A); viii 3; ix (57).

<sup>6</sup> ii 27; vi 3, 7 (very doubtful), 12; vii 22; xv 24; xxiii 3 (A).

<sup>7</sup> iii 5, 11; iv 25; x 27; xii 22.

<sup>8</sup> ix 6 (A); xxiii 1 (N\*).

<sup>9</sup> i 9 (BN); ii 9, 10; v 8 bis; xx 29; xxviii 23 (N<sup>a</sup> a. c. c. AC); xxxii 2; xxxiv 9.

<sup>10</sup> Ho. ix 8 (AQ).

<sup>11</sup> i 2, 9, 17; ix 18.

<sup>12</sup> lxxvi 2 (so LXX), lxxxix 1.

<sup>13</sup> xiv 16.

<sup>14</sup> lxxvi 2.

<sup>15</sup> xlii 16 (A); xxiv 27.

<sup>16</sup> iv 23 (A); x 10 (A).

<sup>17</sup> vi 3 (A, B θεὸν κυρίου).

<sup>18</sup> viii 26; xviii 36; xxi 23 (A).

<sup>19</sup> ix 8; xv 18; xvii 4; xx 12, 33; xxxiv 3.

<sup>20</sup> ix 9; xx 39 (A); xxiii 14 (but N\* θῷ ἡν).

<sup>21</sup> xlii 5 (N<sup>a</sup>); xix 6 (NR); lv 13 (N<sup>a</sup>); lxxix 8.

<sup>22</sup> Ho. ii 23; Am. viii 14 (A); Mi. vi 8; Jl. ii 17 (A); Jn. iv 7 (AQ), 8 (AQ); 9 (AQ).

<sup>23</sup> xxv 9 (NT); li 20; lii 12 (NAQ); lvii 21 (NAQ).

<sup>24</sup> xxviii 5 (A).

one; Ezek.<sup>1</sup> three; Dan. LXX<sup>2</sup> two (one); Th.<sup>3</sup> three. In 1 Esdr.<sup>4</sup> we have five. Only one doubtful instance occurs in the Hexapla from Aquila<sup>5</sup>.

To complete our survey we must add that in 1 Esdr.<sup>6</sup> Κύριος stands by itself for יהוה + יהוה in six passages.

(7) I come now to two curious uses of Κύριος—curious because they seem to me to exhibit a distinct relationship between the Greek versions of Job and Ecclesiasticus, as we shall see as we go on.

It has often been noticed how in Job the names of God, El and Eloah, occur to the almost total exclusion of Yahweh, except in the account of Yahweh's discourse. The last-mentioned name does indeed occur once<sup>7</sup> but that is all. But to take the name Eloah first. If we examine the passages in the Hebrew in which this name occurs and then look at the LXX we shall see that in ten cases<sup>8</sup> there is no corresponding Divine Name in the Greek: in nine cases<sup>9</sup> we have Θεός; whereas in twenty-two cases<sup>10</sup> we have Κύριος. In Eccus.<sup>11</sup> we have two corresponding instances of Κύριος.

(8) But this phenomenon is still more noticeable when we consider the use of Κύριος for יהוה. This occurs forty-one times in Job<sup>12</sup> (in every part of the book except the prologue and epilogue); and in Eccus.<sup>13</sup> thirty-two (thirty-four) times; whilst in the whole of the rest of the LXX outside the Pentateuch we only have the following occurrences:—Josh.<sup>14</sup> once (so once in Pentateuch); Pss.<sup>15</sup> seven times (only one quite certain); and Is.<sup>16</sup> twice. In the Hexapla only one instance is quoted,

<sup>1</sup> viii 4; x 19 (A); xxxiv 31 (B\* A Q, B<sup>ab</sup> κ. κ. δ θ.).

<sup>2</sup> ix 15 (doubtful); x 12.

<sup>3</sup> ix 17, 19 (A); x 12 (A Q).

<sup>4</sup> v 67; vi 1; vii 9; viii 49 (A), 89 (A).

<sup>5</sup> Is. vii 13.

<sup>6</sup> i 37, 45; v 68; viii 25, 70, 86 (B\* A); ix 50.

<sup>7</sup> xii 2.

<sup>8</sup> ix 13; xii 4, 6; xxi 9; xxii 12, 26; xxiv 12; xxvii 10; xxxiii 12; xxxvi 2.

<sup>9</sup> iii 23 (BNC); vi 8 (A); xxix 2, 4 (BNC\*); xxxi 2; xxxv 10; xxxvii 15 (BNA); xxxix 17, 32. πνεῦμα θεῶν is also found in xxvii 3.

<sup>10</sup> iii 23 (A); iv 9, 17; v 17; vi 8 (BNC), 9; x 2; xi 5, 6, 7; xv 8; xvi 21, 22; xix 6, 21, 26; xxi 9; xxvii 8; xxix 4 (B<sup>ac</sup> AC); xxxi 6; xxxiii 26; xxxvii 15 (C). παντοκράτωρ occurs once (xxxvii 22).

<sup>11</sup> xxxii 13; xlv 23.

<sup>12</sup> v 8; viii 3, 5, 13 (BN), 20; ix 2; xii 6; xlii 7; xv 4, 13, 25 (BNA); xvi 12; xviii 21; xix 22; xxi 14, 22; xxii 2, 17; xxiii 16; xxv 4; xxvii 2 (NAC), 9 (AC), 11, 13; xxxi 14, 23 (NAC, B omits), 28; xxxii 13; xxxiii 14; xxxiv 5, 10, 12, 23, 37; xxxv 2, 13; xxxvi 5; xxxvii 14; xxxviii 41; xli 4, 14.

<sup>13</sup> iii 18; v 4 (cod. A, but C<sup>m</sup>, cf. supra and xliii 5); vi 16; vii 4 (both A and C), 29, 31; xi 22; xiv 11; xv 9, 11; xvi 17, 26; xxxv 14; xxxii 21 (A), 22 (מן in marg.); xxxviii 1, 4, 9, 14; xxxix 16, 33; xli 4; xlii 15, 17; xliii 9; xlvi 5 (N, BAC omit), 5 (!), 11, 16; xlvii 5, 22; xlviii 3 (B N<sup>1</sup>), 20; xlix 3.

<sup>14</sup> iii 10 (A).

<sup>15</sup> xv 1 (BNC<sup>ac</sup> ARU); lxxiii 8 (B); lxxxiv 9; cv 21 (N<sup>2</sup>); cxxxv 26 (N<sup>2</sup> A); cxxxviii 23 (ART).

<sup>16</sup> xl 18; xlii 5.

and that is from the Symmachus version of Job<sup>1</sup>. Can it be that Job and Eccclus. were both translated by the same person, who being a devout Jew preferred to make it clear that the El or Eloah of these books was identical with Yahweh? Scarcely, I think; for the whole style of the two translations is very dissimilar. It rather seems to point to some special school or place of translation where, in a conservative spirit, the names  $\text{אל}$  and  $\text{יהוה}$  received their special Jewish appropriation, and the word  $\text{Κύριος}$  was used to denote that by those names the name  $\text{יהוה}$  was really designated.

Lastly, if we examine the Aramaic passages of the Old Testament we shall find  $\text{Κύριος}$  representing  $\text{ܐܠܗܝܢ}$  in 2 Esdr.<sup>2</sup> once; in Dan. LXX<sup>3</sup> six times; whilst  $\text{Κύριος}$  ( $\delta$ )  $\Theta\epsilon\acute{o}\varsigma$  stands for the same word in 2 Esdr.<sup>4</sup> twice (but only in A); and in Dan. LXX<sup>5</sup> once.

I proceed to sum up what I think may be the results arrived at with an approach to certainty as to the Greek translations of the Canonical Books outside the Pentateuch.

1. Joshua goes with the Pentateuch.

2. The larger number of the rest of the books can be divided into two groups, in one of which the variation in the translation of the Divine Names is much more noticeable and frequent than the other.

In the first is included 1 K., 1, 2 Ch., 1 Esdr., Pss., Prov., Is., and more doubtfully Jer., or at any rate Jer. down to chapter xxviii.

In the other group there fall Judges, 2, 3, 4 K., 2 Esdr. (including Neh.), the Minor Prophets (?), Jer. (perhaps the latter half), Dan. LXX, and Ezek.

The dividing line between these two groups, if what I have advanced has any approach to truth about it, would be the settlement of the authorized consonantal Hebrew Text whenever that occurred. Before that the usage of the Divine Names varied in the different MSS, after that the usage was stereotyped in one particular way.

3. Ruth would go naturally in the Greek with Judges: Esther, Ecclesiastes and Canticles, for this purpose, have practically nothing to be taken account of.

4. There remains only the Greek Book of Job. This in its constant use of  $\text{Κύριος}$  for  $\text{אל}$  and  $\text{יהוה}$  stands practically alone among the books of the LXX. But it has a marked parallel in the Greek of Ecclesiasticus as compared with the Hebrew. It is curious to note that in both these books there has been claimed to exist a considerable number of

<sup>1</sup> viii 3.

<sup>2</sup> vii 15 (B).

<sup>3</sup> ii 18, 19, 20 ( $\tau\omicron\upsilon\ \kappa\epsilon\ \tau\omicron\upsilon\ \mu\epsilon\gamma\acute{\alpha}\lambda\omicron\upsilon$ ), 23, 37; iii 95 (Syr.  $\kappa\epsilon\ \delta\ \theta\epsilon\omicron$ ). It is interesting to note that Mr. Thackeray suspects a break in the LXX of Dan. at the end of chap. 3.

<sup>4</sup> v 1 (A); vii 12 (A).

<sup>5</sup> iii 29.



**Arabisms.** It may be that something of this kind led the translators to use the term *Kúpos*. At any rate the phenomena indicate that they must come from the same school of Jewish thought or translators. This source may be Palestinian, so far as this usage is concerned: in the case of the Greek Job the translator was probably a Hellenizer. This is shewn by his usage of Homeric and classical Greek words. The translator of Ecclesiasticus it should be remembered represents himself as the grandson of Jesus the son of Sirach, and as only a temporary sojourner in Egypt (see Prologue).

In conclusion, I would say that, though I have done my best to make my statistics accurate, and I have no doubt that they are so in the main, my figures may require some slight modifications. So far as I am aware, no such an exhaustive analysis of the use of these Divine Names has ever before been attempted.

H. A. REDPATH.

### THE CATACOMB OF COMMODILLA.

*Atti della R. Accademia dei Lincei, Serie V: Notizie degli Scavi di Antichità, 1905.*

To the student of Christian archaeology by far the most interesting of the discoveries recorded in this volume are those made in the excavations which in the course of the past two years have brought to light the central crypt or basilica of the *Coemeterium Commodillae*. The only text in which this catacomb is named is the following passage of the *Index Coemeteriorum*:—‘*Coemeterium Commodillae ad S. Felicem et Adauctum via Ostiensi.*’ The indications furnished by these words and the mention of St Felix and St Adauctus immediately before St Paul in the Itineraries enabled Boldetti, in 1720, to locate the cemetery in the Via delle Sette Chiese, not far from S. Paolo fuori le Mura. Boldetti actually penetrated into the central crypt, and there saw a fresco in which St Felix and St Adauctus were represented, thus placing the identification of the catacomb beyond doubt. Unfortunately, the roof of the crypt collapsed eight days after Boldetti’s discovery, and the excavations were then dropped. Prof. Orazio Marucchi, the indefatigable secretary of the *Commissione di Archeologia Sacra*, succeeded in procuring the resumption of the enterprise in 1904, and the result has been to bring to light the whole of the crypt entered by Boldetti and a portion of the catacomb of which it was the centre.

The interest of the discovery rests in the light which it throws upon the latest phase in the history of the catacombs, and in the difficulties

which attend the interpretation of its sepulchral monuments. In the first place, the form of the catacomb, with its relatively broad, high galleries, differs somewhat from the usual type, a fact which has suggested to Baron Kanzler the idea that here (and probably here alone) a sand-pit (*arenarium*) may have been converted to the uses of Christian burial. Moreover, the decoration of the crypt dates from the earlier part of the sixth century, and thus illustrates a phase in the development of painting at Rome during the predominance of Byzantine influences which has left few monumental remains. In order to explain the nature of the finds it will be convenient to recapitulate briefly what is known of the two principal saints venerated in the *Coemeterium Commodillae* and of the history of their crypt. St Felix and St Adauctus belong to the number of the martyrs of Diocletian's persecution. When the first-named, who was a priest, was being led to execution, he was met by an official of the *fiscus*, who was converted to Christianity and shared in the martyrdom of St Felix. As his name was unknown he was called Adauctus, 'eo quod sancti Felicis auctus sit ad coronam'. It would seem that the first works of importance by which the tomb of the martyrs was embellished were due to St Damasus (366-384). His inscription in their honour is preserved in the MS Collections, and runs as follows (according to Ihm's text):—

O semel atque iterum vero de nomine Felix,  
 Qui intemerata fide contempto principe mundi  
 Confessus Christum caelestia regna petisti.  
 O vere pretiosa fides, cognoscite, fratris  
 Qua ad caelum victor pariter properavit Adauctus.  
 Presbyter his Verus Damaso rectore iubente  
 Composuit tumulum sanctorum limina adornans.

It is certain that this inscription found a place in the crypt, since in the *Liber de locis SS. Martyrum* the latter part of line five is quoted; a few fragments of the original (twenty-three letters in all) are preserved in the Vatican. Their significance was discerned by De Rossi, who inferred that they must have been discovered by Boldetti in 1720. We may then assume that the crypt in its present shape, and the broad stairway which gives access thereto, are the work of St Damasus.

It appears, however, that under his immediate successor, St Siricius (385-398), important works of restoration were carried out by a certain Felix. We give the recently-discovered inscription, from which this inference is drawn, according to Marucchi's restoration; but it will be seen that this is far from certain in its details, and leaves room for doubt on a point of primary importance:—

Hic famulos domini nov[er]a nunc bene templa reservant,  
 Qui dulces animas solve[r]unt corpore iunctim,

Ut pariter possent viv[orum scandere sedes.  
 Felicem tegit hic tum[ulus, qui maior in aula  
 Occurrit gradib[us sanc[tumque recondit Adauctum.  
 Salvo Siricio papa r[enovata dicavit  
 Martyrib[us] Felix p[ro] munere vota rependens.

The decoration of the crypt, as we have it, is not however in the main the handiwork of Felix. We are informed in the *Liber Pontificalis* that John I (523-526) restored the cemetery of St Felix and St Adauctus, and the style of the paintings discovered leaves no doubt that they belong to this period. Before considering the nature and interpretation of the remains, however, it is necessary to observe that, beside St Felix and St Adauctus, two other martyrs were venerated in the *Coemeterium Commodillae*. One of these was St Nemesius, to be distinguished from the martyr of the same name whose tomb was on the Via Latina. Marucchi has conjectured with much probability that his epitaph is contained in an elegiac inscription preserved in the *Codex Palatinus* (De Rossi *Inscr. Christ.* II 102 29):—

Martyris haec Nemesi sedes per saecula floret,  
 Senior ornatu, nobilior merito.  
 Incultam pridem dubitatio longa reliquit,  
 Sed tenuit virtus adseruitque fidem.

The language of this inscription is certainly inapplicable to the more famous Nemesius of the Via Latina. The saint with whom we are here concerned is coupled with St Felix and St Adauctus in the *Liber de locis SS. Martyrum* and the *Itinerarium Malmesburiense*, but in the Itinerary of Einsiedeln we read: *Inde ad S. Felicem et Adauctum et Emeritam*. Now the last-named saint appears in the *Martyrologium Romanum* under the date of Sept. 22, together with 'S. Digna', and both are said to have met with their martyrdom 'sub Valeriano et Gallieno'. The juxtaposition of these names was naturally thought to be suspicious, as it seemed probable that one or both of them might have arisen from an adjective. The discovery of the *Coemeterium Commodillae* has confirmed the justice of these suspicions as far as regards St Digna, but there can be no question that St Emerita was an object of veneration in the crypt of St Felix and St Adauctus.

On descending the stairway and turning sharp to the left the first monument of importance which meets us in the crypt (which is narrow and somewhat irregular in shape) is a tomb whose principal ornament is a painting of the sixth century, representing our Lord in the act of handing the keys to St Peter—the earliest example in painting of this rare subject. The figure of St Peter is balanced by that of St Paul, holding the volumes of his epistles. The symmetry of the composition



is maintained by the addition of two further figures on either side: St Felix corresponds presumably with St Adauctus (the inscription is lost); while St Emerita is balanced, *not* by St Digna, but by St Stephen. On a strip of plaster of earlier date, below the fresco just described, we read the words SANCTO MARTYRI BENERABILI. We have then here the tomb of a martyr; and it is most natural to conclude (with Marucchi) that St Nemesis was buried here. But this, as we shall see, is not the only possibility.

On the same wall is to be seen an interesting fresco, in very good preservation, which decorated the tomb of a lady named Turtura. The subject is the Blessed Virgin, richly attired with Byzantine jewellery, seated on a throne with the Divine Child on her knee, between St Felix and St Adauctus. The widow Turtura is likewise represented, and below is her epitaph, which is worth giving in full :—

Suscipe nunc lacrimas, mater, natiq̄ue superstis  
 Quas fundet gemitus laudibus ecce tuis.  
 Post mortem patris servasti casta mariti  
 Sex triginta annis sic viduata fidem.  
 Officium nato patris matrisque gerebas;  
 In subolis faciem vir tibi vixit Obas.  
 Turtura nomen abis, set turtur vera fuisti,  
 Cui coniux moriens, non fuit alter amor.  
 Unica materia est quo sumit femina laudem  
 Quod te coniugio exhibuisse doces.  
 Hic requiescit in pace Turtura  
 Que bisit pl̄ m̄ annus lx.

The fresco has already been published by Mgr Wilpert and is of considerable importance as compared with the earlier series of paintings in St Maria Antiqua.

The principal object of veneration in the crypt (as is shewn, *inter alia*, by the *graffiti* which surround it) was the tomb placed at the extremity furthest from the entrance. Now it seems probable that this monument contained three bodies; for while two persons were buried, one above the other, in a *forma* excavated in the floor, there is also a *loculus* in the back wall. Above this are the remains of a painting, which may be of the fourth century, representing St Felix and St Adauctus in adoration of the Monogram of Christ, and at the side was the fresco seen by Boldetti, who, it will be observed, read the inscription SCA MERITA. On a pilaster beside the monument is a fresco representing St Luke, which is dated by its inscription (*sub tempora Constantine Augusto n. factum est*) to the seventh century (668–685). Marucchi, therefore, proposes to recognize in this floor-tomb the resting-place of St Felix and St Adauctus, and in the *loculus* that of St Emerita. Against

this it has been urged that the phrase *occurrit gradibus* in the metrical inscription quoted above is more appropriate to the tomb at the bottom of the stairs near the doorway of the crypt; and it is easy to restore the missing words so as to give a suitable sense, e. g. :—

Felicem tegit hic tum[ulus, tegit alter Adauctum,  
Occurrit gradib(us) sanc[to qui in limine primus.

But it is to be observed that the fragments of this inscription were discovered in a narrow gallery immediately to the left of the tomb, which is approached by a flight of steps: and the phrase used of St Felix and St Adauctus in the *Liber de locis SS. Martyrum*—‘*Ambo requiescunt in uno loco. Ibi quoque et Nomeseus (sic) Martyr cum plurimis iacet*’—accords better with the hypothesis of a common tomb.

With regard to the tomb of St Emerita doubt is also possible. In a gallery which prolongs the crypt at the end opposite to the tomb just described is a large *sepulcro a forno*, i. e. a *loculus* whose direction is perpendicular to that of the gallery. This must have been a tomb of some importance, since no less than four *loculi* have been sacrificed in its construction and decoration. It is surmounted by a pediment painted in fresco representing St Emerita between St Felix and St Adauctus<sup>1</sup>. The painting is of the sixth century, but it is of course possible that it forms part of the restored decoration of a more ancient tomb, and Baron Kanzler, who discovered the fragment bearing the name of the saint, is of opinion that we have here the tomb of St Emerita herself. He sees a confirmation of this hypothesis in the fact that an inscription of the year A.D. 426 is known which mentions the purchase of a site for a tomb *ante domna(m) Emerita(m)* by two persons, Januarius and Britia, and there is in fact a *loculus bisomus* facing the tomb now in question. But this is of course no more than a coincidence; and since it is difficult, if not impossible, to suppose that any of the four *loculi* sacrificed to the *sepulcro a forno* can be the original tomb of the saint, we should be forced to have recourse to the hypothesis of a translation of her body in the sixth century, for which it would be difficult to find a satisfactory parallel. It is, however, worthy of note that a certain Leo, whose *graffiti* are found beside the other historical tombs, has scratched his name on the fresco. It should also be said that Marucchi identifies the tomb of Januarius and Britia with a *bisomus* found in the floor immediately in front of the principal monument of the crypt and therefore of the *loculus* in which he supposes St Emerita to have been buried.

It will be seen from this brief account that the discovery of the *Coemeterium Commodillae* has raised problems of considerable importance in relation to the later history of the catacombs. Nor is it the

<sup>1</sup> Beneath the figure of the latter is painted the phrase *CVIVS NOMEN DEVS SCRIT*, in allusion to the legend of St Adauctus.

only case in which recent excavations in early Christian cemeteries have yielded important results. Not only in Rome, but in Sicily (at Syracuse) and in Africa (at Hadrumetum) this branch of investigation has been pursued with success. An account of these discoveries must, however, be deferred to a future occasion.

H. STUART JONES.

### THE ORIGIN OF THE AARONITE PRIESTHOOD: A REPLY.

MR MCNEILE'S temperate and courteous criticism of my article on the 'Origin of the Aaronite Priesthood', which appeared in the JOURNAL OF THEOLOGICAL STUDIES for October 1905, deserved an earlier reply. Since my theory, however, presupposes the view that Deuteronomy is an exilic work, it seemed better that a reply to criticism upon the theory should appear simultaneously with an article upon the date of Deuteronomy.

Certainly if any 'bones' can be found 'which will not fit into the conjectural skeleton', it must be frankly admitted that a new skeleton must be reconstructed; but before attempting to do this it will be well to subject the alleged bones to a careful scrutiny.

In the first place I would point out that Mr McNeile has inadvertently misrepresented a sentence of mine, the last half of which he quotes *verbatim* on p. 1. I did not place the original story of Aaron's calf at Horeb at all. Following Wellhausen, I regard the whole Horeb section as belonging to a later *stratum*. Hence the tradition that Aaron made a golden calf, even if (as I admit to be probable) he is identical with the Aaron who is mentioned as the associate of Hur, does not locate the calf worship at Horeb. Indeed on p. 166 I distinctly stated that the obvious place in which to look for the origin of the legend of Aaron's calf is one of the sanctuaries which possessed golden calves. And since, in my opinion, the beginning of the iconoclastic movement (which is clearly implied in Exodus xxxii *in its present form*) cannot be dated earlier than the end of the eighth century B.C., when Hezekiah broke up the brazen serpent, it is obvious that Exodus xxxii must have taken shape since that date. The essential elements in that chapter are that a calf was made, and that Aaron made it. Details were probably still in a state of flux<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> The earliest tradition was probably altogether silent on the subject of Aaron's death, and moreover did not represent Caleb and Joshua as the only persons of the host that came out of Egypt who entered Canaan. Only fragments of the earliest tradition have come down to us. Hur evidently occupied a position of some importance in the oldest story, but for some reason unknown to us the compiler of JE has excluded from his book the later history of him.



Mr McNeile goes on to ask, 'Why did the writer of 1 Kings xii 26+33 select Jeroboam I as the founder of the cult?'

But surely if (as I believe) that writer, when he wrote, 'had before him the full story of Exodus xxxii, and the reference to Moses' anger in Deut. ix 12-21', he could not have assigned the Bethel calf to Aaron; for his sources stated that the calf which Aaron had made had been destroyed by Moses, and that Aaron himself had died before the conquest of Canaan. But since he knew that Bethel was the royal sanctuary of North Israel (Amos vii 13), he naturally would infer—and his inference may be perfectly correct—that the temple which was standing at Bethel in the days of Amos had been built by Jeroboam. It was notorious that the idol at Bethel was a calf. There is surely no difficulty, therefore, in supposing that the writer of 1 Kings xii 26-33 believed that the cult of the calf had been suppressed from the time of Aaron, and refounded by Jeroboam.

Mr McNeile finds it difficult to believe that a calf would have been assigned to Dan, unless that sanctuary had actually possessed such an idol. But the post-Deuteronomic author of 1 Kings xii 26-33 (who, if he is not the same as the compiler of the Book of Kings, writes from the same standpoint, and may, therefore, for practical purposes be identified with him) certainly knew very little of the ancient sanctuaries of North Israel. When he wrote, all the high places of that country had probably been desecrated. But the old phrase, 'Dan to Beersheba', would of itself have been sufficient to convince him of the importance of Dan, and he would naturally conclude that what Jeroboam had done at the one sanctuary he would have done at the other also. It must be remembered that Dan was situated in a part of the land which for some two centuries had been in the hands of the heathen.

Mr McNeile writes: 'There is not necessarily a difficulty in the fact that Aaron was unpunished for his sin, while 300 men were slain by Levites. There are many critics who hold that Exodus xxxii 25-29 is from another source than that of 1-6, 15-24.' I certainly did not intend to imply that these passages are from the same hand; but the fact that the compiler placed them together is surely remarkable. If he had possessed any account of Aaron's being punished for making the calf, he would surely not have excluded it from his book. It might have been supposed that the making of a calf would suggest a probable reason for the death of Aaron<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> The statement in Deut. ix 20 may rest on some narrative originally contained in J, but it may be a mere inference of the Deuteronomist to account for the fact that, whereas (according to the ideas of his time) Jehovah must have been angry with Aaron, no punishment fell upon him.

Mr McNeile does not attempt to show by what right a king of Judah could carry on an iconoclastic campaign in a neighbouring province. He apparently admits that the phrase 'from Geba to Beersheba' gives the *limits of the kingdom of Judah*. In his view 'the expression "Geba to Beersheba" is used to shew how thoroughly the purging of Judah was carried out'. But surely it would be difficult to imagine a more thorough 'purging' than that to which, according to 2 Kings xxiii 19, 20, not only Bethel but also all the sanctuaries of the cities of Samaria were subjected! Moreover if the province of Samaria formed part of Josiah's kingdom, why does Jeremiah regularly appeal to Jerusalem and Judah?

In his remarks on p. 4, Mr McNeile has misunderstood my contention. He says, 'If the acute antagonism between the Zadokites and Aaronites had existed for years before, would not the Levites have been called "the sons of Aaron"? If Deuteronomy in its original form did not mention Aaron, it must have been because it was written before the quarrel began.' In Mr McNeile's phraseology the term 'Levites' seems to be equivalent to 'sons of Aaron'. I never dreamed of suggesting that Aaronites and Zadokites quarrelled before the days of Deuteronomy. Why should the Aaronites at Bethel have quarrelled with the Zadokites at Jerusalem? or why should the Aaronites at Jerusalem have quarrelled with the Zadokites in Babylon?

On the same page, by bringing together two quotations from different parts of my article, Mr McNeile understands me to 'imply that the law of the single sanctuary was the intention of the compiler, or compilers, of *J*'. He has apparently overlooked the fact that on p. 169 I wrote, 'It must be remembered that the reformation under Josiah was not the outcome of a tendency that had suddenly arisen. Reforming ideas had been "in the air", and gradually gaining force for more than a century.' When, on p. 184, I used the phrase 'the reforming party' with reference to the legislation of *J*, the context shews clearly that I refer to the reforming party in the days of Manasseh, when, as far as we know, no one had dreamed of limiting worship to one sanctuary; whereas the words, 'the intention of the original reformers', on p. 161, were used when no mention had been made of any reformation other than Josiah's, and therefore could only refer to the original leaders in the reformation which aimed at the limiting of worship to a single sanctuary.

On p. 5, Mr McNeile writes, 'Though the genealogy of Joshua in 1 Chron. vi 13-15 may very possibly be an 'unhistorical artificiality'—as the genealogies of the Chronicler often are—yet Seraiah and Jehozadak were both historical persons, and there is no direct evidence to shew that the former was not the father of the latter'. But to assert

that a genealogy is an unhistorical artificiality is not to deny that it contains any historical names. It certainly does not follow that because a genealogist has got historical names he must necessarily arrange them in their right order, or know their proper relation one to another. I do not doubt the historical reality of either Seraiah or Jehozadak. But the absence of 'direct evidence' against the statement that the former was the father of the latter is of little importance, when it is considered that this statement itself, as I shewed in my article, was an inevitable inference to one who, like the Chronicler, believed in the continuity of the priesthood, and knew that Seraiah had been priest at the Captivity, and that Jehozadak was the father of a priest who was supposed to have returned in the first year of Cyrus. Moreover if nothing but 'direct evidence' is to be admitted in historical criticism, all such criticism becomes impossible.

I would point out that Wellhausen's restoration of Zech. vi 9-15 is not as arbitrary as Mr McNeile seems to imply. Having regard to the assertion, utterly unintelligible in the Masoretic Text, that 'the counsel of peace shall be between them both', and the LXX reading  $\epsilon\upsilon\kappa\alpha\iota\ \sigma\omicron\upsilon\lambda\eta\varsigma$  for  $\epsilon\upsilon\kappa\alpha\iota\ \sigma\omicron\upsilon\lambda\eta\varsigma$ , as well as to the strong evidence of verse 14 that only *one* crown was originally mentioned, it is difficult to see any other possible way of amending the admittedly corrupt text.

A few words as to Mr McNeile's reconstruction. Whether Deuteronomy xxxiii is an early northern poem or not may here be left an open question, but surely it is an altogether unwarrantable assumption to identify the subject of verse 8 with Moses. Obviously the Levites generally are here referred to. Because a 'Levite or clergyman' according to Judges xviii 30 was a descendant of Moses, it certainly cannot be inferred that all clergymen claimed a like descent.

I am not sure that I quite understand to what Mr McNeile refers, when he says on p. 6, 'And signs perhaps survive till a late date in the similarity of the names in different branches of the family'. If he means signs of a tendency to trace all priestly families back to Moses, it would seem to follow that he regards Eleazar as having arisen from Eliezer, and Gershon from Gershom, or in other words that the genealogy of Aaron is an 'unhistorical artificiality', the names in it being to some extent suggested by names in the genealogy of Moses.

That this is the case is indeed probable, but if it is admitted, it shews that *nothing was really known* as to the genealogy of the family of Aaron, and it is therefore impossible to say whether Eli was an Aaronite or a Mosaicite. There is, therefore, no trustworthy evidence that the priests at Shiloh, Nob and Anathoth were Aaronites. Indeed if it were safe to infer from 1 Sam. ii 27 ff. that the family of Eli had been priests at the Exodus, having regard to the fact that in



the oldest *stratum* of the Pentateuch Moses is the sole priest, we should naturally conclude that Eli was descended from Moses.

But it is probably a mistake to suppose that in the early days of the Hebrew Monarchy the actual descent of a priest went for anything. The chief sanctuaries probably had their own traditions as to the origin of their ritual. Thus, for example, Ophrah seems to have ascribed its ritual to the priest-king Gideon; and had not tradition related the destruction of Gideon's family, it is not improbable that the priests at Ophrah would have been known as 'sons of Gideon'. In like manner we may suppose that the Bethel 'use' was associated with Aaron. In a new sanctuary, such as Micah's, unless the ritual had been prescribed by some theophany, it was desirable, though not necessary, to have some one with a priestly training.

Mr McNeile's argument on p. 8 depends on the assumption that Josiah intended to admit priests from North Israel to the temple at Jerusalem. That there were images at most, if not all, the important sanctuaries of both Israel and Judah down to the end of the eighth century B.C. is extremely likely, and in North Israel, probably still later. But the priests whom Ezekiel has primarily in view are those of *Judæan* sanctuaries such as Beersheba (unless we adopt the improbable supposition that his polemic is directed against the amalgamation of worship of Judæa and Samaria, of which tidings had reached him in Babylon), and Mr McNeile brings forward no evidence to shew that these were Aaronites. Anathoth was not a 'high place', but a suburb of Jerusalem, and the priests who resided there were definitely connected with the Zadokite priests at Jerusalem.

It may be pointed out that, if, as Mr McNeile contends, 2 Kings xxiii is historical, there were *no priests left in North Israel*, for Josiah put them all to death (2 Kings xxiii 19, 20). And even if the 'all' be not understood *au pied de la lettre*, is it likely that the survivors of the barbarous massacre, which Josiah is said to have ordered, would have been authorized by the same king to officiate in his temple at Jerusalem?

R. H. KENNETT.

### THE IMAGE OF GOD.

Two valuable books, already familiar to readers of the JOURNAL, have lately come into my hands at Naples, and this circumstance leads me to put together a few observations which may be fitly registered under the above heading.

In his commentary on Numbers at p. 155, Dr Buchanan Gray refers to a suggestion contained in an article of mine (*Jewish Quarterly*

*Review* x 669) to read צלם for צלם in ch. xiv 9. But if any merit attaches to this suggestion it is due entirely to Dr Neubauer, who put it forward in the *Athenæum* of Feb. 28, 1885, p. 280. I think that when writing in the *Jewish Quarterly Review* x, I may have had in mind an imperfect recollection, or unconscious memory of his proposed emendation. Had my recollection been explicit I should, of course, have acknowledged the debt. So too as regards the vocalization of צלמחר, for which Dr Gray refers to another paper of mine (*Jewish Quarterly Review* xi 259), I ought to have quoted that of the LXX, Σαλπασαδ, given by him at p. 399. Such oversights will happen to any man who reads widely without making written notes—a fault pardonable to an invalid.

In the *Jewish Quarterly Review* for April 1905 (xvii p. 502, p. 503 *ad fin.* and p. 506 *ad fin.*), I have said my say about בצלאל, and also as to the phrase of Gen. i 27, בצלם אלהים. Now I wish to raise three very doubtful questions. (1) Is there any relation between the traditional name of the inspired artist of the Cherubim and the phrase which describes the making of Man? (2) Is there any relation between the name of the Boeotian festivals<sup>1</sup> of the Great and Little Daedala—a word which is said to signify 'wooden images', and is no doubt formed by reduplication of the stem Δαλ—and the Semitic צל? Lastly, if Greek δαῖδαλ = Hebrew צלצל, is there any connexion between the Cretan Δαῖδαλος and the Biblical בצלאל? Or are these suggestive resemblances due to pure coincidence?

Together with Dr Gray's *Numbers*, there reaches me Dr Driver's commentary on Genesis, and I wish it could have been put into my hands at eighteen or twenty years of age. Yet I must enter a respectful protest against the strangely artificial interpretation which the writer has assigned to the language of Gen. i 26, 27. I cannot think that we have any right to read into the text of the Old Testament such an abstraction as *self-conscious reason*, borrowed from the metaphysics of modern Germany. It would, for instance, be more apposite if we were discussing the Upanishads than it can be to the concrete and poetic imaginings of the Hebrew Scriptures. The five lines cited from Ovid at the foot of p. 16 are really much more to the point. Surely such expressions as צלם and דמות cannot naturally be applied to τὰ μὴ φαινόμενα. They apply obviously and directly to the bodily semblance and uplifted countenance of man, and צלם is mentioned in immediate juxtaposition with the distinction of sex (i 27). Compare the expressions of 2 Kings xvi 10, ואת דמות המזבח ואת תבניתו, and the repeated תבנית of

<sup>1</sup> Seyffert *D. C. A.* ed. Nettleship and Sandys, 1895. See Frazer *Golden Bough* 1st ed. I 100; and ed. I 225.

Deut. iv 15-18. Neither Bezaleel nor Daedalus, we may be sure, would have found a difficulty in the statement. May I plead for a reconsideration?

GREY HUBERT SKIPWITH.

### A FURTHER NOTE ON COSMAS.

V = Vat. Gr. 699 (s. viii-ix). L = Laur. Plut. ix cod. 28 (s. xi).  
S = Sinaiticus 1186 (s. xi).

IN a former note on the text of Cosmas Indicopleustes printed in this JOURNAL (January 1905), I alluded to the untrustworthiness of Montfaucon's edition, particularly as regards the biblical and patristic quotations. I gave, however, practically no illustration of his inexactness in the latter, so I think it will not be considered superfluous to illustrate it more fully. The instances which follow are not intended as a complete collection of all the biblical quotations, but only as some of the worst instances of Montfaucon's freedom.

161 C ἐν γὰρ ἑξ ἡμέραις συνετέλεσε, καὶ κατέπανσεν] ἐν γὰρ ἑξ ἡμέραις ἐποίησεν ὁ Θεὸς τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ τὴν γῆν καὶ πάντα τὰ ἐν αὐτοῖς καὶ τῇ ἐβδόμῃ κατέπανσεν V L S.

176-7 οὗτος οὐρανοῦ καὶ γῆς Κύριος ὑπάρχων, οὐκ ἐν χειροποιήτοις ναοῖς κατοικεῖ, οὐδὲ ὑπὸ χειρῶν ἀνθρώπων θεραπεύεται, προσδεόμενός τινος, αὐτὸς διδούς πᾶσι ζωὴν καὶ πνοὴν καὶ τὰ πάντα, ἐποίησέ τε ἐξ ἐνὸς αἵματος] V L S read ὑπάρχων Κύριος and omit οὐκ ἐν χειροποιήτοις . . . πάντα and αἵματος.

180 D τοιοῦτος γὰρ ἡμῖν ἔπρεπεν ἀρχιερεὺς γενόμενος] V L S have ὅσις ἀκακος ἀμίαντος κεχωρισμένος ἀπὸ τῶν ἁμαρτωλῶν καὶ ὑψηλότερος τῶν οὐρανῶν after ἀρχιερεὺς.

200 D Ἐγὼ εἰμι Κύριος . . . προσκυνήσεις is inserted by Montfaucon without the authority of the MSS.

212 B νίόν σοι] V and S add καὶ καλέσεις τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ Ἰωάννην.

221 B δι' ἀνθρώπου ἀνάστασις νεκρῶν εἰσῆχθη ἐν τῇ γῇ] καὶ ἀνακεφαλαιώσασθαι τὰ πάντα ἐν τῷ Χριστῷ, τὰ τε ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ (τοῖς οὐρανοῖς L S) καὶ τὰ ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς (ἐν τῇ γῇ L S) V L S.

245 C προφήτην ὑμῖν ἀναστήσει Κύριος ὁ Θεὸς ὑμῶν. αὐτοῦ ἀκούσεσθε. Καὶ ὁ ἄνθρωπος ὃς ἐὰν μὴ ἀκούσῃ ὅσα ἂν λαλήσῃ ὁ προφήτης ἐκεῖνος ἐπὶ τῷ ὀνόματί μου, ἐξολοθρευθήσεται ἡ ψυχὴ αὐτῆς ἐκ τοῦ λαοῦ αὐτῆς] προφήτην ὑμῖν ἀναστήσει κύριος ὁ θεὸς ἐκ τῶν ἀδελφῶν ὑμῶν ὡς ἐμέ. αὐτοῦ ἀκούσεσθε κατὰ πάντα, ὅσα ἂν εἴπῃ πρὸς ὑμᾶς. ἔσται δὲ πᾶσα ψυχὴ ἥτις (εἴ τις L S) οὐκ ἀκούσει (εἰσακούει L<sup>1</sup>, εἰσακούσει L<sup>2</sup> S) τοῦ προφήτου ἐκείνου ἐξολοθρευθήσεται ἐκ τοῦ λαοῦ αὐτῆς V L S.

253 A τί ἐστιν ἄνθρωπος, ὅτι μιμησκή αὐτοῦ, ἢ νιὸς ἀνθρώπου, ὅτι



ἐπισκέπτη αὐτόν; Ἠλάττωσας αὐτὸν βραχύ τι παρ' ἀγγέλους. δόξῃ καὶ τιμῇ ἵστεφάνωσας αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τὰ ἔργα τῶν χειρῶν σου. πάντα ὑπέταξας ὑποκάτω τῶν ποδῶν αὐτοῦ.] τί ἐστὶν ἄνθρωπος, ὅτι μμνήσκη αὐτοῦ; τοῦτ' ὑπέταξεν αὐτήν. V L S.

257 A-B V L S omit *ὅτε ἐπείνασεν . . . τοῦ Θεοῦ* and οὐδὲ τοῖς μετ' αὐτοῦ, and read *ὡς (ὅς S) τοὺς* for *καὶ τοὺς* and *ἔξεστιν* for *ἐξὸν ἦν* αὐτῷ.

D Οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ Υἱός μου ἐν ᾧ ἠυδόκησα] V L S instead of ἐν ᾧ ἠυδόκησα read ὁ ἀγαπητὸς καὶ ἐκλελεγμένος.

264 A Ὅτι μὲν γὰρ δίδοται λόγος σοφίας, ἐτέρῳ δὲ πίστις ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ Πνεύματι, ἄλλῳ δὲ χαρίσματα ἱαμάτων ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ Πνεύματι, ἄλλῳ δὲ ἐνεργήματα δυνάμεων, ἄλλῳ δὲ προφητεία, ἄλλῳ δὲ διακρίσεις πνευμάτων, ἐτέρῳ δὲ γένη γλωσσῶν, ἄλλῳ δὲ ἑρμηνεία γλωσσῶν. Πάντα δὲ ταῦτα ἐνεργεῖ] ᾧ μὲν γὰρ δίδοται λόγος σοφίας, ἐτέρῳ προφητεία (-τία V<sup>1</sup>) ἐτέρῳ γένη γλωσσῶν, ἐτέρῳ δὲ ἑρμηνεία γλωσσῶν (ἐτέρῳ δὲ . . . γλωσσῶν om. L S) ἐτέρῳ χαρίσματα ἱαμάτων, ἐτέρῳ λόγος γνώσεως, ἐτέρῳ πίστις (-ης V<sup>1</sup>) ἐτέρῳ ἐνεργήματα δυνάμεων (-ως L) ἄλλῳ διακρίσεις (-εις L) πνευμάτων. πάντα δὲ ταῦτα (ταῦτα om. V), ἔφη (φησὶν V<sup>2</sup>) τὸ ἐν καὶ τὸ αὐτὸ (om. V<sup>1</sup>) πνεῦμα V L S.

265 B *ὅτι ἀνομίαν οὐκ ἐποίησε, οὐδὲ δόλον ἐν τῷ στόματι αὐτοῦ. Καὶ Κύριος βούλεται καθαρῶσαι αὐτὸν τῆς πληγῆς. Ἐὰν δοθῇ περὶ ἁμαρτίας ἡ ψυχὴ ὑμῶν, ὀφεται σπέρμα μακρόβιον, καὶ βούλεται Κύριος ἀφελεῖν ἀπὸ τοῦ πόνου τῆς ψυχῆς αὐτοῦ, δεῖξαι αὐτῷ φῶς]* V L S omit *ἐὰν δοθῇ . . . ψυχῆς αὐτοῦ* and read *οὐδὲ εὐρέθη δόλος* and *αὐτὸν ἀπὸ τῆς πληγῆς*. A few lines below they have *ὁ πιστεύων ἐπ' αὐτῷ οὐ μὴ*.

269 C καὶ πάλιν. Ἐκ περάτων ποταμῶν Αἰθιοπίας οἴσουσι θυσίαν μοι. Καὶ πάλιν λέγει. Χαίρει σφόδρα, θύγατερ Σιών, κήρυσσε, θύγατερ Ἱερουσαλήμ, εὐφραίνου καὶ κατατέρπου ἐξ ὅλης καρδίας, σὺ θύγατερ Ἱερουσαλήμ. περιεῖλε Κύριος τὰ ἀδικήματά σου, βασιλεὺς Ἰσραὴλ, Κύριος ἐν μέσῳ σου] πάλιν λέγει *ὅτι μεταστρέψω ἐπὶ λαοὺς γλώσσαν εἰς γενεὰν αὐτῆς τοῦ ἐπικαλεῖσθαι πάντας τὸ ὄνομα Κυρίου τοῦ δουλεῖν αὐτῷ ὑπὸ ζυγὸν ἕνα ἐκ περάτων ποταμῶν Αἰθιοπίας οἴσουσι θυσίαν μοι. καὶ πάλιν λέγει. Χαίρει σφόδρα, θύγατερ Ἱερουσαλήμ (Σιών L S), εὐφραίνου καὶ κατατέρπου, θύγατερ Ἱερουσαλήμ. περιεῖλε Κύριος τὰ ἀδικήματά σου λελύτρωσαι ἐκ χειρὸς ἐχθρῶν σου, βασιλεὺς Ἰσραὴλ, ὁ Κύριος ἐν μέσῳ σου* V L S.

*τῶν ἀνομιῶν, ὧν ἡμάρτοσαν ἐν αὐταῖς]* τῶν ἀνομιῶν . . . αὐτῶν V L.

272 B Ἐτμήθη λίθος ἀνευ χειρῶν, καὶ ἐλέπτυνε τὸ ὄστρακον, τὸν σιδηρον, τὸν χαλκόν, τὸν ἄργυρον, τὸν χρυσὸν καὶ] ἐτμήθη λίθος ἀνευ χειρῶν καὶ ἐπάταξεν τὴν εἰκόνα καὶ ἐγένετο ὁ λίθος ὡσεὶ (εἰ S) ὄρος μέγα καὶ V L S.

C ἔφθασε, καὶ προσήχθη αὐτῷ. Καὶ αὐτῷ ἐδόθη ἡ ἀρχὴ καὶ ἡ τιμὴ καὶ ἡ βασιλεία, καὶ πάντες οἱ λαοί, φυλαὶ καὶ γλώσσαι αὐτῷ δουλεύουσιν ἡ ἐξουσία, καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ ἐρρήθη] ἔφθασε. καὶ αὐτῷ ἐδόθη ἡ τιμὴ καὶ ἡ ἐξουσία καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ ὅσα (om. L S) ἐρρήθη V L S.

D Καὶ θήσομαι σφραγίδα, διότι σὲ ἡρέτισα, λέγει Κύριος ὁ Θεός] Καὶ θήσομαί σε (om. σε L) σφραγίδα, διότι σὲ ἡρετισάμην, λέγει Κύριος

ὁ Θεὸς (om. ὁ Θεὸς S) παντοκράτωρ, καθάπερ καὶ (om. καὶ L S) Ἰωάννης ὁ εὐαγγελιστὴς λέγει Τοῦτον γὰρ ὁ πατὴρ ἐσφράγισεν (-ησεν V<sup>1</sup>) ὁ Θεὸς V L S.

316 C καὶ τότε φανήσεται τὸ σημεῖον τοῦ Υἱοῦ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ καὶ τότε κόψονται πᾶσαι αἱ φυλαὶ τῆς γῆς, καὶ ὄψονται τὸν Υἱὸν τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἐρχόμενον ἐπὶ τῶν νεφελῶν τοῦ οὐρανοῦ μετὰ δυνάμεως καὶ δόξης πολλῆς. Καὶ ἀποστελεῖ τοὺς ἀγγέλους αὐτοῦ μετὰ σάλπιγγος φωνῆς μεγάλης, καὶ ἐπισυνάξουσιν τοὺς ἐκλεκτοὺς αὐτοῦ ἐκ τῶν ὧν ὁ ἀνέμων, ἀπ' ἄκρων οὐρανῶν ὡς ἄκρον οὐρανοῦ] καὶ τότε ὄψονται τὸν Υἱὸν τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἐρχόμενον ἐν νεφέλαις μετὰ δυνάμεως καὶ δόξης πολλῆς. Καὶ τότε ἀποστελεῖ τοὺς ἀγγέλους αὐτοῦ (om. αὐτοῦ S) μετὰ σάλπιγγος μεγάλης καὶ ἐπισυνάξει τοὺς ἐκλεκτοὺς αὐτοῦ ἐκ τῶν ὧν ὁ ἀνέμων, ἀπ' ἄκρον γῆς ὡς ἄκρον οὐρανοῦ V L S.

317 A V L S begin the quotation after ἐπιστολῇ with the words ἰδοὺ μυστήριον ὑμῖν λέγω. πάντες μὲν οὐ κοιμηθήσόμεθα (κυμ- V<sup>1</sup>), πάντες δὲ ἀλλαγθήσόμεθα (ἀλαγ- V<sup>1</sup>), and read ἀναστήσονται for ἐγερθήσονται.

344 C ἅπαξ τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ μόνος ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς, οὐ χωρὶς αἵματος, ἑαυτῷ τε καὶ τῷ λαῷ ποιούμενος] ἅπαξ τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ μόνον μόνος ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς δι' αἵματος τράγων καὶ μόσχων εἰσῆει εἰς τὴν ἐσωτέραν σκηνὴν ἐξιλεούμενος καὶ τὴν ἄφεσιν τῷ λαῷ ποιούμενος V L S.

345 D καὶ πάλιν. Μαρτυρεῖ γὰρ] καὶ περισσώτερον (περισσ- V<sup>1</sup>) ἐπι καταδῆλον ἔστιν εἰ κατὰ τὴν ὁμοιότητα Μελχισεδέκ ἀνίσταται ἱερεὺς ἑτεροῦ, ὅς οὐ κατὰ νόμον ἐντολῆς σαρκίνης γέγονεν, ἀλλὰ κατὰ δύναμιν ζωῆς ἀκαταλύτου. μαρτυρεῖται γὰρ V L S.

348 A ὄρκω. καὶ πάλιν. Ὅπου πρόδρομος] ὄρκω, ἵνα διὰ β' πραγμάτων ἀμεταθέτων ἐν οἷς (ἐν οἷς om. L<sup>1</sup> S) ἀδύνατον ψεύσασθαι Θεὸν ἰσχυρὰν παράκλησιν ἔχωμεν (ἔχομεν L<sup>1</sup> S) οἱ καταφυγόντες κρατῆσαι τῆς προκειμένης ἐλπίδος ἦν ὡς ἀγκυραν ἔχομεν τῆς ψυχῆς ἀσφαλῆ τε καὶ βεβαίαν καὶ εἰσερχομένην εἰς τὸ ἐσώτερον τοῦ καταπετάσματος, ὅπου πρόδρομος V L S.

352 δυνάμει, καὶ τὰ ἐξῆς. Εἰτα πάλιν. Τοῦτο] δυνάμει. σπείρεται σῶμα ψυχικόν (-ηκ- V<sup>1</sup>), ἐγείρεται σῶμα πνευματικόν. εἰ ἔστι σῶμα ψυχικόν ἔστι καὶ πνευματικόν. οὕτως καὶ γέγραπται, ἐγένετο ὁ πρῶτος ἄνθρωπος Ἀδὰμ εἰς ψυχὴν ζῶσαν, ὁ ἔσχατος Ἀδὰμ εἰς πνεῦμα ζωοποιούν. ἀλλ' οὐ πρῶτον τὸ πνευματικόν ἀλλὰ τὸ ψυχικόν (-ηκ- V<sup>1</sup>), ἔπειτα τὸ (om. τὸ S) πνευματικόν. ὁ πρῶτος ἄνθρωπος ἐκ γῆς χοικός, ὁ δεύτερος ἄνθρωπος, Κύριος ἐξ οὐρανοῦ, οἷος ὁ χοικός τοιοῦτοι καὶ οἱ χοικοί, καὶ οἷος ὁ ἐπουράνιος τοιοῦτοι καὶ οἱ ἐπουράνιοι. καὶ καθὼς ἐφορέσαμεν τὴν εἰκόνα τοῦ χοικοῦ φορέσομεν καὶ τὴν εἰκόνα τοῦ ἐπουρανοῦ. τοῦτο V L S.

365 D Κύριον, ὑμνεῖτε καὶ ὑπερυψοῦτε αὐτὸν εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας. Εὐλογεῖτε, οὐρανοί, τὸν Κύριον. Καὶ αὐτὸς] Κύριον, εὐλογεῖτε οὐρανοὶ τὸν Κύριον, εὐλογεῖτε ἄγγελοι Κυρίου τὸν Κύριον, εὐλογεῖτε ὕδατα πάντα τὰ ἐπάνω τοῦ οὐρανοῦ (ὑπεράνω τῶν οὐρανῶν L S) τὸν Κύριον. καὶ αὐτὸς V L S.

400 B ἔρχονται καὶ ληφθήσεται πάντα τὰ ἐν τῷ οἴκῳ σου, καὶ ὅσα ἐθησαύρισαν οἱ πατέρες σου ὡς τῆς ἡμέρας ταύτης εἰς Βαβυλῶνα, καὶ οὐχ ὑποληφθήσεται ῥῆμα ὃ εἶπε Κύριος. Καὶ οἱ υἱοί σου, οἱ ἐξελεῖσονται ἐκ σοῦ, οἷς

γενήσεις, λήφεται, καὶ ἔσονται εὐνοῦχοι ἐν τῷ οἴκῳ] ἔρχονται, λέγει Κύριος, καὶ λήφονται (λυψ- V<sup>1</sup>) πάντα τὰ ἐν τῷ οἴκῳ σου, καὶ ὅσα συνήγαγον οἱ πατέρες σου ἕως τῆς ἡμέρας ταύτης εἰς Βαβυλῶνα, καὶ οὐδὲν οὐ μὴ ἐγκαταλείψωσιν (-λιψ- V<sup>1</sup>, καταλείψωσιν L S). εἶπεν δὲ ὁ Θεὸς ὅτι καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν τέκνων σου, ὧν ἐγέννησας, λήφονται καὶ ποιήσουσιν ἐπιδόνας ἐν τῷ οἴκῳ V L S.

409 A σαλευθήσονται] καὶ οἱ ἀστέρες (-αις V<sup>1</sup>) τοῦ οὐρανοῦ πεσοῦνται ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν is added by V L S.

432 C βούλεται, καὶ τὰ ἐξῆς] βούλεται εἰς οἰκονομίαν τῶν καιρῶν. καὶ ἀνακεφαλαίωσιν ἐπουρανίων καὶ ἐπιγείων. οὕτω γὰρ καὶ μυστήριον τοῦ θελήματος τοῦ Θεοῦ τοῦτο ἐξεῖτε L S.

437 B καταβαίνοντες ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν. Ὡφθη δὲ αὐτῷ ἄγγελος ἀπ' οὐρανοῦ ἐνισχύων αὐτὸν] καταβαίνοντες εἰς τὴν γῆν. καὶ ἰδοὺ ἄγγελος Κυρίου ἐνισχύων αὐτὸν L S.

Besides the patristic quotations mentioned in my former note, this passage from Gregory (416 D) supplies us with a good instance of Montfaucon's untrustworthiness. After παρακύψωμεν (παρακίψομεν V) all three MSS have εἶπω (εἶπωμεν S) τὸ μᾶλλον ἡμᾶς αὐτοὺς θύσωμεν τῷ θεῷ. καὶ οὗτος τὰ ὅμοια τῷ (τῶν S) πρὸ αὐτοῦ ἐξεῖπεν περὶ τοῦ σχήματος, (καὶ add. S) πρῶτον καὶ δεύτερον μόνον καταπέτασμα καὶ θυσιαστήριον εἰπών, καὶ περὶ τῶν ἀγγέλων ὡς καὶ αὐτῶν καὶ ἡμῶν ἐν τῷ πρώτῳ καταπετάσματι ἔτι ὄντων, ἐπιθυμούντων δὲ ἅμα ἡμῖν ἐν τῷ δευτέρῳ παρακίψαι, nor is there any conceivable reason for the omission, which looks suspiciously like a case of homoioteleuton omission.

E. O. WINSTEDT.

#### THE PRAYER BOOK PSALTER.

(J. T. S. January 1906.)

#### CORRECTIONS.

P. 271 l. 13—*dele* 'and another was issued in 1584'.

Note on Ps. xxviii 9—for 'May 1541' *read* '1572'.

W. A. W.



## REVIEWS

## CARDINAL RAMPOLLA'S MELANIA THE YOUNGER.

*Santa Melania Giuniore Senatrice Romana: Documenti Contemporanei e Note.* (Roma: Tipographia Vaticana, 1905.)

WHILE Nuntio in Madrid in 1884 Cardinal Rampolla examined a number of the Escorial MSS, and found among them a Latin *Vita Melaniae Iunioris*, presenting an evidently purer form of the Life than the Metaphrast's Greek. He copied it, intending to edit it; but owing to the constant pressure of his public duties he was unable to do so, and in 1889 the Bollandists published the *Vita* from two inferior MSS (*Analecta Bollandiana* viii). Later on they discovered in a Barberini MS a Greek *Vita*, earlier than the Metaphrast's; this they printed in 1903 (*Anal. Boll.* xxii). On being freed from the cares of statecraft and diplomacy on the accession of Pius X, Cardinal Rampolla returned to those studies that had been his first love and for which he had never lost his affection; and he has produced a sumptuous and stately folio that probably contains all that can be known from extant materials concerning the younger Melania and the whole circle in which she moved. The central portion of the book contains the documents: (1) the Latin *Vita*, critically edited from the seven known MSS; it is a notably better text than that of the Bollandists, the Escorial MS being the best; (2) a careful print of the Greek *Vita* from the Barberini MS, accompanied by an Italian translation; (3) the chapter of the Lausiac History of Palladius devoted to the younger Melania, the critically reconstructed Cambridge text and the inferior (metaphrastic) text of Meursius being printed side by side, with the Latin version below. These documents occupy nearly a hundred pages.

Besides this there is an Introduction and a number of Notes. The Introduction deals with Roman society in the fourth and fifth centuries, with the career of the younger Melania, and with the historical sources for her story. This last section raises some questions of textual criticism, which, as matter of detail and as calling (I think) for further consideration, had better be dealt with first of all. The chief of these questions concerns the original language of the *Vita*; was it Latin or Greek? Various

arguments in support of each view are considered, and it is concluded that the question cannot be decided with certainty; still the verdict is given in favour of the Latin *Vita*. The crucial argument turns on a citation from the Lausiac History of Palladius, made in c. 1 of the *Vita*. The relevant texts are printed in the Introduction to my edition, p. xxxiii. The fact that the Latin is practically a literal translation of the piece of Palladius, whereas the Greek is considerably paraphrased, shows with certainty that the Latin *Vita* is not a translation of the Greek *Vita* as contained in the Barberini MS. But when we examine the passage in the Greek *Vita*, we find that, in spite of the paraphrasing, it preserves a considerable element of Palladius's actual phraseology. Thus :—

## Palladius.

Εἰ μὲν αἰρῆσαι συνοικισθῆναί μοι  
κατὰ τὸν τῆς σωφροσύνης λόγον, καὶ  
δεσπότην σε οἶδα καὶ κύριον τῆς ἐμῆς  
ζωῆς ὁμολογήσω σε.

καὶ μόνον τὸ σῶμά μου ἐλευθέρω-  
σω, ἵνα πληροφορήσω μου τὴν  
κατὰ θεὸν ἐπιθυμίαν.

*Vita*.

Εἰ μὲν βούλει . . . κατὰ τὸν τῆς  
σωφροσύνης συνοικισθῆναί μοι νόμον,  
καὶ κύριόν σε καὶ δεσπότην τῆς οἰκείας  
ζωῆς ἐπεγράφομαι.

μόνον τὸ σῶμά μου ἐλευθέρωσον  
. . . οὕτω γὰρ πληροφορήσω τὴν κατὰ  
θεόν μου ἐπιθυμίαν.

It is evident that a retranslation of the Latin back into Greek could not have reproduced in this way the words of Palladius. The priority of the Latin could be maintained only by the hypothesis that the Greek translator recognized that the piece was taken from Palladius, and looked out the passage in a MS of the Lausiac History. Such an hypothesis would present little difficulty in regard to a biblical text; but in the present case it could be admitted only for most peremptory reasons, which do not exist. The phenomena of the case thus point clearly to the solution offered on p. xxxiv of my Introduction, viz. that the *Vita* was originally written in Greek, but that the Barberini MS contains a rewritten and somewhat paraphrased text. Should a better MS not be forthcoming, the best that can be done towards the restoration of the primitive text would be a critically reconstructed edition of the Greek *Vita* by means of the Latin, by the same method that I was compelled to employ in certain chapters of the Lausiac History.

On p. lv is a criticism of my text of the Lausiac History, which, though confined to the chapter on Melania the younger (61), virtually affects the entire book. The view is maintained that the text which I have edited (G), though a much better text than its metaphrastic rival (B), represented by Meursius's edition, is an abridgement of the original text. This judgement is mainly based upon the Latin version, which is (properly) taken as a discriminant between the two Greek texts. But

the Latin version is here edited from some Vatican MSS presenting a text deteriorated by revision on the basis of a Greek MS of the metaphrastic type (see my *Lausiaca History* i pp. 59-64; ii p. lxxvi). Had the pure form of the text, preserved in the Cassinese and Sessorian MSS, been printed, the difficulties and doubts felt by the Cardinal would not have presented themselves.

The Notes, forty-eight in number and filling 200 pages, are a veritable monument of erudition and indefatigable industry. Every imaginable question that could be raised concerning Melania is dealt with in the most painstaking and elaborate manner. Her pedigree and that of her husband are worked out in ten notes, culminating in two great genealogical tables. In the other notes all sorts of questions of archaeology, liturgy, history are discussed, so that the Notes are a mine of information for students of the fourth and fifth centuries. I was especially interested in the first Note, in which the chronology of the Lives of the two Melanias is dealt with—a subject I had briefly handled in my *Palladius*. It was a satisfaction to find that in so difficult and delicate a piece of work,—how difficult and delicate only those know who have had occasion to scratch beneath the surface of received chronology,—the two chronological schemes agree on nearly all points; the chief difference is in the period assigned to the sojourn of Melania and Pinian in Africa, and here I had overlooked the statement of the *Vita* that they spent seven years there before going to the Holy Land.

The book is superbly printed by the Vatican Press, and is ornamented with four fine pages of facsimile reproductions of the MSS.

That such a book should have been produced by one who for nearly twenty years had borne the burdens that now fall on a Cardinal Secretary of State, and Secretary of State under a master so active and exacting as Leo XIII, is certainly a phenomenon. For in this volume Cardinal Rampolla shews that on the common basis of scholarship and learning he can meet on equality professional scholars. If a general criticism had to be passed, it would be a regret that, owing to the enforced delay of twenty years in publication, the value of the original documents to be edited is not more proportionate to the quality of the work that has been bestowed upon them.

E. C. BUTLER.



## SOME COPTIC APOCRYPHA.

*Patrologia orientalis* (R. Graffin et F. Nau). Tome II, Fasc. 2. *Les Apocryphes Coptes. I. Les Évangiles des douze Apôtres et de S. Barthélemy.* Texte Copte édité et traduit par le Dr E. REVILLOUT, Professeur et Conservateur au Louvre. (Paris, Firmin-Didot et C<sup>ie</sup>.)

IN a recent number of this JOURNAL<sup>1</sup> I noticed some publications of Coptic Apocrypha by M. Pierre Lacau and M. Revillout. Since that time the first *fasciculus* of the complete edition promised by M. Revillout has appeared, and is now before me.

I fear it will be found a disappointing production by other students, as well as by myself. It includes at once more and less than the work of M. Lacau. Of the existence of that work M. Revillout seems to me to shew no consciousness whatever. It may be that his book was in type some time ago and that M. Lacau's is really more recent. Whether that is so or not, we miss in this *fasciculus* a good deal that M. Lacau has given us.

In my previous notice I said something of M. Revillout's views about the fragments which he persists in uniting under the title of the *Gospel of the Twelve Apostles*. That the title, and the early date which he assigns to them, are both erroneous I cannot doubt: but it is a much more serious matter that this professedly complete collection of the fragments is not complete. I will give a list of the contents of the present publication, using the following symbols. R<sup>1</sup> = M. Revillout's articles reprinted from the *Revue Biblique* of 1904: R<sup>2</sup> = the present work: L. = M. Lacau's publication, *Fragments d'Apocryphes Coptes* in *Mémoires . . . de l'Institut Français . . . du Caire*, 1904: Rob. = Forbes Robinson *Coptic Apocryphal Gospels*.

Fragment 1. New: translation in R<sup>1</sup> p. 11.

2 = Rob. p. 168. Completed by L. p. 105.

3 = L. p. 75, where it is rightly given as a fragment of one recension of the Apocalypse of Bartholomew.

4 = Rob. p. 176.

Revillout omits at the end of this the fragment given by L. p. 108. This is an unaccountable and most unfortunate omission.

5. New: translation in R<sup>1</sup> p. 30.

6 = L. p. 33.

7, 8, 9 are the Strassburg fragments published by Jacoby (*Ein neues Evangelienfragment*, 1900).

<sup>1</sup> *J. T. S.* vol. vi no. 24 p. 577.

10. New: translation in R<sup>1</sup> p. 38.
11. New: translation in R<sup>1</sup> p. 37.
- 12=L. p. 34. But L. gives two recensions, R<sup>2</sup> only one.
13. New: translation in R<sup>1</sup> p. 42: obviously does not refer to Ananias the martyr (as does no. 12), but to the Incredulity of Thomas.
14. New. The appearance of Christ to the Virgin, which is assimilated to the appearance to Mary Magdalene. The words of Christ here are largely an amplification of *Noli me tangere*.
- 15=L. p. 19.
16. New. A narrative of the Death, Funeral, and Assumption of the Virgin, which does not seem to be identical with any Coptic text hitherto published. It approaches most closely to the Latin text ascribed to Melito, often printed (e. g. Tischendorf, *Apocalypses Apocryphae*, p. 124).
- 4 bis. New. A short fragment paraphrasing John vii 8-11 and adding a detail or two.

Of these it is clear that fragments 3, 7-9, 13, 16 are not rightly placed with the rest. Those from Strassburg are of an entirely different complexion from the homiletic narratives, as I must call them, which constitute the larger part of the collection. No. 13 is certainly out of its order; nos. 3 and 16 come from different books altogether. Nor is it clear that the residuum once formed a single whole.

M. Revillout proceeds to give us what he calls the 'Gospel', but what Dulaurier and Lacau with better reason call the Apocalypse (Revelation), of Bartholomew. His presentation of this is unaccountably defective: he omits what is given by Lacau on pp. 73-77, and what was printed many years ago by Dulaurier.

In an appendix are given—

1. A fragment about Judas=Lacau p. 34.
2. A fragment of the Acts of Thomas answering to a portion of the Ethiopic version in Budge, *Contendings of the Apostles* (ii p. 321). It is curious that M. Revillout should have imagined that this could be part of a Gospel.

Of the merits of the translation or of the Coptic text I am not qualified to judge. I will only note that M. Revillout does not follow the unliterary but rather useful plan adopted by most, of printing in his translation all the Greek words which occur in the Coptic text.

That the book so far as it goes is interesting and convenient I freely admit: but its incompleteness, and the limited knowledge of the field of apocryphal literature displayed by its editor, are both sad drawbacks to its usefulness. We must hope for better things from succeeding *fasciculi*.

M. R. JAMES.

## INDIA AND THE APOSTLE THOMAS.

*India and the Apostle Thomas. An Inquiry. With a Critical Analysis of the Acta Thomae.* By A. E. MEDLYCOTT, Bishop of Tricomia. (London, D. Nutt, 1905.) [pp. xviii + 303: twelve plates and a map.]

BISHOP MEDLYCOTT has put together a great deal of interesting information from various sources, tending to support the tradition of St Thomas's Indian apostolate and of his martyrdom at Mylapore. But the general impression left upon the reviewer's mind is a confused one. We can follow the author with pleasure in his tracking of the Indian tradition through the mediaeval period, in his *résumé* of the present state of knowledge with regard to King Gondophares, and in his account of the removal of the Apostle's relics to Edessa, Chios and Ortona. We must be grateful to him for his illustrations and condole with him on the misprint which describes the interesting sculptured tympanum at Semur as stained glass, while we admire his industry and sympathize with his championship of a very venerable and attractive story. But when we come to the appendix in which he analyses the Acts of Thomas and tries to sift out from the midst of 'Gnostic' accretions a residuum of true history, we cannot help feeling that he is undertaking a hopeless task. His theory of the Acts is that they not only contain names of historical personages (as King Gondophares), but that several of the episodes and the martyrdom are in the main true: and that the book has suffered extensively from Gnostic interpolation. 'Fortunately', he says on p. 291, 'a German scholar, who has made a special study of Gnostic writings, and is considered a great authority on the subject, von (*sic*) Carl Schmidt (*Die alten Petrusakten*, &c.) has arrived at the conclusion that of the Acts of Peter, Paul, John, Thomas, and Andrew, which in the time of Photius were attributed to Lucius (*sic*) Charinus, all, even those of John, are by more or less orthodox Catholics: certainly none are of Gnostic origin. . . . It is satisfactory to find others coming to the views we hold.' Dr Schmidt, I think, would be surprised and amused at the manner in which his theories are interpreted by the Bishop.

A good deal of space is devoted to an examination of the Acts of Thecla, and here again the Bishop has contrived to leave on my mind an odd impression of his views as to the relation of the various versions. I do not find evidence that he realizes that the Coptic is a translation of a Greek text, of which, indeed, singularly little notice is taken. Gnostic interpolation is postulated in this case also, and the Pilgrimage of 'Silvia' is quoted as a 'testimony to the authenticity of the *Acta*



*Theclae*'. It is also argued that the Acts of Thecla were incorporated bodily by the author of the Acts of Paul into his work.

On p. 111 is a passage which shews the really misleading character of the whole investigation. 'The lady pilgrim (of the *Peregrinatio Silviae*) paid a . . . visit to the shrine of . . . St Thecla; and there . . . she read . . . the acts of her martyrdom. We need hardly remark that these would not be the distorted Gnostic edition that has come down to us, but a copy of the Acts accepted and recognized as catholic and genuine by the Christians of that age. The remark applies with equal force to the Acts of Thomas, which she records that she had read at his shrine. This offers clear proof that these were copies which had not been distorted and utilized for Gnostic purposes, as we find is the case with those that have come down to us.' The Bishop's conclusions here would simply be met with flat contradiction. There is no evidence at all that the Acts either of Thecla or of Thomas which the pilgrim read differed in doctrinal complexion from those which we possess now and which the Bishop calls Gnostic. If they did so differ, it was because they had been revised in the Catholic interest. The assumption of later Church writers that Gnostics had tampered with originally orthodox writings runs directly counter to everything that can be gathered from the documents themselves, and is simply a falsification of history. It was not an unnatural assumption for a writer of the fifth century; but any one who seeks to revive it now is doing very poor service to the cause of truth. And to say that the passage from the *Peregrinatio* offers 'clear proof' of any kind as to the character of the text of the Acts is nothing short of ridiculous.

On p. 120 Heracleon's denial that St Thomas was a martyr is discussed, and dismissed on very insufficient grounds.

Such Greek phrases as appear in the book contain more misprints than they should, and I seem to detect a propensity on the part of the author to make use of Latin versions of Greek documents: for example, the epitaph of Abercius is quoted in Latin.

I cannot, in conclusion, accept this book as a successful critical study either of the Acts of Thomas or of the Indian tradition; but it has interested me more than a little.

M. R. JAMES.

## RECENT PERIODICALS RELATING TO THEOLOGICAL STUDIES

### (1) ENGLISH.

*Church Quarterly Review*, April 1906 (Vol. lxii, No. 123: Spottiswoode & Co.). Church Reform: III Training for Holy Orders—Pre-Raphaelitism—Mediaeval monastic libraries at Canterbury and elsewhere—The Welsh Church during the seventeenth century—Missions in Nyasaland: II Anglican Missions—Nicolas of Cusa, Cardinal and Reformer—Penitence and moral discipline—Short Notices—Index of Articles to vols. i-lx (October 1875–January 1905) concluded.

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*The Jewish Quarterly Review*, April 1906 (Vol. xviii, No. 71: Macmillan & Co.). A. COWLEY Bodleian Geniza Fragments—L. SIMON Abraham Mapu—L. GINSBERG Geonic Responsa—A. B. RHINE Leon Gordon as a poet—G. MARGOLIOUTH An introduction to the liturgy of the Damascene Karaites—S. A. COOK Notes on Old Testament History: IV. Saul and Benjamin—Critical Notices—Notes to *J.Q.R.*—Bibliography.

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#### (2) AMERICAN.

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*Revue Bénédictine*, April 1906 (Vol. xxiii, No. 2: Abbaye de Maredsous). D. DE BRUYNE Encore les 'Tractatus Origenis'—G. MORIN *Studia Caesariana*. Nouvelle série d'inédits tirée du manuscrit 3 d'Épinal—A. PALMIÉRI Un document inédit sur la rebaptisation des Latins chez les Grecs—P. DE MEESTER Études sur la théologie orthodoxe II. La théologie proprement dite. Dieu, un dans son essence—M. FESTUGIÈRE Quelle sera la philosophie de l'Église? L'Église, la philosophie traditionnelle—H. QUENTIN Elpidius, évêque de Huesca, et les souscriptions du deuxième concile de Tolède—U. BERLIÈRE Les coutumiers monastiques (x<sup>e</sup>, xi<sup>e</sup> siècles)—T. NÈVE Le concile de Trente—U. BERLIÈRE Bulletin d'histoire bénédictine—Comptes rendus—Notes bibliographiques.



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